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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
G R E A T B R I T A I N,

FROM THE  
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS  
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

BY ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE  
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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VOLUME THE FIRST.

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TO  
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
WILLIAM Earl of *Mansfield*,  
Esq. Esq.

MY LORD,

IF the merits of this Work were as conspicuous as the dignity and virtues of its illustrious Patrons, it would be well entitled to the attention and favour of the Public. I had the honour to dedicate the first impression of it to our Most Gracious Sovereign, the generous munificent promoter of every laudable undertaking. I have now the honour

to



## DEDICATION.

to dedicate this impreflion of it to your Lordfhip, whose extraordinary talents, furprifing penetration, perfuafive eloquence, confummate wifdom, and inflexible integrity in the adminiftration of juftice, have long been the objects of univerfal admiration. I acknowledge that I am not unwilling to let the world and pofterity know (if any thing of mine fhall reach pofterity) that I had the happinefs to be encouraged in the profecution of this Work by one of the moft virtuous Monarchs that ever adorned a throne, and by one of the wifeft, beft, and greateft men of the age in which I lived. While I continue to enjoy that encouragement and the increafing favour of the Public, I fhall proceed in the execution of my plan with all the attention and fidelity of which I am capable, and all the expedition the ftate of my health and the duties of my ftation will permit.

That



That the Almighty Ruler of the World may prolong your Lordship's valuable life to a very lengthened period, and after a long, happy, and honourable life, exalt you to a state of pure and sublime felicity that shall never end, is the sincere and fervent prayer of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

ROBERT HENRY.





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T H E

G E N E R A L P R E F A C E .

**T**HIS History of Great Britain is written on a plan so different from that of any former history of this island, or indeed of any other country, that it is necessary to lay before the reader---A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF DESIGN AND OBJECT OF THIS WORK:---A DELINEATION OF THE PLAN ON WHICH IT IS WRITTEN :---And, A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROBABLE AND EXPECTED ADVANTAGES OF THAT PLAN..

Necessity and subject of the preface.

The chief design then of this work is this :  
—To give the reader a concise account of the most important events which have happened in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, to the present times ; together with a distinct view of the religion, laws, learning, arts, commerce, and manners of its inhabitants, in every age  
between

Chief design and object of the work.



between these two periods. It is intended to draw a faithful picture of the characters and circumstances of our ancestors from age to age, both in public and in private life; to describe, in their genuine colours, the great actions they performed, and the disgraces they sustained; the liberties they enjoyed, and the thralldom to which they were subjected; the knowledge, natural, moral, and religious, with which they were illuminated, and the darknesses in which they were involved; the arts they practised, and the commerce they carried on; the virtues with which they were adorned, and the vices with which they were infected; the pleasures and amusements in which they delighted, and the distresses and miseries to which they were exposed; not omitting even their fleeting fashions, and ever-changing customs and modes of life, when they can be discovered. This, it is hoped, will give the reader as clear, full, and just ideas of Great Britain, and of its inhabitants, in every age, as can reasonably be desired, or, at least, as can now be obtained from the faithful records of history.

To accomplish this very extensive design, within as narrow limits as possible, the author hath endeavoured to express every thing in the



the fewest and plainest words; to avoid all digressions and repetitions; and to arrange his materials in the most regular order, according to the following plan.

The whole work is divided into ten books. Plan of the work. Each book begins and ends at some remarkable revolution, and contains the history and delineation of the first of these revolutions, and of the intervening period. Every one of these ten books is uniformly divided into seven chapters, which do not carry on the thread of the history one after another, as in other works of this kind; but all the seven chapters of the same book begin at the same point of time, run parallel to one another, and end together; each chapter presenting the reader with the history of one particular object. For example:

The first chapter of each book contains the civil and military history of Great Britain, in the period which is the subject of that book, The second chapter of the same book contains the history of religion, or the ecclesiastical history of Britain, in the same period. The third chapter contains the history of our constitution, government, laws, and courts of justice. The fourth chapter comprehends the history of learning, of learned men, and  
of



of the chief seminaries of learning. The fifth chapter contains the history of the arts, both useful and ornamental, necessary and pleasing. The sixth chapter is employed in giving the history of commerce, of shipping, of money or coin, and of the prices of commodities. The seventh and last chapter of the same book contains the history of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions of the people of Great Britain, in the same period. This plan is regularly and strictly pursued from the beginning to the end of this work: so that each of the ten books of which it consists, may be considered as a complete work in itself, as far as it reaches; and also as a perfect pattern and model of all the other books.

To render this plan still more perfectly regular and uniform in all its parts, the author hath disposed the materials of all the chapters of the same number, in all the ten books, in the same order; as far as the subjects treated of in these chapters would permit. For example: The arts, which are the subject of the fifth chapter of every book, are disposed one after another in the same order of succession, in all the fifth chapters through the whole work.



work. The same may be said of all the other chapters, whose subjects are capable of being disposed in a regular order and arrangement. By this means, as every book is a perfect model of all the other books of this work, so every chapter is also a perfect model of all the other chapters of the same number. It is thought unnecessary to attempt to carry order and regularity of method further than this. It is even imagined, that any endeavour to do this would defeat its own design, by rendering the plan too intricate and artificial.

Such is the plan upon which the following work is written. That it is new will not be disputed. The advantages of it (if the author is not mistaken) are so many and obvious, that they might be safely trusted to the discovery of every intelligent reader. It may not however be improper to subjoin a few short observations on the probable and expected advantages of this plan. For, though these observations may appear superfluous to many, they may be useful to some.

Advantages  
of this plan.

By this plan the sphere of history will be very much enlarged, and many useful and entertaining subjects introduced into it, which  
were

1st advan-  
tagc.

were formerly excluded. The far greatest number of our historians have given us only a detail of our civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs: a few of them have inserted occasional dissertations on our constitution, government, and laws: but not one of them hath given, or so much as pretended or designed to give, any thing like a history of learning, arts, commerce, and manners. All that we find in the very best of our historians, on these interesting subjects, are a few cursory remarks, which serve rather to excite than gratify our curiosity. Are these subjects then unworthy of a place in history; especially in the history of a country where learning, arts, commerce, and politeness flourish? Doth not the ingenious scholar, who hath enlarged and enlightened the faculties of the human mind; the inventive artist, who hath increased the comforts and conveniencies of human life; the adventurous merchant or mariner, who hath discovered unknown countries, and opened new sources of trade and wealth; deserve a place in the annals of his country, and in the grateful remembrance of posterity; as well as even the good prince, the wise politician, or the victorious general? Can we form just ideas  
of



of the characters and circumstances of our ancestors, by viewing them only in the flames of civil and religious discord, or in the fields of blood and slaughter; without ever attending to their conduct and condition, in the more permanent and peaceful scenes of social life? Are we now in possession of prodigious stores of natural, moral, and religious knowledge; of a vast variety of elegant and useful arts; of an almost unbounded trade, which pours the productions of every climate at our feet; to all which our forefathers were once strangers? and have we no curiosity to know, at what time, by what degrees, and by whose means, we have been enriched with these treasures of learning, arts, and commerce? It is impossible. Such curiosity is natural, laudable, and useful; and it is hoped, that this attempt to gratify it, by comprehending these important objects within the bounds of history, will be received by the Public with some degree of favour.

As by this plan the sphere of history is very much enlarged, so its order and regularity are not only preserved, but even very much improved; and, by this means, the reader is presented with variety without confusion, which is of all things the most agreeable.

2d advantage.

able. Writers of the greatest genius find it no easy task to form civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs, into one easy, clear, and unperplexed narration. It is sometimes almost indispensably necessary to break off the thread of one story, before it is brought to a proper period, in order to introduce and bring forward another, of a very different kind. This unavoidably occasions some confusion. The reader's attention is diverted, the gratification of his curiosity is disagreeably suspended, and it is sometimes so long before he is brought back to his former track, that it is hardly possible for him to recollect the scattered members of the same narration, and to form distinct conceptions of the whole. Examples of some degree of perplexity, proceeding from this cause, might be produced (if it were not unnecessary and invidious) from the works of our most justly admired historians: and the compilations of many others are, on this account, little better than a heap of undigested materials. For this reason, it would have been equally absurd and vain, to have attempted to form all the various subjects which compose the following work, into one continued narration. This could have produced nothing but a perfect chaos



chaos of confusion. But by the present plan, all this danger of intricacy and confusion is avoided. The materials belonging to one subject are divided, without violence or injury, from those belonging to another; and each of them are formed into a separate narration, which is conducted, from beginning to end, without interruption, or the intervention of any foreign matter. By this means, every thing appears distinct and clear; and the reader pursues one subject to an end, before he enters upon another,

It will probably appear to many readers no small advantage, that by this plan they will have an opportunity of indulging their peculiar tastes, and of studying, with the greatest attention, those particular subjects in the history of their country, which seem to them most useful and agreeable in themselves, or most suitable to their respective ways of life; without being obliged to travel through long and tedious details of other things, for which they have little relish. The soldier, for example, and those who take delight in reading of battles, sieges, and military operations, will find every thing of that nature in the several first chapters, and in the

3d advantage.

fection on the art of war in the fifth chapters. The clergy, and others, who desire to be particularly informed of the religious sentiments and practices of the people of this country in every age; and to know the various changes and revolutions which have happened in the churches of Britain, from the first introduction of Christianity, to the present times; will obtain all the satisfaction which this work can give them on these heads, by perusing the second chapters. The politician, the lawyer, the gentleman, and all others, who wish to be acquainted with the many changes which have been made in the constitution, government, and laws of their country, in that long succession of ages which have elapsed since the first invasion of the Romans, will have recourse to the third chapters, for the gratification of their curiosity on these subjects. The several fourth chapters will afford the most agreeable and useful entertainment to the scholar; the fifth to the artist; and the sixth to the merchant. The subjects which are treated of in the several seventh chapters are so many and various, and have been so little attended to in history, that it is hoped these chapters



chapters will be univerfally agreeable, and that readers of every clafs will find something in them fuited to their tafte.

It is not perhaps one of the leaft advantages of this plan, that it obliges the writer to give a constant anxious attention to every part of his fubject, in every period, without omiffion or relaxation. When a few incidental obfervations only are to be made on fome fubjects, fuch as laws, learning, arts, commerce, and manners, as it were by the bye, no very great or constant attention to thefe fubjects is required in the writer. The confideration of them may be dropt and refumed by him at pleafure, without his incurring any blame, or difappointing the expectation of his reader. But when a writer, by the very plan of his work, obliges himfelf to give a diftinct continued narration on every one of thefe fubjects, in every period, in its proper place and order; more diligence in collecting, and more care in arranging his materials, on all thefe fubjects, becomes indifpenfably neceffary. In this cafe, if but any one particular fubject, under any one general head (as that of agriculture, for example, in the hiftory of arts), is omitted, or even fuperficially treated, in any one

4th advantage.

period, it is a direct violation of the established plan, a manifest defect and imperfection, which can hardly escape the observation of any attentive reader. For the more perfectly regular any plan is, the more exact and constant attention is required in the execution of it, and the more easily are its defects discovered.

But enough, perhaps too much, hath been already said of the probable and expected advantages of the plan of the intended work. This is a topic on which it doth not very well become an author to dilate. For since it is the undoubted prerogative of the reader to judge for himself, with freedom and candour, both of the plan and execution; it would be paying but an ill compliment to his penetration, and even to the work itself, to suppose that it was necessary to give a long minute detail of its advantages.

*Caution.*

Nothing can be more inconsistent with that perfect integrity, and sacred regard to truth, which are so essential to the character of a good historian, than to attempt to raise expectations in the Public, which an author is not able, or doth not design, to gratify. To prevent all suspicions of any thing of that kind, on the present occasion, it is proper to  
acquaint



acquaint the reader, that he is not to expect a thorough minute investigation of all the various subjects which are introduced into the following work. To have attempted this, would have swelled this history into a library; and would have rendered many parts of it equally tedious and unintelligible to the bulk of readers. In the several fourth chapters, for example, which contain the history of learning, it was never intended to give regular extended systems of the grammar, logic, ethics, mathematics, and other sciences, of every age. In some ages this would have been impossible; in all it would have been improper. It is only designed to lay before the reader a clear and concise account of the general state of each science; its decline or progress; its most remarkable defects, and most important improvements. This is all that falls within the province of general history, on subjects of this nature; all that can be universally useful and agreeable, or reasonably desired and expected in a work of this kind.

A modern author, who writes the history of ancient times, can have no personal knowledge of the events of which he writes; and consequently he can have no title to the credit  
and

Autho-  
rities.

and confidence of the Public, merely on his own authority. If he does not write romance instead of history, he must have received his information from tradition---from authentic monuments---original records---or the memoirs of more ancient writers ; and therefore it is but just to acquaint his readers from whence he actually received it. This is acting a fair and honest part, and puts it in the power of his readers to determine whether he hath represented matters with judgment and integrity, according to his information ; and what degree of credit is due to his authorities. A writer who neglects to do this, may perhaps be an honest man and a sincere historian ; but it is certainly very difficult to discover whether he is so or not ; and this very neglect is no small temptation to write sometimes in a careless manner ; or, on some occasions, to sacrifice truth to embellishment, and to add circumstances for which there is no foundation, in order to make his story appear more agreeable or more surprising. The truth is, the works of an historian who hath not quoted his authorities, and pointed out the sources from whence he hath derived his information (unless he hath been an original writer, and nearly contemporary with the facts



facts which he relates), are of little or no use to any subsequent writer, and can give but little satisfaction to any inquisitive reader. For these reasons, the authorities are carefully quoted in the following work, at the bottom of the page. When any well-known and undisputed fact is mentioned by many ancient writers, it would have had the appearance of parade and ostentation to have quoted them all; and therefore to point out one or two of them is thought sufficient.

Instead of long notes at the bottom of the page, which are apt to distract the attention of the reader, an Appendix is subjoined to each book of the following work. These appendixes contain a great variety of materials of different kinds—as, scarce and curious tracts—valuable remains of antiquity—original letters and records—short dissertations, on important points, &c. &c. In a word, whatever may serve to gratify the reader's curiosity, to remove his doubts, and give him either pleasure or instruction; which could not be introduced into the body of each book, with propriety and advantage, is inserted in the Appendix, with proper references.

It is hardly possible to form clear conceptions of many events recorded in history, particularly of many military operations, without some knowledge of the face of the country, and of the situation of the places which have been the scenes of these events. The want of this is one great cause that so many read history with so little satisfaction and improvement. This knowledge is most easily obtained by the inspection of correct maps, which are certainly the best illustrations, and the most useful ornaments, of history. But even the most accurate and splendid maps of such a country as Britain, in its present state, would contribute very little to the illustration of its ancient history. For appearances, and other circumstances of our country, and of its various districts, have suffered many successive changes in a long course of ages. To say nothing of the uncertain conjecture of several writers---*that this island was once united to the continent*<sup>1</sup>; in how many different ways and proportions hath Great Britain been divided at different times? How often have the same places changed their own names, and the names of their rulers, owners, and inhabitants? How many cities, towns, and fortresses have flourished in one age, the

<sup>1</sup> Antonius Volscius, Dominicus Marius Niger, Servius Honoratus, Jo. Twine, Guil. Musgrave, &c.



subject of much ambitious contention ; and, in another, have sunk into dust and rubbish : while others, formerly unheard of, have arisen to splendour and importance ? Have not extensive regions, which in one period had been covered with impenetrable forests, been cleared and peopled in another, and become the scenes of many important events ? To give the reader therefore as distinct a view as possible of these successive changes in the scene of action, the first and second books of the following work will be illustrated with maps, representing the face of our country, not as it now is, but as it then was, in these several periods. These maps are inserted in the Appendix to each book, and accompanied with proper explanations.

Thus much it is thought necessary to inform the reader, concerning the plan and structure of the following work. The Public are the only proper judges of the execution, and to them that province is left entire.





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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

---

B O O K I .

C H A P . I .

*The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

THE large and beautiful Island of Great Britain had been inhabited many ages; and had, no doubt, been the scene of many wars, revolutions, and other important events, before it was invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar (1). But almost all these events are either buried in profound oblivion; or the accounts which we have of them are so imperfect, improbable, and full of fables, that it is impossible to form them into a continued, unbroken narration, supported by proper evidence (2). Leaving therefore those dark and fabulous ages of the

A. A. C.  
55.

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Ancient history of  
Britain  
fabulous.

(1) See the third chapter of this book; the first part of which, containing a description of the ancient British nations, will throw much light on the civil and military history of this period.

(2) Gaulfrid. Monast. passim.

A. A. C. 55. British history, which preceded the first invasion of the Romans, to the laborious researches of the industrious antiquarian, we shall begin our narrative at that period, where we meet with clear and authentic information.

Caesar's motives for invading Britain.

Julius Caesar, whose character and exploits are well known to all who are acquainted with the Roman history, having made great progress in the conquest of Gaul, began to cast an ambitious eye on the adjacent isle of Britain, and to think of adding this little sequestered world also to the Roman empire. He is said to have been prompted to form this design, by the beauty and magnitude of the British pearls, which he greatly admired; and to have been provoked by the assistance which some of the British nations had given to his enemies in Gaul (3). But his restless unbounded ambition was probably his strongest incentive to this undertaking.

Caesar endeavours to get intelligence.

Britain, though at no great distance from the continent, was at this time an unknown region to the Romans, and almost to all the rest of mankind (4). In order therefore to get some intelligence of the state of the country which he designed to invade, Caesar convened, from different parts of Gaul, a great number of merchants who had visited this island, on account of trade; and asked them many questions concerning its dimensions; the number, power, and customs of its inhabitants; their art of war; their harbours which were fit to receive large ships, &c. But these merchants, being either not able, or not willing, to give him sufficient information, he dispatched C. Volufenus with a galley, to get some intelligence, and to return with it as soon as possible. In the mean time, he himself marched with his whole army into the territories of the Morini, and collected a large fleet in the ports of that country; that all things might be ready for the embarkation, as soon as Volufenus returned (5).

Britons send ambassadors to Caesar.

Some of the British states having received notice of the impending storm, from the merchants of Gaul, they endeavoured to divert it, by sending over ambassadors to make their submissions to the authority of Rome,

(3) Sueton. in vita Jul. Cas. c. 47. Cai. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 18.

(4) Dio. Cass. l. 39

(5) The Morini inhabited the sea-coast about Calais and Bologne.



and to offer hostages for their fidelity. Cæsar gave these ambassadors a very kind reception ; and having exhorted them to continue in their present dispositions, he sent them back to Britain, with Comius, whom he had constituted king of the Atrebatians, in their company (6). To Comius, on whose prudence and fidelity he very much depended, he gave instructions, to visit as many of the British states as he could ; to persuade them to enter into an alliance with the Romans (a soft inoffensive name for becoming their subjects) ; and to let them know, that Cæsar designed, as soon as possible, to come over in person to their island (7).

A. A. C.  
55.

The season being now far advanced, and C. Volufenus being returned from viewing the British coast, and having communicated his discoveries, Cæsar embarked the infantry of two legions, on board eighty transports, at one port (supposed to be Calais), and commanded the cavalry of these legions to embark at another harbour at about eight miles distance, on board eighteen transports. The embarkation of the infantry being finished, and the wind springing up fair, Cæsar sailed with the fleet under his immediate command about one in the morning, and reached the coast of Britain, near Dover, at ten in the forenoon of the same day, being the 26th of August, in the 55th year before the beginning of the Christian æra. Some accident or mismanagement prevented the transports with the cavalry from sailing till four days after (8).

Cæsar embarks his infantry, and arrives in Britain.

As those submissions, whatever they were, which the British states had made to Cæsar, by their ambassadors, had not answered their design of diverting him from his intended expedition, they changed their measures, and resolved upon a vigorous defence of their country. In consequence of this resolution, they imprisoned Comius, prince of the Atrebatians, and his attendants ; raised a numerous army, and marched to that part of the coast where they expected the descent would be attempted. When Cæsar therefore approached the British shore, observing the lofty cliffs covered with an ar-

Cæsar lands his troops after a vigorous opposition.

(6) The Atrebatians were an ancient Belgic nation who inhabited Artois. See chap. 3. sect. I. ¶ 5.

(7) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 18, 19, &c.

(8) Ibid. c. 20, 21. Philosoph. Transact. No. 193.

A. A. C.

55.

my, and that the place was not fit for landing in the face of an enemy, he resolved to lie by for some time. In this interval, he communicated to his principal officers the discoveries which C. Volufenus had made, gave them all the necessary orders for the debarkation, and exhorted them to observe his signals, and to do every thing with all possible readiness and dispatch. The wind and tide being both favourable, he made the signal for weighing anchor about three in the afternoon; and after sailing about eight miles farther, he stopped over against a plain and open shore, probably at or near Deal (9). Here he determined to land his army without delay; though the British army, which had attended all his motions, stood ready to give him a warm reception. The Roman soldiers had many and great difficulties to encounter on this occasion, arising from the depth of the water, which struck them breast high, the weight of their armour, and the assaults of the enemy, who perfectly knew the ground, and fought with great advantage. Cæsar observing that his men were a little daunted with these difficulties, and did not advance with their usual spirit, commanded some gallies, which drew less water than the transport ships, to approach the shore, and attack the enemy in flank, with their engines, slings, and arrows. The Britons, astonished at the shape and motion of the gallies, and playing of the engines, first halted, and then began to give back. But still many of the Roman soldiers hesitated to leave their ships and encounter at once the waves and the enemy; when the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the Gods, jumped into the sea, and advancing with the eagle towards the enemy, cried aloud; "Follow me, my fellow-foldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy; for my part I am determined to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the commonwealth." All who beheld this bold action, and heard this animating speech, were fired with courage and emulation, plunged into the sea, and advanced towards the shore. Now ensued a fierce and bloody shock, between the Romans struggling eagerly to gain the land, and the Britons labouring with no

(9) Dio. l. 39. Cæf. l. 4. c. 21.



less ardour to repulse them. At length, Cæsar sending constant supplies in small boats, to such of his men as were hardest pressed, they gained ground by degrees, obliged the Britons to retire, and the whole army landed (10). A. A. C.  
55.

The unhappy Britons, discouraged by the ill success of their attempt to prevent the landing of the Romans, began to think of renewing their submissions, and obtaining peace. In order to this, they released Comius the Atrebatian from his confinement, and sent him, in company with their ambassadors, to Cæsar. These ambassadors made the best excuse they could for the violence which had been done to Comius, throwing the blame of it on the unruly multitude; they professed an entire submission to the commands of their conqueror, and offered hostages for a security. Cæsar, having reproached them for the violation of their former engagements, granted them peace, and ordered them to send him a certain number of hostages. Some of these hostages were immediately sent, and the rest promised, as soon as they could be brought from the places of their residence, which were at some distance. In the mean time, the British army separated; the chiefs of the several nations repaired to Cæsar's camp, to settle their own affairs and those of their respective states (11).

This peace was concluded on the fourth day after Cæsar's arrival in Britain; and on the same day his transports with the cavalry sailed with a gentle gale. But when they approached the British shore, and were even within sight of the Roman camp, a violent storm arose, which prevented their landing, and obliged them to put back into different ports of the continent. Nor was this the only injury which Cæsar sustained from this storm: for it being full moon, and spring tides, his galleys, which were drawn up on the strand, were filled with water, and the transports, which lay at anchor in the road, were some of them dashed to pieces, and others of them so much damaged as to be unfit for sailing. This was a very great disaster; and the Romans seeing themselves at once destitute of provisions to sub-

(10) Cæf. l. 4. c. 22, 23, 24.

(11) Cæf. l. 4. c. 25.



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Britons re-  
new the  
war.

sist them on the island, and of ships to carry them out of it, were seized with a general consternation (12).

If the Romans beheld these scenes of desolation with dismay, the Britons viewed them with secret joy. Their chiefs who were in Cæsar's camp held private consultations together; and observing the small number of the Roman forces, and that they had neither corn, cavalry, nor ships; they began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of being able to destroy this little army, either by force or famine; and thereby defeating the present, and preventing all future attempts upon their island. Full of these hopes, they retired by degrees, and under various pretences, from the Roman camp, repaired to their respective states, collected their followers, and animated them to renew the war.

Action be-  
tween the  
Romans  
and Britons.

Though Cæsar was not fully apprized of their designs, yet observing their affected delays in bringing in the hostages, and considering his own condition, he began to suspect, that something was in agitation, and resolved to provide against the worst. He employed one part of his army in repairing his fleet, and the other in bringing corn into the camp. The harvest was now all gathered in, except one field, in which, as the soldiers of the seventh legion were one day foraging, they were assaulted by a great multitude of British cavalry and chariots, who rushed out upon them from the adjacent woods. The Romans, confounded at the suddenness and unexpectedness of this attack, were thrown into confusion, some of them slain, and the rest surrounded, and in the greatest danger of being cut to pieces; when they were delivered by the sagacity and alertness of their general. For Cæsar being informed, that an uncommon cloud of dust appeared on that side where the legion was foraging, and suspecting what had happened, took the two cohorts which were upon guard, and flew to the place; leaving orders for the rest of the army to follow. When Cæsar came to the scene of action, he found his troops in the most imminent danger. But they, being encouraged by this seasonable relief, redoubled their efforts, and put the Britons to a stand. This contented Cæsar for the present, who not thinking it prudent to bring

(12) Cæf. l. 4. c. 25.

on a general engagement, stood facing the enemy for some time, and then led back the legions to the camp (13). A. A. C.  
55.

The continual rains which followed, prevented any farther action in the field for some days. This time was employed by the Britons in sending messengers into all parts, to inform their countrymen of the small number and distressful state of the Roman troops; and to exhort them to embrace the present favourable opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoils of their enemies, and of destroying the invaders of their country. Such multitudes complied with these exhortations, that they got together so great an army, both of horse and foot, as emboldened them to approach the Roman camp, with a design to force its entrenchments. But Cæsar, not waiting for the assault, drew up his legions before the camp, and fell upon the Britons with such fury, that they could not long sustain the shock. The Romans having pursued the fugitives for some time with great slaughter, and desolated the surrounding country, returned victorious to their camp (14). Another  
action.

The Britons, against disheartened by their defeat, sent ambassadors that day to Cæsar to sue for peace. This was granted without delay, and on no harder conditions than doubling the number of hostages, which were to be sent after him into Gaul. This facility of Cæsar proceeded from his impatience to leave the island before winter, which was now approaching. Having now refitted his fleet, with the loss of no more than twelve ships, he embarked his army with all possible expedition; and after a stay of little more than three weeks in Britain, he set sail and arrived safe in Gaul (15). Thus ended Cæsar's first expedition into Britain; which, though it was extolled by his partizans at Rome, as one of the most glorious and wonderful exploits, was really attended with little honour, and less advantage (16). His retreat at this time appears to have been exceedingly precipitate, and his own manner of relating it is so very short and summary, that we can hardly help suspecting that there are some material circumstances suppressed. Cæsar  
makes  
peace with  
the Britons,  
and returns  
to Gaul.

(13) Cæf. l. 4. c. 27, 28, 29, 30.

(14) Cæf. l. 4. c. 30, 31.

(15) Cæf. l. 4. c. 32.

(16) Dio. l. 39.

However



A. A. C. <sup>55.</sup> However this may be, he gave so specious a representation of his expedition in his letters to the Roman senate, that a supplication of twenty days was decreed to his honour.

A. A. C. <sup>54.</sup> As soon as Cæsar arrived in Gaul, he began to make preparations for a second expedition into Britain, which he designed to undertake the next year, at a more early season, and with a much more formidable army. In order to this, before he left his winter-quarters to go into Italy, as was his yearly custom, he gave orders to his lieutenants to repair his old ships, and to build as many new ones as possible, during the winter. He also gave directions to build these ships lower, broader, and lighter than usual; that they might draw less water, approach nearer the shore, and be more convenient for embarking and landing his troops. Especially his cavalry. These orders were executed with so much diligence, that at his return out of Italy in the spring, he found no fewer than six hundred transports, of the construction which he had prescribed, and twenty-eight galleys, almost ready for launching. He bestowed the highest praises on his lieutenants and soldiers, for their great activity in this service; and having left a sufficient number of men, to finish his ships, and conduct them to the general rendezvous at Portus Itius, now Calais; he led the rest of his army against the Treviri, or people of Treves (17).

Cæsar  
lands his  
army in  
Britain.

Cæsar having brought the Treviri to submission, marched his army to Portus Itius, where he found all his fleet (except about forty ships, which had been disabled in a storm) completely rigged and ready to sail. At this place he was met, according to his orders, by all the cavalry, and chief nobility of the several states of Gaul. The greatest part of the nobility he determined to carry with him into Britain, to prevent their raising commotions in his absence. Having spent about three weeks here, in settling the affairs of Gaul, embarking his troops, and waiting for a fair wind, he sailed one evening about sunset, probably in the month of May or June, with a gallant army of five legions and two thousand horse, on board a fleet consisting of more than eight hundred ships. The wind being southwest, and

(17) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 1, 2, 3.



the tide retiring, the fleet fell too far to the north-east during the night; but next morning, the soldiers plying the oars with great vigour, and being assisted by the returning tide, they gained the coast of Britain about noon, at the same place where they had landed the year before (18). Here he disembarked the whole army without delay or opposition. For though the Britons had received early intelligence of the mighty preparations which were making for a second invasion of their island, and had formed a strong confederacy, and collected a powerful army for its defence; yet when they beheld this prodigious fleet approaching their coasts, they were struck with consternation, despaired of being able to prevent the landing, and retired some miles up the country.

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54.

Cæsar having landed his troops, and received information from some prisoners where the Britons lay, he left only ten cohorts and three hundred horse upon the coast, under Q. Atrius, to guard his fleet, and set out that very evening in quest of the enemy, with all the rest of his army. After a fatiguing march of twelve hours, mostly in the night, he came in sight of the British army, which was posted behind a river, probably the Stour, on some rising grounds; and from thence they attacked the Romans, and endeavoured to prevent their passing the river. But the cavalry having cleared the way, the whole army passed; and the Britons retired towards some adjacent woods, into a place strongly fortified both by art and nature, perhaps where Canterbury now stands. In this fastness the Britons lay close for some time, and only sallied out in small parties. But the soldiers of the seventh legion, advancing under cover of their shields, and having cast up a mount, forced the intrenchments without much loss, and obliged the enemy to abandon the place. Cæsar did not think it prudent to permit any pursuit at so late an hour, and in a country so much unknown; but recalling his men, he employed the remainder of the evening in fortifying his camp (19).

Two actions  
between the  
Romans and  
Britons.

Early next morning this active, indefatigable general renewed his operations; and having divided his army

(18) Cæs. l. 5. c. 4, 5, 7. (19) Cæs. l. 5. c. 8. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 14.

A. A. C.

54.

into three bodies, sent them in pursuit of the enemy. When they had marched a little way, and had discovered the rear of the British army, a party of horse arrived with dispatches from Q. Atrius to Cæsar, acquainting him, that a dreadful storm had arisen the night before, and had fallen upon the fleet with so much fury, that it had driven almost all the ships ashore, after they had sustained unspeakable damage, by running foul of one another. As soon as he received this unwelcome news, he recalled his troops from the pursuit of the enemy, and marched with all expedition to the sea-coast. When he arrived there, he found his fleet in as bad a condition as it had been represented. Forty ships were entirely destroyed, and the rest so much damaged, that they were hardly repairable. He immediately set all the carpenters in his fleet and army to work, sent for others from Gaul, and dispatched orders to Labienus, his lieutenant there, to build as many ships as possible. Cæsar, being now convinced by his repeated losses, that there was no safety for his fleet in riding at anchor in the open road, determined to draw all his ships on shore, and inclose them within the fortifications of his camp. Though this was a work of prodigious labour and difficulty, yet, by the vigorous and incessant toil of the whole army, it was accomplished in the short space of ten days. Having thus repaired and secured his fleet, and left it under the same guard as before, he marched his army to the place where he had desisted from the pursuit of the enemy (20).

Cassibelanus  
chosen ge-  
neralissimo  
of the Bri-  
tans.

It is very surprising, that the Britons gave the Romans no disturbance while they were repairing their fleet. It appears that they were employed in this interval, in strengthening their confederacy, increasing their army, and in chusing a commander in chief, that they might exert their force with greater union and effect. The choice fell upon Cassibelanus, prince of the Cassi or Cattivellauni (21), who had the chief command and administration of the war conferred upon him by common consent. This was in some respects a wise and prudent, and in others, an unhappy choice. For Cassi-

(20) Cæs. l. 5. c. 9.

(21) The ancient inhabitants of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.



belanus was a prince of great courage and military experience, and was at the head of one of the most warlike and powerful tribes in the confederacy; but he and his subjects had been engaged in continual wars with some of the neighbouring states, which could not but weaken the attachment of these states to the person of the commander, and to the common cause (22) The Britons, however, under this new leader, waited the approach of the Romans with undaunted countenances.

A. A. C.  
54.

Several actions between the Romans and Britons.

As soon as the hostile armies drew near to each other they began to skirmish. The British horse, supported by their chariots, charged the Roman cavalry with great vigour. They were repulsed, indeed, or pretended to be so, when the Romans, pursuing with too much eagerness, sustained a considerable loss. Some time after these first skirmishes, as the Romans were one day employed in fortifying their camp, the Britons sallied out upon them from the adjacent woods, routed the advanced guard, defeated two choice cohorts which were sent to the assistance of the guard, killed Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, and at last retired without loss. By this last action, which happened within view of the camp, Cæsar and his whole army were convinced, that they had a dangerous enemy to deal with, who were equally brisk in their attacks, quick in their retreats, and sudden in turning upon their pursuers. The day after this action, the Britons appeared upon the hills, at a greater distance, in smaller bodies, and seemed less forward to skirmish than usual. This encouraged Cæsar to send out three legions, with all his cavalry, to forage, under the command of C. Trebonius his lieutenant. About noon, the Britons rushed suddenly from the surrounding woods upon the foragers. But here they met with a more vigorous resistance than they expected; and being repulsed, the Roman cavalry, supported by their foot, pursued them with such order and firmness, that they had no opportunity of practising their usual stratagems, and were at length entirely broken and dispersed (23).

(22) Cæs. Bell. Gall. l. 5. c. 9.

(23) Cæs. Bel. Gal. c. 12, 13.

A. A. C.

54.

Defections  
among the  
Britons.

The Britons had no sooner received this severe check, than their ill-cemented union began to dissolve; and such of the confederates as lay at a distance from immediate danger, abandoned the common cause, and retired to their own homes. Cassibelanus, discouraged by this defection of his allies, and convinced that his troops were not a match for the Romans in pitched battles, resolved to retire into his own territories, and stand on the defensive (24).

Cæsar pass-  
eth the  
Thames.

Cæsar, who had not as yet penetrated far into the country, now seeing no enemy to oppose him, advanced towards the Thames, with a design to pass that river, and make war on Cassibelanus in his own kingdom. When he reached the Thames, at a place called Coway-stakes, he saw the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the opposite banks, which were also fortified with sharp stakes; and he was informed by prisoners and deserters, that many stakes of the same kind were driven into the bed of the river. Not discouraged by all these obstacles, he commanded the cavalry to ford the river, and the infantry to follow close after, though it was so deep that their heads only appeared above the water. The Britons, astonished at the boldness of this attempt, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the banks, and fled (25).

War cha-  
riots.

Cassibelanus, now observing that the greatest part of his troops, especially his infantry, were so much dispirited, that they were of little use, dismissed them; and retained only the war-chariots of his army, amounting to four thousand, about his person. With this small, but formidable body, he watched all the motions of the Roman army, harassed them in their marches, and frequently sallied from the woods upon their foraging and plundering parties. This not only annoyed the enemy, but preserved the country from devastation. For Cæsar, observing the dangers to which his cavalry were exposed, when they ventured to make excursions into the fields, would not permit them to remove to any great distance from the legions, nor to pillage the country, unless when they were supported by the infantry (26).

(24) Cæs. Bel. Gal. c. 12, 13.

(26) Id. ibid. c. 15.

(25) Cæs. Bel. Gal. 14.



But the want of a cordial union among the British states, and the secret rancour which some of them entertained against Cassibelanus for former injuries, defeated all the efforts of that general. The Trinobantes (27) in particular retained a deep resentment against him, for his having slain their prince Imanuentius, and obliged his son Mandubratius to fly into Gaul to avoid the same fate. As soon, therefore, as Cæsar approached their confines, they sent ambassadors to him, with offers of obedience and submission, and to implore his protection against the violence of Cassibelanus, and to entreat him to restore Mandubratius (who was then in his army) to the government of their state. Cæsar accepted of their submissions, granted their requests, and having demanded and obtained forty hostages, and a quantity of corn for his army, he took them under his protection, and secured their persons and properties from all injuries. This induced many of the neighbouring states, as the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi (28), to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to make their submissions, which were accepted with the same facility (29).

A. A. C.  
54.  
Several British states make peace with Cæsar.

Cæsar derived great advantages from the submission of so many British states. Amongst other things, they gave him intelligence, that he was not far from the capital of Cassibelanus, into which great multitudes of men and cattle had retired for safety. This town, which was little more than a wood with a number of straggling villages in it, and surrounded with a ditch and rampart, was situated where the flourishing city of Verulamium afterwards stood, and near where the town of St. Albans now stands (30). Though this place was very strong both by art and nature, Cæsar soon made himself master of it, and of a great booty in cattle and prisoners, which he found in it (31).

Capital of Cassibelanus taken.

Cassibelanus, not yet dispirited by the defection of his allies, the loss of his capital, and all his other losses, formed a scheme, which, if it had been as successfully executed as it was prudently planned, would have involved the Romans in very great difficulties. This artful general observing, that Cæsar, was now at a great

The Britons make an unsuccessful attempt on the Roman camp.

(27) See chap. 3. sect. 1. People of Essex, Middlesex, and Surry.  
 (28) See chap. 3. sect. 1. (29) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 16, 17.  
 (30) Camb. Brit. p. 350. (31) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 17.  
 distance

A. A. C. distance from his fleet, which he had left under a weak guard, he formed the design of destroying it. With this view, he sent messengers to Cingetorix, Carmilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, the four chieftains of the Cantii, to draw all their forces together, and fall suddenly on the naval camp of the Romans, which was in their country (32). These chieftains obeyed his orders, and assaulted the Roman camp, but were repulsed with great loss, and Cingetorix was taken prisoner (33).

Cassibelanus makes his peace with Cæsar.

Cassibelanus, who had discharged all the duties of a general and a patriot, with great courage and abilities, seeing all his schemes miscarry, was now convinced that it would be in vain to struggle any longer. He determined, therefore, to make his peace on the easiest terms he could; and for this purpose he sent ambassadors to Cæsar, and also employed the mediation of Comius the Atrebatian, to whom he had probably done some friendly offices, when he was a prisoner amongst the Britons. These advances from Cassibelanus were highly agreeable to Cæsar, who seems to have been heartily tired of his British expedition, and earnestly desirous of returning to the continent, where he dreaded some commotion. The ambassadors, therefore, found little difficulty in their negotiation, and a peace was soon concluded on these terms—That Cassibelanus should offer no injury to Mandubratius, or his subjects the Trinobantes—That Britain should give a certain number of hostages; and pay a certain yearly tribute to the Romans (34). Neither the number of hostages, nor the nature or quantity of the tribute stipulated by this treaty, are mentioned by Cæsar. It seems indeed probable, that he insisted upon these stipulations, rather with a view to save his own honour, and the honour of the Roman name, than from any expectation that they would be performed. We should have been very glad, however, to have known what kind, and what quantity of tribute Britain was capable of affording at this early period.

Cæsar returns with his army into Gaul.

The peace being now concluded, Cæsar marched his army back to the sea-coast, and immediately gave orders for launching his fleet, which he found completely re-

(32) See chap. 3. sect. 1.

(33) Cæf. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 18.

(34) Cæf. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19.



paired. But he had lost so many ships in the late storm, and had received so few from Gaul (those built by Labienus having been mostly put back or destroyed in their passage), that he had not a sufficient number to contain his whole army, together with his hostages and prisoners, which were very numerous. Rather than stay to build more ships, or wait for them from the continent, he resolved to transport his troops, &c. at two embarkations. So great was the good fortune of this general, that he did not lose so much as one ship which had soldiers on board, in any of his two British expeditions, though several empty ones, particularly many of those employed in the first embarkation, were lost in their return to Britain. Cæsar, with the last division of his army, set sail about ten at night, and arrived safe, with his whole fleet, on the continent of Gaul, by day-break the next morning, being September 26th, in the 54th year before the beginning of the Christian æra (35).

A. A. C.

54.

Such is the account given by Cæsar himself, (who was one of the most elegant writers, as well as one of the most illustrious warriors, of antiquity) of his two expeditions into Britain. Some of his cotemporaries have insinuated, that in his commentaries he did not very strictly adhere to truth, but set his own actions in too fair a light (36). Nor is this, considering his excessive love of fame, a very improbable suspicion. But even from this account it appears, that he had no great reason to boast of his success in Britain. For after he had been at an immense expence, and had exposed himself and his army to many toils and dangers, he abandoned the island at last, without having erected a single fort upon it, or left a single cohort in it to secure his conquest. The other ancient writers speak of these expeditions of Cæsar into Britain very differently, as they were well or ill affected to his fame and person. On the one hand, Velleius Paterculus says, that Cæsar passed twice through Britain (37); which cannot be true, because it appears from his own account, that in his first expedition he never left the sea-coast; and in his second, he never

Sentiments  
of several  
authors on  
Cæsar's two  
expeditions  
into Britain.

(35) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19. Cicero Epist. ad Atticum, l. 4. ep. 17.

(36) Sueton. l. 1. c. 56. in Jul. Cæsar. (37) Vel. Pater. l. 2. c. 47.

penetrated

A. A. C. 54. penetrated farther into the country than about St. Albans. The historians, Diodorus Siculus, Suetonius, and Eutropius, speak of Cæsar's exploits in Britain, in terms which might imply, that he conquered it, and made it tributary (38). But these expressions are evidently too strong, if they mean any more than that he gained some victories in Britain, and imposed a tribute (which was probably never paid) on a few British states. On the other hand, Dio says, "That Cæsar gained nothing either to himself or to the state, by his expeditions into Britain;" and Strabo, "That he did nothing great in Britain, nor penetrated far into the island (39)." Tacitus makes Boadicea and Caractacus say, in their harangues to their armies, long after, "That the Romans would fly and leave the island as the deified Julius had done, if they emulated the bravery of their ancestors,—and invoked the names of their ancestors who had expelled Cæsar the dictator (40)." The reproach which Lucan puts into the mouth of Pompey on this subject is well known (41). But Q. Cicero (who was with Cæsar in his second expedition) seems to speak most impartially of this matter, in a private letter to his brother: "The British affairs (says he) afford no foundation either for much fear or much joy (42)." The truth is, that though Cæsar acted in these expeditions with his usual wisdom and courage, yet he was at last convinced that no conquests could then be made in Britain, which would compensate the expence, the difficulty and danger of making them; and therefore he left it, with a resolution never to return; and the many bustling bloody scenes in which he was afterwards engaged on the continent, confirmed him in that resolution.

From A. A. C. 54, to A. A. C. 29. After the departure of Julius Cæsar, there follows a long blank, of near one hundred years, in the history of Britain, which cannot be filled up in any tolerable manner. Even the fertile imagination of Jeffrey of

State of Britain after the departure of Cæsar.


- (38) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 25. Eutrop. l. 6. c. 14.  
 (39) Dio. l. 39. p. 115. Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.  
 (40) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 15. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.  
 (41) Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis. Lucan, l. 2. v. 572.  
 (42) Cit. Epist. l. 3. epist. 1.

Monmouth



Monmouth fails him on this occasion; and all he says of the affairs of Britain, in this long period, is comprised in seven short sentences, in which there is little information, and less truth (43). It appears, that as soon as the British nations were delivered from their apprehensions of a foreign enemy, they returned to the prosecution of their internal quarrels and wars against one another. In these wars (of which we know few particulars) Cassibelanus and his successors, and their subjects, the Cattivellauni, still maintained the ascendant, and reduced the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, and several other neighbouring nations under their obedience (44). Those British states which had submitted to Cæsar, suffered most in these wars, and probably on that very account. Three of them, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Segontiaci, were so entirely subdued, that they lost their very name and being, as separate states, and are never afterwards mentioned in history. Cunobelinus was in several respects the most illustrious successor of Cassibelanus, and the most powerful of the British princes of this period. He seems to have arrived at a degree of greatness formerly unknown in this island, and to have been sovereign of the greatest part of South Britain. After his death, his dominions were divided between his widow, the famous Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, and his two sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus; who were the most considerable princes in Britain, when it was again invaded by the Romans, under the emperor Claudius.

From  
A. A. C.  
54. to  
A. A. C.  
29.



During this long period of ninety-seven years, from the retreat of Julius to the invasion of Claudius, the Britons met with no disturbance, and with but few alarms from foreign enemies. While the Romans were engaged in the horrors of their civil wars, and for some time after, Britain was entirely neglected by them, and the tribute, which had been imposed by Cæsar, was never paid. Even after Augustus had attained the peaceable possession of the whole Roman empire, he did not think it proper to invade Britain; being probably restrained from it by his favourite maxim, "Never to fish

From  
A. A. C.  
29. to  
A. D. 12.  
Augustus.

(43) Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 4. c. 11.

(44) Dio. l. 49. See chap. 3. sect. I. p. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11.

From  
A. A. C.  
29. to  
A. D. 12.

“ with a golden hook ;” i. e. never to engage in an enterprize, that was likely to be more expensive than profitable (45). This conjecture is confirmed by the observation of Tacitus, that Augustus abstained from invading Britain upon mature deliberation, and from principles of prudence (46). But as a few threatenings would cost little, Augustus several times gave out, that he intended an expedition into Britain. Particularly in the 6th year of his reign, and 25th before the beginning of the Christian æra, when he was in Gaul regulating the tribute of that country, he threatened to pass over into Britain, for the same purpose. But being suddenly called away from these parts by the Cantabrian war, these threats had no great influence on the British princes (47). About four years after this, when the Roman empire was in a state of great tranquillity, he again threatened to invade Britain ; and several of the British nations were so much intimidated by these threats, that they sent ambassadors to Augustus to promise submission, and the payment of the stipulated tribute (48). But these promises were but ill performed, except by a few princes who courted the favour and protection of Rome, which obliged Augustus to threaten a third time an invasion of this island ; from which also he was diverted, by a revolt of the Biscayans and some other nations. To these intended or rather threatened expeditions of Augustus into Britain, the verses of Horace, the favourite poet of this great emperor, (which are quoted below) undoubtedly refer ; and they shew at least, that such expeditions were the subject of conversation at the imperial court (49). But though this emperor never actually invaded, and perhaps never really intended to invade Britain, yet he

A. A. C.  
21.

(45) Sueton. vita August. c. 25. (46) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.  
(47) Dio. l. 49 (48) Dio. l. 53.

(49) Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem  
Regnare : præfens divus habebitur  
Augustus, adjectis Britannis  
Imperio.

L. iii. Ode 5.

Te belluosus, qui remotis  
Obstrepit oceanus Britannis,  
Te non paventes funera Gallæ,  
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ.

L. iv. Ode 14.

Seives iturum Cæsarem in ultimos  
Orbis Britannos.

L. i. Ode 35.

derived



derived considerable profits from it, arising partly from the presents and tributes of some of its princes, who cultivated his friendship, and partly from certain customs which he imposed upon all goods which were either exported from the continent into this island, or from hence to the continent (50). A. A. C.  
21.

Tiberius, the son-in-law and successor of Augustus, pursued the same measures with regard to Britain, accepting of such presents, tributes, and customs as were willingly given, and abstaining from hostilities (51). During the reign of this emperor, there seems to have been a good understanding, and an intercourse of friendly offices between the Romans and Britons. For when some of the ships of Germanicus's fleet, which had been dispersed by a dreadful storm, were wrecked on the coasts of Britain, the petty princes of that country received and entertained the soldiers with great kindness, and sent them to their general (52). A. D. 15.  
Tiberius.

Caligula, the nephew and successor of Tiberius, formed a design of invading Britain, if any thing that came into the head of such a frantic wretch can be called a design. He was met upon his march by Adminius, a British prince, who having been expelled the island by his own father, Cunobelinus, now surrendered himself, and the few followers of his desperate fortune, to the emperor, who was as much elated upon it, as if the whole island, and all its princes, had submitted to his authority. The letters which he wrote to Rome on this occasion were full of the most pompous expressions of his wonderful success; and he commanded the bearers of these letters to drive up to the senate-house, and to deliver them to the consuls in the temple of Mars, in a full assembly of the senators (53). When he reached the sea-coast opposite to Britain, with an army of 200,000 men, he acted in a most ridiculous and fantastical manner. For having drawn up his army in order of battle upon the shore, with all the balistæ and other engines of war, he embarked on board a galley, sailed out a little way, and then returning suddenly, he mounted a lofty throne, and from thence gave the word of command to engage. But A. D. 40.  
Caligula.

(50) Strabo, l. 4.

(51) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

(52) Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 23.

(53) Sueton. in C. Calig. c. 44.

A. D. 40. no enemy appearing, he commanded his foldiers to gather fhells upon the fhore. For this noble fervice he highly praifed and lavifhly rewarded them; the fhells, which he ftiled the fpoils of the conquered ocean, he fent to Rome, as the chief ornaments of his triumph for this glorious exploit (54). Such a compofition of cowardice, vanity, folly, and madnefs, was this mighty mafter of the world!

A. D. 43.  
Claudius  
fends an  
army into  
Britain.

But the time was now approaching when Britain was to be invaded in good earneft, and reduced to the fame fubjection with other nations, to the almoft unbounded power of Rome. This calamity was brought upon her by one of her own degenerate and factious fons. It feems to have been a cuftom in thefe times, for fuch perfons of diftinction as were expelled, or obliged to fly out of this ifland, to take fhelter in the court of Rome (55). One of thefe fugitives, named Bericus, who had been driven out of the ifland for fedition, perfuaded the emperor Claudius, the fucceffor of Caligula, to attempt the conqueft of Britain. This enterprife being refolved upon, Aulus Plautius, who was of confular dignity, and a general of great wifdom and valour, was commanded to conduct a confiderable army out of Gaul into Britain, and begin the war; with orders to acquaint the emperor if he met with great oppofition, that he might come to his affiftance. The foldiers expreffed great averfion and reluctance to embark in this expedition, which, they faid, was to make war beyond the limits of the world. So little was Britain ftill known to the bulk of the Romans, and fo frightful were the ideas which they entertained of the country and its inhabitants! Being at length prevailed upon by Plautius to follow him, he divided them into three diftinct bodies, which all arrived fafe on the British coaft, and landed without oppofition (56). This army confifted of four complete legions, with their auxiliaries and cavalry, making about fifty thoufand men; and was commanded, under the general, by Vefpafian, who was afterwards emperor, Sabinus, his brother, and other excellent officers (57).

(54) Sueton. in C. Calig. c. 46. Dio. l. 59. p. 659.

(55) Sueton. in C. Claud. c. 17. (56) Dio. l. 60.

(57) See Append. No. 8.



The British princes do not seem to have been sufficiently apprehensive of their danger on this occasion, nor to have made suitable preparations for their own defence. We hear of no confederacy formed, no commander in chief elected, nor of any army raised to guard the coasts. They no doubt had received intelligence of this expedition before it took place; but they probably flattered themselves, that it would end in empty threats, or in some such ridiculous way as that of Caligula had lately ended. It was also no small misfortune to the Britons, that their great prince Cunobelinus was now dead, and his dominions divided between his widow Cartimandua, and his two sons, Caractacus and Togodumnus, who did not act with that union, which their near relation and common danger required. These two princes, however, armed their respective subjects, resolved to stand upon the defensive, and endeavour to protract the war till winter, when they hoped, that the Roman general would return into Gaul with his army, as Julius Cæsar had formerly done (58.)

A. D. 43.  
The Britons do not make proper preparations.


Aulus Plautius, having met with no resistance at his landing, nor from any of the British states on the sea-coast, marched his army up the country, in quest of those who were in arms. In this march he was, no doubt, guided by Bericus, who knew the country, and led him into those parts where his friends and interest lay; which seems to have been amongst the Cattivellauni and Dobuni (59.) By the direction of this guide, he first overtook and defeated Caractacus; and soon after his brother Togodumnus shared the same fate. After these two successful actions, and the retreat of the British army, a part of the Dobuni submitted to the Romans. These were probably the subjects of Cogidunus, who became so great a favourite of Claudius, and succeeding emperors, for his early submission, and steady adherence to their interest. Plautius, having left a garrison in these parts, to secure his conquests, advanced in pursuit of the Britons, who had taken shelter behind a river, which they imagined the Romans could not pass, because there were no bridges. But in this they found themselves mistaken. For the Roman general sent over

Several actions between the Britons and the Romans.

(58) Dio. l. 60.

(59) See chap. 3. sect. 1, &c.

the

A. D. 43.  the German auxiliaries in his army, who were such excellent swimmers, that they could pass the most rapid streams in their arms. These Germans did not indeed attack the Britons; but they did them a great deal of mischief, by wounding and hamstringing many of their chariot-horses. Soon after this, the renowned Vespasian, with his brother Sabinus, at the head of a large body of troops, passed the river, and surprised and slew a great number of the enemy. But such was the steady resolution of the unhappy Britons, that they still maintained their ground, till they were defeated the day after in a general action, which was fought with so much bravery on both sides, that the victory was for some time doubtful. C. Sidius Geta, who was once in great danger of being taken, contributed so much to the obtaining of this victory, that he had triumphal honours conferred upon him, though he had not yet been consul. The Britons, after this great defeat, retired to the north side of the river Thames, which they passed at a place where marshes and stagnating waters, occasioned by the overflowing of the river, and the uncultivated state of the country, rendered the passage very difficult and dangerous. But nothing could obstruct the progress of the victorious Romans. The Germans having followed the route of the enemy, and the rest of the army having passed over a bridge a little higher up the river, they gave the Britons another overthrow; but pursuing the fugitives too eagerly, they fell into unpassable bogs, and lost a great many men (60).

A. Plautius  
retires be-  
yond the  
Thames.

The Roman general observing, that though the Britons had received so many defeats, and had lost Togodumnus, one of their princes, they still continued undaunted, and made no proposals of peace or submission, he thought proper to acquaint the emperor with the state of affairs in Britain, and invite him to come over, and put an end to the war. He then returned with his army to the south side of the river Thames, and remained on the defensive; that he might neither expose himself to any disaster, nor finish the war before the emperor's arrival (61).

(60) Dio. l. 60.

(61) Id. *ibid.*



As soon as Claudius received this intelligence, he committed the charge both of the city and army to Vitellius, his colleague in the consulate, and embarking at Ostia he sailed to Marseilles. From thence he travelled by land to Boulogne, where he took ship for Britain, and arrived safe in the army there, of which he assumed the command (62). One of the ancient historians, from whom our account of these transactions is chiefly taken, relates, "That the emperor passed the Thames, defeated the Britons, took Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobelinus, and brought many under subjection by force, and others by surrender (63)." But another tells us, "That he came over into Britain, and part of the island submitted within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed." This last account is confirmed by the inscription quoted below (64). However this may be, Claudius having received the submissions of such princes and states as were either forced or disposed to make them, and appointed Aulus Plautius the first governor of this new province, with orders to prosecute the war, hastened back to Rome, which he entered in triumph, in less than six months after his departure from it (65). He appointed Vespasian to be second in command, and to assist Plautius in the government of the province, and the management of the war. In this office, that great general acquired much honour, and laid the foundation of his future fame and greatness (66). At the head of one division of the Roman army he carried on the war against the Belgic Britons, who inhabited the sea-coasts from Kent to the Land's-end. Here, in the course of a few years, he had two and thirty engagements with the

A. D. 45.

Claudius arrives in Britain.

(62) Dio. l. 60. (63) Sueton. in C. Claud. c. 17.

(64) TI. CLAVDIO CÆS.  
AVGVSTO  
PONTIFICI MAX. TR. P. IX.  
COS. V. IMP. XVI. P. P.  
SENATVS POPVL. Q. R. QVOD  
REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ;  
VLLA IACTVRA DOMVERIT  
GENTESQVE BARBARAS  
PRIMVS INDICIO SVBEGERIT.

See Wright's Travels, p. 293.

(65) Sueton. in Claud. c. 17.

(66) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

enemy,

A. D. 43. enemy, reduced the Isle of Wight, and subdued the Belgæ and Deuotriges, two of the most powerful nations in these parts (67). Plautius, with the other division of the army, prosecuted the war against the inland Britons, who were still commanded by the brave Caractacus. We are not particularly informed of the exploits of Plautius, but that, in general, he carried on the British war very successfully, and that when he was recalled from his government, he had the honour of an ovation, or lesser triumph, in which the emperor walked on his left hand to the capitol (68).

A. D. 50. Ostorius governor of Britain. Aulus Plautius being recalled A. D. 47. the direction of affairs in this island seems to have been in the hands of the legates or commanders of the legions to A. D. 50. when Ostorius Scapula, a general of consular quality, was appointed governor of the Roman province in Britain (69). It seems probable that the Britons had gained some advantages in this interval; for when Ostorius arrived in Britain, he found all things in great confusion, and the enemy plundering the territories of the Roman allies. These predatory bands acted with the greater boldness, because they imagined, that a new general would hardly take the field, in the winter season, at the head of troops to which he was a stranger. But in this they found themselves mistaken. For Ostorius being sensible, that the activity and intrepidity of a general at his first entering upon his command, contributed greatly to raise his reputation, and strike terror into his enemies, led forth his troops immediately against the plunderers, and defeated them with great slaughter. In order to protect the province from future incursions, this prudent general built a chain of forts along the banks of the rivers Nen and Severn: and to preserve it from internal commotions, he commanded all such as he suspected, both subjects and allies, to deliver up their arms (70).

A. D. 51. Ostorius subdues the Iceni. This last measure became the occasion of a new war. For the Iceni (71), who had very early entered into an

(67) Sueton. in Fl. Vespas. c. 4. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 8.

(68) Dio. l. 60. Sueton. in Claud. c. 24. Eutrop. l. 7. c. 8.

(69) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

(70) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 30

(71) The Iceni inhabited the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. See chap. 3. sect. 1.



alliance with the Romans, and had suffered nothing in all the late wars, chose rather to revolt than to resign their arms; and being joined by some neighbouring nations, they raised a considerable army, which they encamped in a place defended by a ditch, and inaccessible to cavalry. Ostorius, knowing the great advantage of celerity on such occasions, collected such troops as were nearest, and commanding his cavalry to dismount and fight on foot, attacked the revolters in their entrenchments. The battle was for some time obstinate and bloody; but the Britons being at length thrown into confusion, were hampered and entangled with their own enclosures, and entirely defeated. This defeat obliged several other nations who were wavering between peace and war, to remain in quiet. To prevent the like insurrections, and keep the surrounding country in awe, Ostorius planted a numerous colony of veterans at Camulodunum, now Malden, in Essex (72).

A. D. 51.



After Ostorius had thus restored the tranquillity, and provided for the security of the Roman province in the south-east parts of Britain, he marched his army westward; and having in his march defeated a numerous army of Ceangi (73), arrived within a little way of the sea which washes the coast of Ireland. But he was soon recalled from thence, by the news of some commotions which had arisen amongst the Brigantes, who had made an alliance with the Romans (74). These commotions he suppressed in a little time, and without much difficulty; and by executing a few of the most active of the insurgents, and pardoning all the rest, he restored the tranquillity of the country (75).

Ostorius quiets a sedition among the Brigantes.

It was not long before Ostorius was called to encounter more determined enemies. These were the Silures (76), a people naturally brave, and so fond of liberty, that nothing but force could break them to the yoke. At this time they were rendered more confident and bold in themselves, and more formidable to their enemies, by the experience and valour of their leader, the renowned

War between the Romans and the Silures.

(72) See chap. 3. sect. 1.

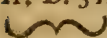
(73) Id. ibid.

(74) Id. ibid. The Brigantes inhabited Yorkshire, &c.

(75) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

(76) See chap. 3. sect. 1. The Silures were the ancient inhabitants of South Wales.

Caractacus,

A. D. 51.  Caractacus, who, having lost the greatest part of his own dominions, willingly put himself at the head of this brave people, to make another effort for the deliverance of his country. This prince had the advantage of the Roman general, in a more perfect knowledge of the scene of action; and he availed himself of this advantage, by transferring the war into the country of the Ordovices (77), and by chusing a place for the field of battle, which was every way favourable to his own army, and incommodious to his enemies. "It was on the ridge of an exceeding steep mountain; and where the sides of it were inclining and accessible, he reared walls of stone for a rampart. At the foot of the mountain flowed a river dangerous to be forded, and a host of men guarded his entrenchments (78)." There is a hill in Shropshire, near the confluence of the Coln and Teme, called *Caer-Caradoc*, from Caradoc, the British name of Caractacus, which exactly answers this description of Tacitus, and where the vestiges of all these ramparts and entrenchments are still visible (79). At this place the armies of the Romans and Britons met. As soon as Caractacus beheld the enemy approaching, he drew up his troops in order of battle, and flew through the whole army, crying with a loud and animating voice, "That from this day and this battle, they must date their liberty rescued, or their servitude eternally established. He invoked the shades of their heroic ancestors, who had expelled Cæsar the dictator; those brave men, by whose valour they still enjoyed freedom from tribute and Roman taxes, and their wives and children from prostitution." The chieftains of the several tribes seconded the ardour of their general, and endeavoured to inspire the hearts of their followers with resolution. The whole army, fired by the actions and speeches of their leaders, took a solemn oath, to conquer or to die, and then prepared for the charge, with the most terrible and tremendous shouts (80).

Battle between the Romans and the Silures.

The Roman general, observing the deepness of the river, the steepness of the mountain, the strength of the

(77) See chap. 3, sect. 1. The Ordovices inhabited North Wales.

(78) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33.

(79) Camd. Brit. p. 647.

(80) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

ramparts,



ramparts, and the loud alacrity of the enemy, was a little dismayed at such a succession of dangers. But his officers and soldiers discovering much ardour and impatience to be engaged, he led them to the charge. They passed the river without much difficulty, but in ascending the hill they sustained great loss from showers of darts. To guard against these, they formed the testudo, or military shell, by holding their shields, joined close together, over their heads, and under this shelter they approached the rampart; which had appeared more formidable at a distance than it was in reality. For being made only of loose stones, it was easily demolished, and the Romans breaking in engaged hand to hand. The Britons, not able to sustain the shock, retired slowly towards the ridge of the mountain, and were closely followed by the Romans. There again the battle was renewed with great fury, but on very unequal terms. For the bows and arrows of the Britons, who had no defensive armour, were not a match in close fight, to the swords and javelins of the legionaries, and the great sabres and pikes of the auxiliaries. The Britons were therefore soon broken and defeated with great slaughter. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners on the field, and his brothers surrendered soon after the battle (81).

The unhappy Caractacus made his escape from this fatal battle, but it was only to fall into new misfortunes. For having taken shelter in the court of Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, that unkind stepmother delivered him in chains to the conqueror, and he, with his whole family, were carried prisoners to Rome. This prince had been long renowned over all the British islands, and the neighbouring continent, for the noble stand which he had made in defence of his country; his fame had reached Italy and Rome itself, and had excited an earnest desire in all to behold the hero who for nine years had defied the Roman arms. The emperor too, being proud of such a prisoner, determined to render his entry into Rome as solemn and public as possible. On the day appointed for that solemnity, the people were summoned to behold him as an object of admiration; the

A. D. 52.  
Caractacus  
carried  
prisoner to  
Rome.

(81) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 35.

A. D. 52. prætorian bands were drawn up under arms, and the emperor and empress were seated on two lofty tribunals. The servants and followers of the British king, with the military harness, golden chains, and other spoils, which he had taken from his neighbours in war, appeared first; then followed his brothers, his wife, and his daughter; and Caractacus himself closed the procession. All the other prisoners were dejected by their misfortunes, but Caractacus appeared undaunted and erect, without betraying one suppliant look, or uttering one word that implored mercy. When he came before the imperial throne, he addressed Claudius in the following sensible and noble speech (82):

Caractacus's speech to Claudius.

“ If my moderation in prosperity, O Claudius ! had been as conspicuous as my birth and fortune, I should now have entered this city as a friend, and not as a prisoner; nor would you have disdained the friendship of a prince descended from such illustrious ancestors, and governing so many nations. My present condition, I own, is to you honourable, to me humiliating. I was lately possessed of subjects, horses, arms, and riches. Can you be surprised that I endeavoured to preserve them? If you Romans have a desire to arrive at universal monarchy, must all nations, to gratify you, tamely submit to servitude? If I had submitted without a struggle, how much would it have diminished the lustre of my fall, and of your victory? And now, if you resolve to put me to death, my story will soon be buried in oblivion; but if you think proper to preserve my life, I shall remain a lasting monument of your clemency.” It is greatly to the honour of Claudius, that he was so much charmed with the boldness of his illustrious prisoner, that he pardoned him and his whole family, and commanded their chains to be immediately taken off (83).

Rejoicings at Rome for the victory over the Silures.

The late victory over the Silures, and the captivity of Caractacus, caused no little joy at Rome. The senate being assembled on the occasion, many pompous speeches were pronounced. Some of the senators declared, “ That the taking of Caractacus was an event no less

(82). Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

(83) Id. Ibid. c. 37.

“ glorious



“ glorious than those of old, when Siphax was by Pub- A. D. 52.  
 “ lius Scipio, Perfes by Lucius Paulus, or any other  
 “ conquered kings were, by any of our greatest cap-  
 “ tains, presented in chains to the Roman people.”  
 In so important a light did a victory over this brave prince,  
 and his hardy Britons, appear to the conquerors of the  
 world! The senate, as a farther proof of their satis-  
 faction, decreed the triumphal ornaments to Osto-  
 rius (84).

Thus far Ostorius had been successful in all his enter-  
 prises in Britain, but the concluding period of his com-  
 mand and life was not so prosperous. Though the Silures  
 had sustained a grievous loss in the late battle, yet their  
 spirits were still unbroken, and their hearts more inflam-  
 ed than ever with resentment, and the desire of revenge.  
 They made a sudden attack upon the camp-marshal and  
 legionary cohorts, who were building forts in their  
 country, killed the marshal himself, eight centurions,  
 and a great number of their bravest men; and would  
 have obtained a more complete victory, if succours had  
 not arrived very opportunely from the neighbouring gar-  
 risons. Soon after this, they defeated the Roman  
 foragers, the troops that guarded them, and others  
 which were sent to their relief. This obliged the gene-  
 ral to draw out the legions, and march to the assistance  
 of the fugitives; which brought on a general engage-  
 ment, in which the Britons were at length forced to  
 give way; but they retired with little loss, under the favour  
 of approaching night. In a word, the Silures being still  
 more exasperated by an angry expression, which it was  
 reported had fallen from Ostorius, “ That their name  
 “ was to be utterly extinguished, like that of the  
 “ Sugambrians, who were all either killed or transplant-  
 “ ed into Gaul;” they gave him and his army no rest,  
 but harassed him day and night with skirmishes, ambushes,  
 and surprises. In one of these, they carried off two  
 cohorts of auxiliaries, who were plundering the country;  
 and by dividing the captives and spoils among the neigh-  
 bouring nations, were endeavouring to excite a general  
 revolt; when Ostorius died of vexation and a broken  
 heart, to the inexpressible joy of his enemies (85).

Ostorius  
 unfortu-  
 nate.

(84) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 38.

(85) Id. Ibid. c. 38, 39.

A. D. 53.

Aulus  
Didius, go-  
vernour of  
Britain,  
continues  
the war  
with the  
Silures.

As soon as the emperor received the news of the death of his lieutenant in Britain, he immediately appointed Aulus Didius to be his successor; being sensible of the impropriety of leaving that province, any long time, without a chief governor, in its present unsettled state. But though Didius made all possible haste to come over and take possession of his government, he found things in very great confusion at his arrival. The Silures had defeated the legion commanded by Manlius Valens, and were making incursions on all hands into the territories of the Romans, and of their allies. But Didius soon gave a check to these incursions. The courage and animosity of the Silures rendered them very formidable enemies, by the accession of a new ally and leader. This was Venusius, chieftain of the Huiccii (86), who, after Caractacus, was the most famous of all the British princes of his time for his military talents. He had been a faithful friend and ally of the Romans, but was alienated from them in the following manner. Venusius had married Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who was also an ally of the Romans. This marriage proved very unhappy to the parties themselves, to their country, and to the Romans. All these misfortunes flowed from the criminal levity of the queen, which excited the jealousy of her husband. These family-diffensions at length broke out into a civil war, which the Romans for some time left them to manage by themselves, without declaring for either party. But Cartismandua having gained some advantages, and got the brother and other kindred of Venusius into her hands, imagined that she was no longer under any necessity of paying any regard to appearances, or the opinion of the world. She publicly espoused Vellocatus, her armour-bearer and gallant, and declared him king. This scandalous action gave great offence to her subjects the Brigantes, who so generally revolted, that the queen was in great danger of falling into the hands of her enraged husband. In this extremity, she implored the assistance of the Romans, with whom she had much merit, for betraying Caractacus; and they sent some troops to her relief. This

(86) See chap. 3. sect. 1. The Huiccii inhabited Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

naturally



naturally provoked Venusius to abandon their interest, and put himself at the head of those Britons, who appeared in defence of their country. Didius, who was now become unwieldy through age, managed this war between the Romans and Cartismandua on one side, and the Britons and Venusius on the other, by his lieutenants. It continued for a considerable time, with various success; but at length Cartismandua found herself obliged to leave her kingdom in the possession of her injured husband (87).

A. D. 53.

While these things were doing in Britain, the emperor Claudius died, and was succeeded by Nero. During the three first years of his reign, Aulus Didius still continued prætor in this island; but contented himself with restraining the incursions of the enemy, without attempting to extend his conquests. Nero, who was a most abominable and capricious tyrant, entertained thoughts of withdrawing the Roman forces altogether out of Britain, where they had lately been so much harassed. But he was restrained from executing this design, by the fear of being thought to detract from the glory of his father Claudius, for whose memory he pretended to have a very high regard (88).

A. D. 54.  
Nero.

Aulus Didius was succeeded in the government of the Roman province in Britain by Veranius, a man who had been much esteemed for virtue and severity of manners. He performed nothing very memorable in this island; for after having made a few slight incursions into the territories of the Silures, he was carried off by death, in less than a year after his arrival. It then appeared, from the singular strain of his last will, that he had not been so free from ambition, vanity, and the love of court-favour, as it had been imagined; for in that writing, after he had bestowed many flatteries on the tyrant Nero, he added, "That if his life had been prolonged for two years, he would have subjected all Britain to his obedience (89)." A vain boast, which there is no probability he could have made good!

A. D. 57.  
Veranius  
governor of  
Britain.

Veranius was succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus, one of the most celebrated generals of these times, and the great

A. D. 58.  
Suetonius  
Paulinus  
subdues  
Anglesey.

(87) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 40. Idem. Hist. l. 3. c. 45.

(88) Sueton. in Ner. c. 18. (89) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 20.

A. D. 59. rival of the renowned Corbulo, in military fame and popularity. He was very desirous of eclipsing the glory which Corbulo had lately gained by his conquests in Armenia, by making greater conquests in Britain (90). In the first two years of his government, all his undertakings were crowned with success; he subdued several British tribes, and planted a number of garrisons to keep them in subjection. Encouraged by this success, Suetonius, in his third year, engaged in a more important enterprize.

A. D. 61. This was the conquest of the isle of Anglesey; at that time a kind of sacred place, the residence of the archdruid, and the asylum of all the enemies of the Roman government. Suetonius having marched his army to the coast, transported his foot into the island, in flat-bottomed boats provided for that purpose, and his cavalry partly by fording and partly by swimming. At his landing, he found the British army drawn up in order of battle, and ready to engage. This army made a very strange appearance: for besides the fighting men, there were many women, clad in funeral apparel, their hair disheveled, and torches in their hands, running frantically up and down, like furies in their wildest transports. Besides these, there were great multitudes of druids standing round the army, with their hands lifted up to Heaven, and pouring out the most direful imprecations against their enemies. These horrid spectacles at first struck the Roman soldiers with consternation; and for some time they stood motionless as marks to the wounds of the Britons. But being at length roused from this inglorious terror, by the animating speeches of their general and officers, they advanced to the charge, and soon dispersed the British army. Suetonius made a cruel use of this victory, not only cutting down the sacred groves, and demolishing their altars, but even burning the druids in their own fires (91).

Revolt of  
the Britons.

While Suetonius was thus employed in the isle of Anglesey, a dreadful storm was brewing against him on the continent of Britain. Many causes concurred to raise this storm, and to render it violent and universal. Those Britons who had been constrained to submit to the

(90) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 29.

(91) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 30. Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 14.



Roman power, still retained a fond remembrance of their former freedom, and were very impatient under the yoke, which became every day more heavy and galling, through the insolence, lust, and avarice of the Roman officers and soldiers. Some of the British states had also received particular affronts and injuries, which blew up their secret discontents into an open flame. The Trinobantes were cruelly oppressed by the veterans settled amongst them in the colony of Camalodunum, who, not contented with turning them out of their houses, and depriving them of their native lands, insulted them with the opprobrious name of slaves. Their neighbours, the Iceni, groaned under pressures and indignities still more intolerable. Prasutagus, the late king of that nation, a prince long renowned for his opulence and grandeur, had, by his last will, left the emperor his joint-heir with his own two daughters, in hopes of procuring his protection to his kingdom and family by so great an obligation. But this measure produced an effect very different from what was expected, and involved his subjects and family in the most deplorable calamities. For he was no sooner dead, than his dominions, his houses, and all his possessions were seized and plundered by the Roman officers and soldiers: his queen, remonstrating against this injustice, was, without regard to her sex or quality, beaten with stripes; her virgin daughters violated, and the other relations of the late king were taken and kept as slaves. Nor were the royal family the only sufferers on this occasion. The whole country was spoiled and plundered, and all the chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their possessions (92). So insupportable was the Roman government now become, under a succession of tyrants!

A. D. 61.



The distance of Suetonius and his army, gave the wretched Britons an opportunity of consulting together, and inspiring each other with the thoughts of vengeance. " Our patience (said they) serves only to draw upon us " greater injuries. Formerly we were subject only to " one king, now we are enslaved to two tyrants. The " governor lords it over our persons, the procurator over " our fortunes. The union and discord of these two

The Britons destroy Camalodunum.

(92) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

A. D. 61. “ oppressors are to us equally destructive, the one by his  
 blood-thirsty soldiers, the other by his greedy officers ;  
 “ and every thing falls a prey either to their lust or  
 “ avarice.”

At length the Iceni having inflamed one another with the most furious resentment, and being joined by the Trinobantes and some others, flew to arms, and poured like an irresistible torrent on the Roman colony at Camalodunum. The veterans of this colony, not apprehending such an assault, were ill provided for resistance. The place was not fortified, the number of men within it capable of bearing arms was but small, and Catus Decianus, procurator of the province, sent no more than two hundred men to their assistance. The enraged Britons broke in at the very first assault, put all to the sword who fell into their hands, and laid every thing in ashes. The soldiers of the garrison retired into the temple of Claudius ; a fabric of great beauty and strength, which was also taken by storm, after a siege of two days (93). Thus was the first Roman colony in Britain utterly destroyed, after it had subsisted only a few years, and the whole province was in the greatest danger of being lost.

The ninth  
 legion de-  
 feated.

When Suetonius set out on his expedition into the isle of Anglesey, he left Petilius Cerialis with the ninth legion, of which he was commander, to defend the province. As this officer was marching with his troops to the relief of Camalodunum, he was met by the victorious Britons in their return from the destruction of that place, and totally defeated. In this action the whole infantry of the ninth legion were cut in pieces, and Cerialis and his cavalry made their escape with great difficulty to their camp. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, whose insatiable avarice had been one great cause of the revolt, seeing all things falling into confusion, and justly dreading the most cruel punishments if he fell into the hands of the enemy, made his escape into Gaul (94).

Verulamium and  
 London  
 taken by  
 the Britons.

As soon as Suetonius (who was building forts in Anglesey for the security of his conquest) received the news of all these disasters, he left that island, and

(93) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32. Vita Agric. c. 15.

(94) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32.

marching



marching his army with great boldness and expedition through some part of the revolted country, arrived safe in London. This city, though not honoured with the title of a colony, was already become large, populous, and wealthy, abounding in all kinds of provisions. At first Suetonius had some thoughts of staying in this place with his army, and defending it against all the efforts of the enemy. But afterwards, considering that it would be very imprudent to coop himself up in a place so ill fortified, he determined rather to take the field. The inhabitants of London endeavoured, by their tears, their lamentations, and most earnest entreaties, to persuade him to stay for their protection. But he was inflexible, and resolving rather to hazard the loss of one city, than of the whole province, he marched away with his army, and such of the inhabitants as thought proper to follow him; leaving behind all those who were unable, or unwilling to forsake the place (95).

A. D. 61.

Soon after Suetonius had left London, it was entered by a great army of Britons under Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, who put all whom they found in it to the sword. From thence they marched to Verulamium, now St. Albans (which was a free city and a very populous place), where they exercised the same unrelenting cruelties. So violent was the fury of the enraged Britons on this occasion, that they reserved no prisoners either to sell or exchange, but put all to death by killing, gibbeting, burning, and crucifying, without distinction of age or sex. So great was the carnage, that it is computed no fewer than seventy thousand Romans and their confederates perished at Camalodunum, London, Verulamium, and other places (96).


The British army, having received reinforcements from many different nations, who were encouraged to take up arms by the success of the first insurgents, was now become exceeding numerous, amounting to no fewer than 230,000 men (97). This prodigious army, composed of so many fierce and warlike nations, was commanded in chief by the renowned Boadicia, whose injuries had excited, and whose resentments had in-

Great army of the Britons under Boadicia.

(95) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

(96) Id. Ibid.

(97) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

A. D. 61.  flamed this great revolt ; and who, by her heroic spirit, was entitled to that distinction. The Britons, flushed with their late successes, and exulting in their numbers, were so confident of victory, that they brought their wives to the field in waggons, to be spectators of the destruction of their enemies. The Roman army was indeed very inconsiderable in point of numbers, consisting only of the fourteenth legion, the vexillation of the twentieth, and some auxiliaries, making about ten thousand men ; but in all other respects it was very formidable, being composed of the bravest, best armed, and best disciplined troops in the world, under the command of a general of great courage and long experience. Suetonius discovered great prudence in the choice of his ground. The rear was secured by an impenetrable wood, and the ground before him stretched out into a hollow and narrow vale, with very steep sides ; so that he was accessible only in front (98). Here he drew up his army in order of battle, placing the legionaries in the center, supported by the light-armed foot, with his cavalry in the two wings ; and in this posture waited for the enemy.

Speeches of  
Boadicia  
and Suetonius.

When the Britons drew near their enemies, and were ready to engage, Boadicia mounted on a lofty chariot, dressed in royal robes, a spear in her hand, and her two unhappy daughters seated at her feet, drove through the whole army, and addressing herself to each nation, conjured them to fight bravely, and take vengeance on the Romans, for the loss of their own liberties, the stripes inflicted on her person, and the violated honour of her virgin daughters. She encouraged them to hope that Heaven would espouse their cause against their abandoned enemies ; put them in mind of their late victory over the ninth legion ; desired them to take courage from their own prodigious strength and numbers, whose very shouts were sufficient to confound so weak an enemy ; and concluded with declaring, “ That she, though a  
“ woman, was fully determined to conquer or to die ;  
“ the men, if they pleased, might live and be slaves.” On the other hand, the Roman general, being sensible that every thing depended on the event of this battle,

(98) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 34. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.  
encouraged



encouraged his soldiers to despise the clamour and multitude of their enemies, who were ill armed, and worse disciplined, and would betake themselves to flight, as soon as they felt the edge of their swords. He directed them to keep firm in their ranks, and after they had discharged their javelins, to rush upon the enemy sword in hand (99)

A. D. 61.

The signal of battle being given, the Britons advanced to the charge with dreadful shouts, and poured a shower of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The Romans stood firm, sheltering themselves with their shields and the narrowness of the place, until the Britons had exhausted all their darts, and advanced within reach of their javelins, which they discharged with great force. The legion supported by the auxiliaries then rushed out upon the Britons with the naves of their shields and swords, and the cavalry with their pikes, with such impetuosity and weight as bore down all resistance. The disorder and confusion among the unhappy Britons soon became universal and irrecoverable, and being entangled in their flight by their own waggons, which they had placed in a line in the rear with their wives, they were slaughtered in great multitudes. Such was the fury of the Roman soldiers, that they killed all who came in their way, men, women, and even beasts, without distinction; and the carnage was so great, that some authors have affirmed that no fewer than eighty thousand of the Britons were killed in the battle and pursuit. The Romans had about four hundred men killed, and not many more wounded (100). The wretched Boadicia, unable to survive the calamities of that day, put an end to her life and miseries by poison.

Battle between the Romans and Britons.

Suetonius, a little before this battle, had sent orders to Pœnius Posthumus, camp-marshal of the second legion, to join him with the troops under his command. But that officer, afraid perhaps of being intercepted by the Britons on his march, declined obeying these orders, and continued in his camp. When he heard of the glorious victory which Suetonius and his little army had obtained, dreading the punishment of disobedience, and distracted at the thoughts of having

Pœnius Posthumus kills himself.

(99) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35, 36. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

(100) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 37.

A. D. 61. deprived himself and his troops of their share of the honour of this victory, he ran himself through with his sword (101).

Suetonius recalled.

If Suetonius had been possessed of the happy art of gaining the affections of those by mildness whom he had subdued by force, he would have had the honour of putting a final period to this great revolt, and of reducing a great part of South Britain under the peaceable obedience of the Romans. But that general, being naturally severe, and also greatly irritated by the cruelties which had been perpetrated by the Britons in the beginning of their revolt, pursued that wretched people (who at the same time suffered all the horrors of a cruel famine) with unrelenting rigour. This obliged them, in their own defence, to keep the field, and continue in a hostile posture and disposition. They were encouraged in this disposition, by a misunderstanding which subsisted between the governor and Julius Classicianus, the new procurator, who gave out every where, "that a new governor was to be expected, who being free from the anger of an enemy, and the arrogance of a conqueror, would treat all who submitted with tenderness." He also wrote to court, "that unless a successor was sent to Suetonius, the war would prove endless." When Nero received these letters he dispatched Polycletus, one of his favourite freedmen, with a pompous retinue into Britain, to examine into the state of affairs, and to endeavour to reconcile the governor and procurator. Polycletus having made a report rather favourable to Suetonius, he was continued in his government. But soon after, upon the slight misfortune of losing a few galleys, he was finally recalled, about the end of this very busy year, or the beginning of the next (102).

A. D. 62.  
Turpilianus  
governor of  
Britain.

The brave and active Suetonius was succeeded in the government of the Roman province, and the command of the Roman army in Britain, by Petronius Turpilianus, who had been consul the preceding year. Under this governor, the war between the Romans and Britons seems to have languished and died away, by a mutual

(101) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 37.

(102) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35. 39.




abstinence from hostilities, rather than to have been terminated by any formal peace. By this inaction of Turpilianus, which the great historian of these times terms inglorious, Britain happily enjoyed a profound tranquillity during his administration, which continued about three years (103). A. D. 62.

Turpilianus was succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, who was still more indolent and unwarlike than his predecessor. This governor endeavoured to preserve the peace of his province by treating the native Britons with the greatest mildness and indulgence, with which they were so well pleased, that they gave him no disturbance. But he found it not so easy to govern his own army. The legions which served in Britain had long been famous for their modest and orderly behaviour. This was partly owing to their situation in an island at a distance from the cabals of the other legions, and partly to their being kept constantly employed (104). But the late inaction of these legions had produced a very fatal change in their disposition and manners, and they were now become unruly and mutinous. This disposition was much inflamed by Roscius Cælius, commander of the twentieth legion, who had long hated the governor, and charged him with defrauding and plundering the army. The disaffection of the soldiers at length became so violent, that Trebellius abandoned the island, and fled to Vitellius, who had lately been declared emperor. After the departure of Trebellius, Britain was for some time governed by the commanders of the legions, amongst whom Cælius, by his superior boldness, bore the chief sway (105). A. D. 65.  
Trebellius  
Maximus.

Vitellius sent Vectius Bolanus into Britain to succeed Trebellius, who had returned and resumed his command there for a little time, but without suitable authority. Bolanus was no less indolent, but more innocent than his predecessor, and though he could not command the respect of the soldiers by his spirit, he gained their affections by his lenity. When Vespasian was declared emperor by his army, Vitellius sent to Bolanus for succours out of Britain; but that general, who was really wavering between the two competitors, excused himself, by A. D. 69.  
Vectius  
Bolanus.

(103) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 35. 39. Vita Agric. c. 16.  
 (104) Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 9. (105) Id. Ibid. l. 1. c. 60.

A. D. 69.  alleging the unsettled state of his province. Bolanus was recalled from the government of Britain soon after the death of Vitellius, and the accession of Vespasian (106).

A. D. 70. As soon as Vespasian was peaceably seated in the imperial throne, the government of the empire became every where more vigorous, particularly in Britain, where brave and active generals were employed. Petilius Cerialis was the first Roman governor of Britain, in the reign of the emperor, who, immediately after his arrival, made war upon the Brigantes, the most numerous and powerful nation of the ancient Britons (107). In this war, which was long and bloody, Cerialis was greatly assisted by the renowned Agricola, who at that time commanded the twentieth legion, whose conduct and courage in the execution of the most dangerous enterprises, could only be equalled by his modesty, in ascribing the honour of them to his general. The Brigantes, animated and conducted by their warlike king Venufius, made a brave defence, and several battles were fought, of which some were very bloody; but before Cerialis was recalled, he had quite reduced the greatest part of their country, and ravaged the rest (108).

A. D. 75. Petilius Cerialis was succeeded in the government of Britain by Julius Frontinus, who was in no respect inferior to his predecessor, and met with enemies no less formidable than the Brigantes. These were the Silures, who, of all the British nations, made the longest and most obstinate defence against the Romans. But this brave people, notwithstanding all their valour, their ardent love of liberty, and the difficult situation of their country, were now at last constrained to yield to the superior power and fortune of Rome (109).

A. D. 78. Frontinus was succeeded by Cnæus Julius Agricola, the greatest, best, and most famous of all the Roman governors of Britain; and peculiarly happy in this, that his exploits in this island have been recorded at full length, and set in the fairest light, by one of the most eloquent historians of antiquity (110). Agricola entered upon his government with great advantages and expectations, be-

(106) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16. Hist. l. 2. c. 97.

(107) See chap. 3. sect. 1. ¶ 21. (108) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 8. c. 17.

(109) Id. ibid. (110) Tacitus.



ing then in the prime of life, adorned with the highest honours of the state, learned, eloquent, brave, and virtuous, equally admired and beloved by the army which he was to command, and well acquainted with the country which he was to govern. For he had learnt the first rudiments of war in the Roman army in Britain, under the brave Suetonius in the time of the great revolt, and served several years afterwards in the same army with great honour, as commander of the twentieth legion. He improved all these advantages to the utmost, and exceeded the highest expectations which had been formed of him.

The summer was far advanced when Agricola arrived in Britain, and the army was already separated and gone into quarters, expecting no further action that campaign. But being sensible that the success of a general depends very much on the boldness of his first measures, he determined immediately to take the field, in order to chastise the Ordovici, who had cut in pieces almost a whole wing of horse quartered on their confines; and to give an early check to a general spirit of disaffection which prevailed in several British states. Having therefore drawn together a choice body of legionaries, with a few auxiliaries, he marched into the country of the Ordovici, and took a very severe vengeance upon them, that he might thereby deter others from the like attempts. Not even content with this, he resolved to finish and secure the conquest of the isle of Anglesey, which Suetonius had been obliged to leave imperfect. The chief difficulty of this enterprise lay in transporting his men into the island without ships, which he had not leisure to provide. But his resolution and capacity surmounted this difficulty. He selected from amongst the auxiliaries a choice body of excellent swimmers, and commanded them to pass the narrowest part of the channel with their horses and arms, but without any baggage. The Britons, astonished at the suddenness and boldness of the attack, surrendered themselves and their island without resistance. These two exploits, executed with so much facility and expedition, at a season which other governors had been accustomed to spend in idle parade

Agricola's  
first cam-  
paign.

A. D. 78. parade and ceremony, excited the admiration of both Romans and Britons (111).

Civil administration of Agricola during the winter.

If the conduct of Agricola in this first campaign had got him the reputation of a great commander, his behaviour during the succeeding winter gained him the still more amiable character of a gracious, wise, and equitable magistrate; who was determined to redress all grievances, and to do impartial justice to all under his government. He introduced a thorough reformation into his own household, suffering none of his domestics to be guilty of the least oppression. In bestowing employments in the state, and preferments in the army, he regarded only merit, known to himself, esteeming it better to employ such as would not transgress, than to punish them for transgressing. The complaints of the provincials he heard with the greatest patience, and redressed with the greatest readiness. He delivered them from the extortions of publicans and the oppressions of monopolists; and though he did not remit their tribute, he made the payment of it as easy and commodious as possible. In a word, by his wise and mild administration, the Britons began to be reconciled to the Roman government, and to relish the sweets of peace, which before had been as unsafe and oppressive as even war itself (112).

A. D. 79. Agricola's second campaign.

As soon as the season for action returned, Agricola drew his army together and took the field, directing his march northward, into those parts of the island which had not yet submitted to the Roman arms. As the country was unknown to the Romans, and much of it covered with woods, he was at great pains to guard against surprises, commending such of the soldiers as kept their ranks, and checking such as straggled. He did not trust the choice of the ground for encamping to any of his officers, but pitched upon it himself, and was always amongst the foremost in exploring the rivers, marshes, and woods through which he was to march. To such of the natives as made resistance he gave no rest, distressing them with incessant incursions and ravages; but to those who yielded, he shewed the greatest kindness and humanity. In this manner, partly by the terror of his arms, and partly by the fame of his clemency, he brought

(111) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 18. (112) Id. ibid. c. 19.



several British nations to submit to the authority of the Romans in the course of this campaign. These nations are not named by Tacitus, but they were most probably the remainder of the Brigantes, who had not been subdued by Cerialis, the Ottodini, the Gadeni, and perhaps the Selgovæ (113). To secure these conquests, he built a considerable number of fortresses in very well chosen situations, from sea to sea (as it is thought), in or near that tract where Hadrian's rampart and Severus's wall were afterwards erected (114).

A. D. 79.

Agricola spent the succeeding winter in still further civilizing the Britons, and teaching them the most necessary and useful arts. In order to this, he persuaded them to live in a more social and comfortable manner, to build commodious and contiguous houses, and to adorn their towns with halls and temples. On such as yielded to these persuasions, and were active in these useful and ornamental works, he bestowed the highest commendations; thereby raising amongst them a noble spirit of emulation. He was at great pains to have the sons of the British chieftains instructed in the language, learning, and eloquence of the Romans; for which, he said, they had a genius superior to the youth of Gaul. By these and the like means, this great man made an amazing change in the face of the country, and the manners of its inhabitants, in a very little time (115). But unhappily, together with a taste for the Roman arts, the British youth contracted also a relish for the Roman luxuries and vices.

Agricola's  
second  
winter.

In his third campaign, Agricola led his army still further north, and entered Caledonia, a country hitherto unknown to the Romans. Marching from south-west towards the north-east, he traversed the territories of several British tribes, and penetrated to the river Tay, without meeting with any enemy in the field. This was not owing to the cowardice of these Caledonians, nor to their willingness to submit to the Roman yoke, but to their policy; hoping to recover without difficulty in the winter, after the retreat of their enemies, what they had lost in the summer. But in these hopes they were dis-

A. D. 80.  
Agricola's  
third cam-  
paign.

(113) See chap. 3. sect. 1. § 22. &amp;c. &amp;c.

(114) See Append. No. 9. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 20.

(115) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

appointed

A. D. 80. appointed by the wisdom of Agricola, who spent the remainder of this season, in building forts in the most convenient situations for keeping possession of the country. As soon as these forts were finished and stored with provisions, he put his army into them for their winter-quarters, that his troops might be every where at hand to check the attempts of the natives to shake off the yoke. Many such attempts they made, but to no purpose. For these fortresses were so well situated, constructed, and defended, that not so much as one of them was either taken by force, or abandoned in despair (116). We are not directly informed by his historian, whether Agricola spent this winter in Caledonia, or in the more southern parts of Britain. But wherever he resided, it was no doubt employed, like his former winters, in the beneficent works of peace.

A. D. 81.  
Agricola's  
fourth  
campaign.

The fourth campaign of Agricola was also bloodless, and he spent this whole year in securing the extensive conquests which he had already made. In order to this, he built a line of forts quite across the narrow neck of land which separates the firths of Forth and Clyde, exactly in the tract where the rampart of Antoninus Pius was afterwards erected (117). Nature seems to have pointed out this place as the most proper boundary to the Roman empire in Britain. For by this chain of forts, all to the southward was secured to the Romans, and the unconquered Britons were removed, as it were, into another island (118).

A. D. 82.  
Agricola's  
fifth campaign.

But Agricola did not here set bounds to his own ambition and curiosity. For, in his fifth year, he transported his army over the firth of Clyde, into the north-west parts of Caledonia, himself leading the van, and being in the first ship that landed. Here he discovered and had some successful skirmishes with several British tribes, hitherto quite unknown to the Romans. These were probably the Epedii, Cerones, and Carnonacæ, the original inhabitants of Cantyre, Argyleshire, Lorn, and Lochaber (119). From these coasts he had a distinct view of Ireland, and began to entertain thoughts of

(116) Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 22. (117) See Append. No. 9.

(118) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 23.

(119) Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 366, 367. 369.



making a descent upon that island, at a convenient opportunity. He was encouraged in this design, by an Irish chieftain, at that time a refugee in his army; who gave him a very inviting description of the country, and assured him that it might be conquered and kept by a single legion and a few auxiliaries. With a view to facilitate this enterprise at a proper season, he left some forces in these parts, and having reconducted the rest of his army to the south side of the firth of Clyde, he put them into winter-quarters, in the several forts which he had built in the two preceding years (120).

A. D. 82.

In his sixth year, Agricola turned his eyes towards the north-east parts of Britain, which lay beyond the firth of Forth; and having passed that river, perhaps somewhere near Stirling, he marched along the north banks of it, and the coast of Fife. In this march he was attended by his fleet, which having sailed early in the spring from Rutupæ (Richborough near Sandwich), attended the army in all its motions, and supported it in all its operations. The fleet kept so near the shore, that the marines frequently landed and encamped with the land forces; each of these corps entertaining the other with surprising tales of the wonders which they had seen, and the exploits which they had performed in these unknown seas and regions. The sight of the fleet was very alarming to the Caledonians; as they now found that the encircling ocean would be no longer any security to them against these bold invaders. They were not however dismayed; but being very numerous, they determined to take up arms, and to defend their country to the last extremity. In consequence of this resolution, they advanced with great boldness, attacked the Roman forts and parties, and spread a general consternation through the whole army. Some of his officers endeavoured to persuade Agricola to retire with his army to the south side of the firth of Forth, to prevent the disgrace of being defeated, and driven back by force. But that brave general, not so easily intimidated, determined to persevere in his enterprise; and having received intelligence, that the enemy, confiding in their superior numbers, and knowledge of the country, de-

A. D. 83,  
Agricola's  
sixth cam-  
paign.

A.D. 83.

signed to assault him on all sides, and in distinct bands; to prevent his being surrounded, he divided his army into three separate bodies. As soon as the Caledonians were informed of this, they suddenly united their whole forces, resolving to fall upon each of these bodies one after another. The ninth legion formed one of these divisions. This legion, which had lost all its infantry in the great revolt under Boadicia, had been recruited with two thousand legionary soldiers, and eight cohorts of auxiliaries (121). But it was still by far the weakest in the Roman army; and therefore they began the execution of their design by attacking the camp of this legion. This attack, which was in the night-time, and wholly unexpected, had like to have been crowned with success. The centinels and guards were killed, part of the enemy had entered the camp, where all was in confusion, and the whole legion in the greatest danger of being cut in pieces. But they were rescued from destruction by their brave and vigilant general, who, having received intelligence from his spies, of the enemy's march, pursued their track, and fell upon their rear with his light-armed foot and cavalry. The battle now raged with redoubled fury, and the Caledonians were so hard pressed both in front and rear, that they were obliged to retire with precipitation into the neighbouring woods and marches whose vicinity preserved them from a total rout (122).

The Caledonians make preparations in the winter.

This success revived the spirits of the Roman soldiers, and even those among them who had been most diffident and cautious, became eager for the prosecution of the war. "No country, cried they, can resist the valour of the Romans. Let us penetrate into the deepest recesses of Caledonia, and by a succession of victories, push our conquests to the utmost bounds of Britain." On the other hand, the Caledonians were rather irritated than dispirited by their late miscarriage, which they ascribed, not to the superior bravery of their enemies, but to some accidents, and the prodigious address and vigilance of the Roman general. In a word, both sides retired into quarters full of animosity, and

(121) See Append. No. 8.

(122) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25, 26.

(123) Id. *ibid.* c. 27.



spent the winter in preparing for a more vigorous and bloody campaign than the former (123).

A. D. 83.

Agricola began his seventh and last campaign in Britain, by sending his fleet to make descents on different parts of the coasts of Caledonia; thereby to spread a general alarm, and distract the attention of the enemy. Soon after he drew his army together, and having reinforced it with some bodies of provincial Britons, on whose long-tryed fidelity he could rely, he took the field, and directed his march northward. When he arrived at the Grampian hills, he there found the enemy encamped, and ready to dispute his farther progress.

A. D. 84.  
Agricola's  
seventh  
campaign.

The Caledonians were at great pains, during the winter, to prepare for this campaign, that they might make one great effort for the preservation of their country. With this view, they held a general assembly of their several states, in which they entered into a strict alliance against the common enemy, and confirmed it by solemn sacrifices: they enlisted and trained all their young men, who were capable of bearing arms; and even many of their aged warriors, who had laid aside their swords, resumed them on this great occasion. That they might act with all their united force, they chose Galgacus, one of the greatest and bravest of their chieftains, to command all the troops of the confederacy. At the approach of summer, they removed their wives and children from the open country into woods and fastnesses; and having collected the troops of their several communities, formed an army of about 30,000 men, with which they encamped on the skirts of the Grampian hills; most probably at a place which is now called Fortingall, about sixteen miles from Dunkell (124).

Preparations of  
the Caledonians.

No sooner did the Roman army approach the Caledonians, than Galgacus drew up his troops in order of battle; and riding in his chariot along the ranks, he endeavoured to rouse and inflame their courage by animating speeches. He put them in mind, that they were now to fight not only for fame or victory, but for their lives and liberties, their parents, wives, and children, and every thing that was dear. He painted the horrors

Speech of  
Galgacus.

(123) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 27.

(124) Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 44. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29.

A. D. 84. of slavery, the tyranny, cruelty, and oppression of the Romans, in the most frightful colours; and assured them that there was no way of escaping all these dreadful evils but by victory; that flight was now become as unsafe as it was dishonourable; their enemies having penetrated into the heart of their country, and even covered their seas with their fleets. He concluded by calling upon them to look back upon their ancestors, who had long maintained the character of the bravest of all the Britons; and forward to their posterity, whose freedom and happiness depended on their valour, and the event of that day. These speeches were answered by his troops with military songs, with loud affrighting shouts, and all possible expressions of alacrity and ardour for the fight (125).

Agricola draws up his army in order of battle.

Agricola being abundantly sensible of the great importance of the approaching battle, exerted his utmost skill and attention in drawing up his army. He placed a strong body of eight thousand auxiliary foot in the center, and three thousand horse on the two wings; extending his line to the same length with that of the enemy, to prevent his being flanked; and formed the legions into a second line in the rear, a little without the camp. He made choice of this uncommon disposition, in hopes of gaining the victory by the auxiliaries alone (who were best suited to encounter such an enemy), without the effusion of Roman blood: or that if the auxiliaries were defeated, the legions might then advance to the charge fresh and entire. Though he observed with pleasure an extraordinary eagerness in his troops for the engagement, yet he thought proper still further to inflame them by a spirited and eloquent harangue; after which he commanded the signal of battle to be given (126).

Battle between the Romans and Caledonians.

As long as the two armies fought at a little distance, and by their missive weapons, the Caledonians had the advantage. For dexterously warding off the darts of their enemies with their little targets, they poured in upon them a shower of their own. Agricola observing this, commanded three cohorts of Batavians (127), and

(125) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32, 33.

(126) Id. ibid. 33, 34, 35.

(127) The ancient inhabitants of Holland.



two of Tungrians (128), to advance and engage the enemy hand to hand; a way of fighting to which these troops had been long accustomed. It now appeared, that the long, broad, unwieldy swords of the Caledonians were very unfit for a close engagement; and they were forced to give way, rather to the superior arms than to the superior strength and valour of their enemies. The other auxiliaries seeing the success of the Tungrians and Batavians, imitated their example, and pressed the Britons so hard with the spikes of their bucklers, and their sharp-pointed swords, that they threw them into confusion. This confusion was very much increased by their own war-chariots. For the horses taking fright, scoured through the field, and overturned every thing that came in their way. A great body of Caledonians, who had been stationed near the summit of the hill, perceiving all these misfortunes, resolved to make an attempt to retrieve the fortune of the day, and turn the scale of victory, by taking a compass, and falling upon the rear of the enemy, as they were engaged in the pursuit. But as they softly descended the hill, they were discovered, attacked, and defeated by four wings of horse, which Agricola kept about his own person to answer such emergencies. After this the Caledonians made no regular resistance, but fled in straggling parties towards the neighbouring woods, where they once more faced about and gave a severe check to the most forward of their pursuers. The loss of the Romans by their too great eagerness would have been considerable, if their general had not come up and rallied them; commanding them to continue the pursuit, in strong and regular bodies. Upon this the Caledonians disbanded and fled a thousand different ways; every one shifting for himself, without any regard to his companions. In this fatal battle and pursuit, no fewer than ten thousand of the wretched Britons are said to have been slain, while the Romans lost only three hundred and forty men, and amongst those only one officer of note, Aulus Atticus, commander of a cohort (129).

(128) The ancient inhabitants of the countries of Leige, Cologne, &c.

(129) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36, 37.

A. D. 84.

~  
Agricola  
conducts  
his army  
into quar-  
ters.

The rage and despair of the Caledonians after their defeat were inexpressible. They set fire to their own houses, and some of them even slew their wives and children, to prevent their falling into the hands of their enemies, and being made slaves, which they esteemed more deplorable than death. On the day after the battle a profound and mournful silence reigned over the whole country, and nothing was to be seen but clouds of smoke ascending from the burning houses. The scouts reported that they could not meet with one of the inhabitants, nor discover any traces of the enemy, who were entirely dispersed and fled to a great distance. Agricola, considering that the season was too far advanced to push his conquests any further northward, marched his army into the country of the Horesti (now called Angus), from whom he received hostages. Here he gave orders to his fleet to sail northward, and turning that point, to proceed to their winter station by the western coast. These orders were happily executed, and the fleet arrived safe at the same harbour from whence they had sailed eastward in the spring, having coasted quite around Britain, and discovered from their own experience that it was an island. His land forces he conducted by slow and easy marches, through the lately conquered countries, in order to strike further terror into the minds of the inhabitants, and then put them into their winter-quarters (130).

A. D. 85.

Agricola  
recalled.

In the beginning of this year, Agricola sent a plain and modest account of these transactions in Britain to the emperor Domitian; which that jealous and artful tyrant perused with much seeming satisfaction in his countenance, and much real rancour in his heart. For being destitute of all virtue himself, he was an inveterate enemy to all who excelled in any virtue. On this occasion, however, he thought fit to conceal his malevolent purposes under an appearance of kindness. He caused the senate to decree triumphal ornaments to Agricola, a statue crowned with laurel, and every thing that could be given instead of a real triumph; and he accompanied all these favours with many gracious expressions of esteem and honour. He carried his dissimulation so far, as to en-




courage a report that he designed to bestow upon him the government of Syria, which was then vacant. But this was only intended to palliate the disgrace of removing him from the government of Britain, from whence he was accordingly recalled in the course of this year (131). A. D. 85.

The renowned Agricola was succeeded in the government of Britain by Sallustius Lucullus, to whom he left that province, very much enlarged and in a state of profound tranquillity. Lucullus did not long enjoy his authority, but was at once deprived of that and of his life, by the wanton cruelty of Domitian. That vain capricious tyrant, though he was at no pains to deserve fame, was desirous of engrossing it intirely to himself; and mortally hated every person who seemed to aspire to any kind of eminence or renown. Lucullus had invented a lance or spear of a new form, which he permitted to be called the Lucullean Lance; and for this very pardonable piece of vanity Domitian commanded him to be put to death (132). A. D. 86.  
Lucullus  
governor  
of Britain.

From this period to the reign of Hadrian, for about thirty years, under the emperors Nerva and Trajan, the Roman historians give no particular account of the affairs of Britain; nor do they so much as name one of the governors of this province under these two emperors. The silence of these writers does not seem to have been owing to a total want of materials, or to the perfect tranquillity of this island during that period. For one of them informs us in general, that the Britons, at this time, bore the yoke with impatience, and could hardly be kept in subjection (133). It seems also probable, that some considerable works of peace were executed here in this interval; particularly that some of the famous military ways, whose vestiges are still visible in many parts of Britain, were either constructed or very much improved in the reign of Trajan, who is greatly celebrated for works of that kind. Chasm in  
the history  
of Britain.

Julius Severus was governor of Britain in the former part of the reign of Hadrian, by whom he was afterwards recalled from hence, and sent to command the A. D. 117.  
Julius Se-  
verus and  
Prifcus  
Licinius.

(131) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 39, 40. (132) Sueton, in Domit. c. 10.  
(133) Script. Hist. Aug. vita Hadrian. p. 22.

A. D. 117.  army against the Jews, who had revolted (134). Severus seems to have been succeeded in the government of this province by Priscus Licinius, who had also been employed in the Jewish war (135). These are the only two governors of Britain of whom we can discover any traces in the reign of this emperor, nor do we know any particulars of their transactions.

A. D. 121. Emperor Hadrian arrives in Britain. Hadrian was certainly one of the wisest, most active and accomplished princes that ever filled the imperial throne of Rome. He visited in person all the provinces of his prodigious empire, examining into the civil and military affairs of each of them, with a minuteness which is hardly credible. When this illustrious inspector arrived in Britain, he corrected many things which he found out of order. One great object which Hadrian had in view in visiting the several provinces of his empire, was to fortify and secure their frontiers against the incursions of enemies. Where the natural bulwarks of mountains, seas, and rivers, were wanting, he substituted ditches, walls, and ramparts. Such a rampart or wall of earth he raised in Britain, as the boundary of the Roman province, from the mouth of the river Tine on the east, to the Solway firth on the west, near the track where Agricola had built his first chain of forts (136). Some imagine that all the country to the north of this rampart had been recovered from the Romans by the native Britons after the departure of Agricola, while others think it was now voluntarily slighted by Hadrian. But which of these conjectures is most agreeable to truth, it is impossible to determine (137). When this mighty monarch resided in Britain, superintending these works, and regulating the affairs of this province, he carried on a friendly and familiar correspondence by letters in verse, with a poet at Rome, named Florus: of which the reader will find a short specimen below; which is at the same time intended as an evidence of the condescension, wit, and good-humour of this great prince (138):

How

(134) Xiphilin. l. 69. p. 793. (135) Camd. Brit. Introd. p. 81.

(136) See Appendix, No. 9.

(137) Eutrop. l. 8. c. 7. Xiphilin. l. 69. p. 792. Script. Hist. August. vita Hadrian. p. 51. 57.

(138) Florus to the emperor Hadrian.

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,  
Ambulare per britannos,  
Scythicas pati pruinas.

The



How long Hadrian continued in Britain we are nowhere expressly told; but only that his departure was hastened by the news of a sedition which had arisen at Alexandria (139). A. D. 131.

Lollius Urbicus was governor of Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son and successor of Hadrian. Though this excellent emperor was more studious of preserving than enlarging the empire, and ruled with great mildness; there were some commotions in Britain in his time, and he found it necessary to enlarge the limits of the Roman province in this island, in order to secure its peace. This he accomplished by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, who defeated the Maeatae in several engagements, and recovered the country as far as the isthmus between the firths of Forth and Clyde. In order to secure his conquest, and to keep the Caledonians at a greater distance, Urbicus, by direction of the emperor, raised another strong rampart, in imitation of that of Hadrian, between these two firths, along the line of forts which had been formerly built there by Agricola. This rampart, with its ditch and forts, was intended for the outmost boundary of the Roman empire of Britain (140). The famous passage of Pausanias, which hath been the subject of much debate amongst our antiquaries and historians, very probably refers to the transaction which is above related. "The emperor (says that author) deprived the Brigantes in Britain of much of their lands, because they began to make incursions into Genounia, a region subject to the Romans (141)." The plain meaning of which seems to be, that the Maeatae, who were of the same race, and were often called by the same name with the Brigantes, assisted by some of their countrymen within the wall of

A. D. 138.  
Lollius  
Urbicus.

The emperor's answer to the poet Florus.

Ego nolo Florus esse,  
Ambulare per tabernas,  
Latitare per popinas,  
Culices pati rotundos—

Script Hist. August. vita Hadrian. p. 73, 74.

{139} Id. Ibid. p. 54.

{140} Eutrop. l. 8. c. 8. Script. Hist. August. vita Ant. Pii, p. 132.  
Append. No 9.

{141} Pausan. Arcad. p. 273.

Hadrian,

**A. D. 133.** Hadrian, made incursions into Genounia or North Wales; for which insult the Romans made war upon them, and having defeated them in several engagements, deprived them of the sovereignty of all the country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

**A. D. 161.** Antoninus Pius was succeeded in the imperial throne by his adopted son M. Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher, a prince of great wisdom and virtue. The Roman empire, which had enjoyed great tranquillity in the latter part of the preceding reign, in the beginning of this, began to be threatened with disturbances in many of its provinces. Amongst others, the Britons, most probably the Maeatae, who had lately been subjected anew to the Roman power, discovered a strong tendency to revolt. To prevent or to suppress this, Calpurnius Agricola was sent into Britain in quality of lieutenant or governor; and he seems to have succeeded without much difficulty, as we hear no more of these commotions (142).

**A. D. 180.** Marcellus, and Pertinax, and Albinus, successively governors of Britain.

The imperial throne of Rome, which, for more than eighty years, had been filled by great and good princes, was now again dishonoured by a vain, lewd, and cruel tyrant. This was Commodus, the degenerate and unworthy son of Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher. The loose, disorderly, and oppressive government of this prince gave occasion to many wars, none of which was more dangerous than that of Britain. The Caledonians, having broke through the wall of Antoninus, and being joined by the Maeatae, invaded the Roman province. To repel this invasion, the government of Britain was bestowed upon Ulpian Marcellus, a man of very different character from those commonly employed by this emperor; perhaps because those profligate wretches who used to purchase provinces with no other view but to plunder them, declined a station so full of danger and difficulty. Marcellus was brave, abstemious, and indefatigable, and having first restored the discipline of the Roman troops, he led them against the enemy, and defeated them in several battles (143). But this success, which was so salutary to the Roman province, had like

(142) Script. Hist. Aug. vita Antonin. Philos. p. 169.

(143) Xiphilin. ex Dionis, in Commod.



to have been fatal to Marcellus, by exciting the jealousy of his unworthy master; and he thought himself happy that he escaped with the loss of his government (144). The immediate successors of Marcellus are not named, but they were so unworthy of their station, and so disagreeable to the army, that they were much enraged against Perennius, who had the chief direction of military affairs, and sent a deputation of fifteen hundred of their number to Rome, to complain of him to the emperor, for giving them such contemptible commanders. Perennius was put into their hands, and they shewed him no mercy, but first scourged, and then beheaded him. To extinguish that spirit of mutiny which still reigned in the army, even after this sacrifice, Pertinax was sent over to command in Britain. That excellent person, who was afterwards emperor, found great difficulty in the execution of this commission, and was often in great danger of losing his life, in suppressing the tumults of the soldiers. At length however he succeeded, and having brought the army into tolerable order and discipline, he was recalled, at his own earnest request (145). Pertinax was probably succeeded in the government of Britain by Clodius Albinus, who, it is certain, commanded in this island in the latter part of the reign of Commodus, and during the short reigns of his two successors. Commodus was indeed so much offended with Albinus, for a speech which he made to the army in Britain, on receiving a premature report of that emperor's death, that he appointed Junius Severus to succeed him (146). But Commodus was actually slain so soon after, that Junius never got possession of his government.

Pertinax, who had a few years before commanded in Britain, succeeded Commodus; but was allowed to reign only three months and three days, being then murdered by the Prætorian soldiers, whose licentiousness he designed to reform. He was a prince worthy of a better fate and better times. The imperial diadem was now exposed to sale by the murderers of the last possessor, and

A. D. 193.  
Pertinax  
and Julia-  
nus em-  
perors.

(144) Xiphilin, ex Dicne, in Commod. Script. Hist. Aug. vita Commod. p. 275.

(145) Script. Hist. Aug. vita Commod. p. 301.

(146) Id. Ibid. p. 402, 403.

A. D. 193. was purchased by one Didius Julianus, who wore it without dignity only two months and ten days, being then put to death by the same Prætorian troops. These two short tumultuary reigns afford no materials for the history of Britain (147). All things were kept in profound tranquillity in this island, by Clodius Albinus, who seeing himself at the head of a great province, and gallant army, by whom he was much beloved, began to entertain more ambitious views, which he afterwards discovered.

A. D. 194. Albinus assumes the purple in Britain. Septimius Severus being declared emperor by the armies in Spain and Germany, and Pescennius Niger by those in the east, prepared to dispute the prize. Severus, who was the best politician, as well as the greatest general, dreading a second competitor in Albinus governor of Britain, declared him Cæsar, and flattered him with the hopes of a higher title, in order to keep him quiet, till he had finished the dispute with Niger. This policy had the desired effect. Albinus remained quiet till some time after the death of Niger, when finding himself disappointed in his hopes of being admitted a partner in the empire, he assumed the purple in Britain, and having strengthened his army with the flower of the British youth, transported them to the continent, to dispute the empire of the world with Severus. At length, these two competitors met, February 19th this year, in a plain near Lyons, where a bloody and decisive battle was fought, in which Albinus being defeated, killed himself, and left Severus sole master of the Roman empire (148).

A. D. 198. Virius Lupus. During these transactions on the continent, this island became a scene of great confusion. The Maeatæ and Caledonians, observing the defenceless state of the Roman province, made incursions into it, and spread desolation wherever they came. As soon as Séverus received the news of this, he sent Virius Lupus with a body of troops to take possession of Britain, and repel these invaders of the province. Lupus not finding himself able to accomplish this by force, prevailed upon the plunderers to re-

(147) Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Pertinax. Script. Hist. Aug. vita Pert. p. 303.

(148) Herodian. l. 3. c. 20, 21, 22. Aurel. Victor. in Septim.



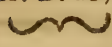
tire, by purchasing their prisoners from them with a sum of money (149). This was not the way to put an end to their incursions. They were renewed with greater violence, from time to time, for several years: till the governor of Britain (probably Lupus) wrote to the emperor, entreating him either to send over a much larger body of troops, or to come over in person to quell these disturbances, and restore the tranquility of the province (150).

Though the emperor Severus was old and very infirm when he received these letters, he immediately resolved upon an expedition in person into Britain. To this he was prompted by his love of military glory, and his desire of keeping his soldiers in action, and of rescuing his two sons from the pleasures and debaucheries of Rome, in which they were deeply plunged. Having settled his affairs on the continent, he left the city, and pursuing his journey with great eagerness, arrived in Britain, accompanied by his sons Caracalla and Geta. The news of his arrival, and of his mighty preparations of all kinds for an invasion of their country, greatly alarmed the Maeatae and Caledonians, and induced them to send ambassadors to promise submission, and to sue for peace. But Severus, unwilling to lose the fruit of the toils and expences which he had been at, and the glory which he expected to gain in the war, dismissed the ambassadors without any satisfactory answer; and soon after began his march northward, at the head of a very great army. He left his youngest son Geta behind him to govern the Roman province in South-Britain, with a council to assist him, and carried the eldest along with him into the north. After the imperial army had passed the wall of Hadrian, they met with many difficulties and dangers. The enemy, too weak to encounter them in open field, in pitched battles, harassed them with continual skirmishes, and decoyed them into many ambushes. But their greatest difficulties arose from the nature and state of the country, which being in many places covered with thick woods, and in others abounding in steep mountains, deep marshes, lakes, and rivers, rendered their progress very slow and dangerous. To

A. D. 198.

The emperor Severus arrives in Britain.

(149) Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever. (150) Herodian. l. 3. c. 46.  
 surmount

A. D. 207.  surmount these difficulties, the emperor employed one part of his army in cutting down woods, draining lakes and marshes, making roads, and casting bridges over rivers, while the other defended the labourers from the enemy. By these means he at length penetrated into the very heart of Caledonia, and struck such terror into its inhabitants, that they renewed their supplications for peace, which was at last granted them, on condition of relinquishing a part of their country, and delivering up their arms. The invincible resolution of the aged emperor in this expedition is the more worthy of our admiration—that he was, during the greatest part of it, so much afflicted with the gout, as to be unable to ride, and was carried in a litter—that he was in continual danger of his life by the machinations of his unnatural son Caracalla—and that he beheld his troops sinking in such multitudes under their fatigues, or falling by the hands of their enemies. In this expedition (if we may believe a cotemporary historian) he lost no fewer than fifty thousand men. But nothing could make him desist from his enterprize, till he had brought it to an honourable conclusion (151).

A. D. 209. Severus builds his wall in Britain. Severus, having concluded a peace with the Caledonians, conducted his army back into the north parts of the Roman province. Being now at leisure, and observing that Hadrian's rampart of earth was but a slender security to the province, against the incursions of the more northern Britons, he determined to erect a more substantial barrier. With this view, he employed his troops, for about two years, in building a stupendous wall of solid stone, twelve feet high, and eight feet thick, strengthened with many towers, castles, and stations at convenient distances, and accompanied with a ditch and military way (152). This prodigious wall (the vestiges of which are still visible in several places) was built nearly parallel to that of Hadrian, at the distance of a few paces further to the north, and from the east coast near Tinmouth, to the Solway firth, at Boulnefs, on the west coast (153).

(151) Herodian. l. 3. c. 46. Xiphilin. ex Dione, in Sever.

(152) Spartian. vita Severi. Eutrop. Orofius, l. 7. c. 11.

(153) See Append. No. 9.



Severus being now almost worn out with age, infirmities, and toils, retired to York, in hopes of enjoying some repose and comfort as the fruit of so many victories, by which he had quelled all the commotions of the empire, and restored universal peace (154). But he was disappointed in these hopes, and the last year of his life was very uncomfortable and unhappy. This was partly owing to the increase of his bodily infirmities, and partly to the vices and mutual enmity of his sons, and their impatient longing for his death, to which he was no stranger. The public affairs of Britain took also an unfavourable and vexatious turn, which added to his chagrin. For the Maeatae and Caledonians, being informed of the declining state of the emperor's health, and the distracted condition of his family, renewed the war, in hopes of recovering that part of their country which they had been obliged to resign. The aged emperor, become peevish by his sufferings, flew into the most violent rage at the news of this revolt, and gave orders to exterminate these two nations, without sparing the very infants in their mothers womb (155).


A. D. 210.  
Severus  
unhappy.

But Severus being no longer able to appear at the head of his troops to execute his own designs, these cruel orders were not obeyed. For his eldest son Caracalla, whom he appointed to command the army in this expedition, instead of attacking the enemy, bent his whole endeavours to corrupt his soldiers, and prevail upon them to declare him sole emperor, after his father's death, to the exclusion of his brother Geta. Nay, that unnatural son, it is said, did not abstain from persuading the physicians and attendants of his aged and languishing parent, to put an end to his life, by some violent means. But nature prevented this crime, and the wretched emperor expired, at York, February the 4th, A. D. 211, not so much of his bodily infirmities, as of a broken heart. In his last moments, he appointed his two sons his heirs and successors in the empire; recommending them both in the most earnest and affectionate manner to his surrounding friends. As soon as Caracalla received the long expected and earnest-

A. D. 211.  
The emperor  
Severus dies  
in Britain.

(154) Spartian. Script. Hist. Aug. p. 364.

(155) Xiphilin, ex Dione, in Sever.

A. D. 211.  ly desired news of his father's death, he concluded a peace with the Maetæ and Caledonians, and marched his army southward, to take possession of the empire, which, to his unspeakable regret, he was obliged to share for some time with his brother Geta. The two young emperors did not continue long in Britain, but made all possible haste to Rome, to enjoy the honours and pleasures of that great capital of the Roman world (56).


A. D. 211 to 284. **Chasm in the history of Britain.** After the departure of these emperors, the Roman historians take very little notice of the affairs of Britain for more than seventy years. This long silence of these writers probably proceeded from the great tranquillity which this island enjoyed in this period; and that tranquillity seems to have been owing to the concurrence of the following causes. All the British nations to the south of Severus's wall had now quietly submitted to the Roman government, and had laid aside all thoughts of revolting: and the authority of the Romans had put an end to the wars of these nations against one another. These two circumstances secured the internal quiet of South Britain. The emperors of these times, being either unwarlike, or employed at a great distance, contented themselves with the peaceable possession of their large and flourishing province in the south of Britain, and gave no disturbance to the British nations in the north. These nations, thinking themselves very happy, in being allowed to enjoy their woods and mountains unmolested, and looking upon the wall of Severus, with its turrets, forts, and castles, as impregnable, made no attempts to break through it for many years. By this means, this island now enjoyed a longer peace than in any former or later period of its history, and thereby happily escaped the attention of those writers, who are almost wholly employed in describing scenes of blood and slaughter. It is impossible to fill up this chasm which is left in the history of our country by the Roman historians, from any other quarter. A few unconnected, unimportant particulars, as the names of some of the governors of Britain in this period, &c.

(156) Xiphilin, ex Dione, in Severo; Herodian. l. 4. c. 49, 50, 51. might



might be collected from inscriptions (157); but they could give the reader little or no satisfaction. It is also imagined that some of the thirty tyrants, as they are commonly called, who disturbed the empire in the reign of Gallienus, from A. D. 259 to A. D. 268, acted their part in Britain; because some of the coins of five or six of them have been found in the island (158). If they did so, it is probable, that the part they acted was not very illustrious, as it hath not found a place in history.

A. D. 211.  
to 284.




In this year Dioclesian ascended the imperial throne, into which he soon after admitted Maximianus Herculius, as his partner in the toils and honours of that exalted station. Nor was it long before these two emperors, finding themselves unable to defend all the provinces of their prodigious empire, made choice of two Cæsars, Galerius Maximianus, and Constantius Chlorus. While these four great princes governed the Roman empire, the seas and coasts of Gaul and Britain began to be infested by new enemies. These were the Franks and Saxons, two nations who afterwards made an illustrious figure in the history of Europe. At this time they acted chiefly as pirates, seizing such merchant-ships as they were able to master, and making short descents on the coasts for the sake of plunder. Against these new enemies, who became daily more formidable by their ferocity and valour, the emperors prepared a very powerful fleet, in the harbour of Boulogne, and gave the command of it to Carausius, an officer of great courage and experience, especially in sea-affairs. If Carausius had been as faithful as he was capable, this would have been a very happy choice. But it soon appeared, that he had selfish and ambitious designs in view, and studied more to enrich himself, than to execute his commission. For it was observed, that he never attacked the pirates as they were outwardbound, but waited their return with their prizes, which he seized and appropriated to his own use, instead of restoring them to the original proprietors, or accounting for them to the imperial treasury. The emperor Maximianus, being greatly alarmed at this proceeding,

A. D. 284.  
Carausius  
assumes the  
purple in  
Britain.

(157) Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 289, 290. 276.  
(158) Speed's Chron. p. 246.

gave

A. D. 284. gave orders to have him privately put to death. But  Carausius escaped this danger; and having engaged the fleet under his command to follow his fortunes, he sailed in to Britain, and there assumed the purple. The army here, both legionaries and auxiliaries, soon after imitated the example of the fleet, and declared for him: by which means, he became no contemptible pretender to the imperial diadem; being absolute master of the narrow seas----of all the Roman dominions in this island----and of some important places on the continent. He took also the most effectual measures to preserve his acquisitions, by making an alliance with the Franks and Saxons, and taking many of them into his fleet and army. The emperor Maximianus, being engaged in other wars, and not having a fleet equal to that of Carausius, thought it most prudent to make peace with him, by granting him the title of emperor, with the government of Britain, and of a few ports on the continent; all which he enjoyed in great tranquillity for several years. In this interval it seems probable, that he enlarged the limits of the Roman empire in Britain, by subduing the Maeatæ; since we are told, that he repaired the wall between the Forth and Clyde, by adding to it seven castles, and some other works (159).

A. D. 292.  
Carausius  
slain.

In the division of the empire this year, between the two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximianus, and their two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, all the provinces beyond the Alps westward fell to the share of Constantius Cæsar; who immediately resolved to attempt the recovery of Britain, one of these provinces, out of the hands of Carausius. For though Maximianus had been constrained, by the necessity of his affairs, to make peace with that adventurer, yet he was still considered as an usurper, by the other sovereigns of the empire. Constantius began this war by besieging Boulogne, both by sea and land. This being one of the best harbours, and strongest places belonging to Carausius on the continent, he made great efforts for its relief. But as he was not able to break through a strong bank of stone, with which Constantius had blocked up the port, he was

(159) Aurel. Victor. Eutrop. l. 9. c. 21, 22. Fumen. Panegy. 8. 9. Antiq. Rutup. p. 65. Nennii Hist. Brit. c. 19.



obliged to desist, and suffer it to be taken. The imperial fleet not being yet sufficiently strong to undertake the invasion of Britain, Constantius gave orders for building ships in the several ports of Gaul; and in the mean time he employed his army in reducing some of the neighbouring nations, who had revolted. Carausius applied himself with great diligence to prepare every thing necessary for resisting the threatened invasion. But while he was thus engaged, he was treacherously murdered at York, by Alectus, one of his chief officers and confidants; who immediately assumed the purple, and the government of Britain, which he enjoyed about three years without molestation (160).

A. D. 292.

A. D. 293.

All things being now prepared for the expedition into Britain, Constantius divided his fleet and army into two, in order to distract the attention of the enemy, by making a descent upon two different parts of the coast at the same time. He gave the command of one of these divisions to Asclepiodotus, the captain of his guards, an officer of great courage and conduct; and led the other in person. The squadron commanded by Asclepiodotus, having happily escaped the fleet of Alectus near the Isle of Wight, by the favour of a great fog, landed without opposition on the neighbouring coast of Britain. As soon as Asclepiodotus had disembarked his troops, he set fire to his ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy, and that his own men might have no hopes but in victory. Alectus no sooner heard of the landing of this army, than he marched in a very hasty and tumultuary manner to attack them, leaving that part of the coast where he had encamped before quite defenceless. This gave an opportunity to Constantius, who arrived there soon after with the greatest part of his fleet, to land his troops without the least resistance, and to march immediately to join the other division of his army. But he received the agreeable news by the way, that Alectus was slain, and his army routed and dispersed by Asclepiodotus and the troops under his command. The danger, however, was not yet quite over, nor the victory complete. For a great body of Franks and Saxons, of which the army of Alectus had chiefly consisted, having

A. D. 296.  
Constantius  
recovers  
Britain.

A. D. 296. escaped from the battle, entered London and began to plunder it, in hopes of making their escape by sea, after having enriched themselves with the spoils of that great city. But the same felicity which had attended Constantius in the whole of this expedition appeared again on this occasion. For a part of his fleet and army, which had been separated from him in the fog, having entered the Thames, arrived at London in that critical moment, and falling upon the plunderers, made a great slaughter of them, and preserved the city from ruin. By this series of happy events, Britain was reunited to the Roman empire, after it had been dismembered from it more than ten years; the seas were cleared of pirates, and the freedom of navigation restored. These events were no less agreeable to the Britons than to the Romans; and Constantius, who was a great and good prince, was received by them rather as a deliverer, and guardian angel, than a conqueror (161).

A. D. 305. **Resignation of Dioclesian and Maximianus.** The two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximianus, being fatiated with the honours, and wearied with the toils and cares of empire, took the singular resolution of resigning their authority, and retiring into a private station. This resolution they executed on the first day of May this year, and their two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, were declared emperors. In the division of the empire between these two princes, the western provinces fell to the share of Constantius, who resided in Britain, and had some disputes with the Caledonians, of which we know no particulars, but that he reduced them to sue for peace. This excellent prince did not long enjoy the imperial dignity, but falling sick at York, on his return from his Caledonian expedition, he died there July 25th, A. D. 306; having in his last moments declared his illustrious son his heir and successor in the empire (162).

Constantine the Great was the son of the emperor Constantius by his first wife Helena, a princess greatly celebrated for her piety and virtue. Many of our ancient, and some of our modern historians affirm positively, that this illustrious princess was a native of Britain, and the daughter of a British king named Coil;

(161) Eutrop. l. 9. c. 22. Eumen. Panegy. 8.

(162) Eutrop. 10. c. 1. Aurel. Vict. in Constantino.



and not a few of them are equally positive, that her illustrious son was also born in this island (163). Both these facts may be true, but it must be confessed, that neither of them is supported by the testimony of any cotemporary writer. It is more certain that Constantine the Great began his auspicious reign at York, where he was present at his father's death, and where he was immediately after saluted emperor, with the greatest and most universal joy (164). It is more probably to his accession to empire, than to his birth, that the following exclamation of his panegyrist refers: "O fortunate Britain! more happy than all other lands, for thou hast first beheld Constantine Cæsar (165)!" The new emperor staid some time in Britain, to pay the last honours to his father's ashes, to finish the remains of the war with the Maeatæ and Caledonians (who about this time began to be called by the new names of Picts and Scots), and to settle the peace of this island on a solid basis. Having accomplished these designs, and having recruited his army with a great number of British youth, by whom he was much beloved, he departed to the continent, to reduce the Franks, who had revolted, and to dispute the empire with Maxentius, the son of the abdicated emperor Maximianus, who had assumed the purple at Rome (166). One of our greatest antiquaries, and best historians, is of opinion, that Constantine the Great returned again into Britain some years after his first departure, and that it was then he subdued the nations in the north parts of this island (167). But of this there is not sufficient evidence; and the short hint in Eusebius, on which that writer founds his opinion, most probably refers to what Constantine performed here, in the beginning of his reign (168). For this island seems to have enjoyed a profound peace from that time to the death of this great prince, which happened May 22d, A. D. 337.

Constantine the Great was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius; among whom the provinces of the empire were divided. Constantine,

A. D. 337.  
Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, emperors.

(163) Vide Uffer. de primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 8.


(164) Eutrop. l. 10. c. 11. Aurel. Victor. in Constantino,

(165) Eumen. Panegy. 9.

(166) Euseb. Panegy. 10. Lactant. c. 26.

(167) Camb. Brit. p. 98.

(168) Euseb. de vitâ Constant. l. 2. c. 19.

A. D. 337.  the eldest of these princes, who had Gaul, Spain, Britain, and part of Germany, was never contented with his share of his father's dominions, which he thought inferior to that of either of his brothers. After several fruitless complaints and negotiations, he at last had recourse to arms, and invading the territories of his brother Constans, fell into an ambush near Aquileia, and was cut in pieces, with the greatest part of his army, in the spring of the year 340 (169).

Constans  
slain.

A. D. 343. His brother being thus slain, Constans seized all his dominions, and became sole master of the western empire. This emperor having established peace and tranquillity in all his provinces on the continent, imposed an extraordinary tax upon his subjects, prepared a great fleet, and visited his British dominions in the beginning of this year, in order to chastise the Scots and Picts, for their attempts upon the Roman province. The particulars of this expedition are lost with the first part of Ammianus Marcellinus's history, in which they were recorded. If we could depend on the testimony of his medals, we should be led to believe, that Constans had slaughtered great multitudes of the enemy on this occasion. But medals were by this time become great flatterers, and made a mighty matter of every trifling advantage (170). Firmicus, who seems disposed to magnify this exploit of the emperor as much as possible, says nothing of his victories, but celebrates, in a very high strain, his courage in passing the sea in winter, and terrifying the Britons by his arrival at that season of the year (171). Libanius even asserts, that there was no war in Britain at this time that required the presence of the emperor (172).

A. D. 350. Constans, after his return to the continent, by neglecting his affairs, and pursuing his pleasures with too much eagerness, ruined his health, and lost both the esteem and affection of the army, and of his other subjects. This encouraged some of his chief officers to conspire his destruction, and to set up Magnentius, one

Magnentius  
usurps  
the empire.

(169) Entrop. l. 10. c. 5.

(170) Ammian. Marcel. l. 20. c. 1. Du Cange de infer. xvi num. c. 58.

(171) Firmic. de error. prof. relig. c. 29. (172) Liban. Orat. 3.




of their own number, in his room. This design was A. D. 350. executed in the city of Autun, on the 18th of January this year, amidst the festivity of a great entertainment, at which Magnentius suddenly appearing arrayed in purple, was saluted emperor, first by the officers, then by the soldiers, and at last by the people. The unhappy Constans, who was then at some distance, engaged in a party of pleasure, having received intelligence of this revolution, attempted to save his life, by flying towards Spain; but being abandoned by all the world, was overtaken and put to death at Elna in Rouffillon (173). Britain, and all the other provinces on this side the Alps, immediately submitted to the usurper, and Italy soon after followed their example.

Constantius, emperor of the east, the youngest and only surviving son of Constantine the Great, no sooner received the news of this unexpected revolution, than he laid aside all his other designs, and made great preparations for revenging the death of his brother, and recovering his dominions. Marching at the head of a great army into the west, he defeated Magnentius in one of the most bloody battles that was ever fought, near Murfa in Pannonia, on the 28th of September, A. D. 351. The usurper, having sustained several other losses, and dreading to fall into the hands of his justly enraged enemy, first slew his mother and other relations, and then killed himself, at Lyons, on August 11th, A. D. 353; and Britain, with all the other provinces of the west, submitted with pleasure to the conqueror, who became sole master of the whole Roman empire. Constantius appointed Gratianus Funarius, father of Valentinian, who was afterwards emperor, to be governor, or, as he was then called, vicar of Britain. Gratianus does not seem to have enjoyed that dignity long, as we find Martinus soon after in that station (174).

If Constantius had acted with clemency and moderation after his success, he would have secured his own glory, and the felicity of his subjects, who were universally disposed to the most cheerful submission. But cor-

(173) Eutrop. l. 10. c. 6. Amm. Marcel. l. 15. c. 5. Zosim. l. 2.

(174) Eutrop. l. 10. c. 6. Zosim. l. 2. Amm. Marcel. l. 10. Jul. Orat. 1, 2.

A. D. 354.  rupted by prosperity, and yielding to the persuasions of his courtiers, who hoped to enrich themselves by confiscation, he set on foot a cruel inquisition after all who had favoured the late usurper, or had submitted to his authority. Nothing was heard of, in all the provinces of the western empire, but imprisonments, tortures, confiscations, and executions. Britain had her full share of these calamities. One Paulus a Spaniard, and secretary to the emperor, was sent as commissary or inquisitor into this island; who executed his commission with the most flagrant injustice, and unrelenting cruelty, involving the innocent and guilty in one common ruin. Martinus, the governor, a man of virtue and humanity, having endeavoured in vain to put a stop to these proceedings, drew his sword, and attempted to kill Paulus; but missing his blow, and knowing that he could expect no mercy after such an attempt, he plunged it into his own bosom, and expired on the spot (175). Nor did the infamous Paulus triumph much longer in his villainies; but came to an end suitable to his crimes; for he was soon after burnt alive, by command of the emperor Julian (176).

A. D. 360.  
Incurſion of  
the Scots  
and Picts.

The Roman province in South Britain had received very little disturbance, from the British nations in the north, for about one hundred and fifty years. The wall of Severus, being then in full repair, and defended by regular garrisons, effectually protected the province from all insults on that side. This long tranquillity had enabled the provincial Britons, with the instructions and assistance of the Romans, greatly to improve their country, and render it a very inviting object to their less industrious, but more warlike neighbours. Accordingly, the Scots and Picts, tempted by the prospect of plunder, made an incurſion, by some means or other, into the province, about the beginning of the year. Julian the Apostate, who had lately been declared Cæsar, and after became emperor, had the chief direction of affairs in the western empire at this time, and resided in Gaul. Having received intelligence of this invasion of the Roman territories in Britain, he sent over Lupicinus, an officer

{175} Amm. Marcel. l. 14. c. 5. Liban. Orat. 12.

{176} Amm. Marcel. l. 22. c. 3.



of rank and character, with some cohorts of light-armed troops, to assist in repulsing the enemy; who no sooner heard of his arrival, than they retired into their own country with their booty. Lupicinus proceeded no farther than to London, where having settled some affairs, he returned to the continent (177). The reinforcement of the Roman army, and their greater vigilance and activity, deterred the Scots and Picts from making any further attempts upon the province for some time; and they continued quiet, during the short reign of the emperor Julian, and the still shorter one of his successor Jovian.

A. D. 360.

Soon after the accession of Valentinian and his brother Valens to the imperial throne, the empire was assaulted almost on all sides, by the surrounding nations. In Britain, while the piratical Franks and Saxons plundered the southern coasts, the Scots, Picts, and Attacots (178) invaded the Roman province on the north. These nations, having found, by their late attempt in the reign of Julian, that the wall of Severus was not impregnable; and that the country within it, being rich, afforded abundance of valuable plunder; they rushed into it with their united forces, and pushed their depredations much further than they had done before. As they advanced they had frequent encounters with the Roman forces stationed in this island, and in one of these, they slew Bulchobandes the Roman general, and Nectaridius, count of the Saxon shore (179). As soon as the emperor Valentinian received intelligence of this formidable invasion, and of the death of his generals, he sent over Severus, an officer of distinction in his household, to command in Britain; who, being soon after recalled, was succeeded by Jovinus, a captain who had acquired great military fame in Germany. But as neither of these generals brought any considerable reinforcement of troops with them into Britain, they were not able to expel the enemy from the Roman province; where they carried on their destructive ravages for three years successively, before they received an effectual check.

A. D. 364.

Incurfions  
of the  
Scots, Picts,  
and Atta-  
cots, and  
depreda-  
tions of  
the Frank  
and Saxons.

(177) Amm. Marcel. l. 26. c. 1.

(178) See chap. 3. sect. 19.

(179) Amm. Marcel. l. 27. c. 9.

A. D. 367.

Theodosius  
governor of  
Britain.

At length, the emperor Valentinian, being determined to put an end to the war in Britain, and deliver this province from these cruel plunderers, appointed Theodosius, one of the best and wisest men and greatest generals of that age, to command in this island, and sent him over with an army. At his arrival, Theodosius found his province in a very deplorable condition. The enemy had penetrated as far as London, and had collected a prodigious mass of booty, as well as taken a great multitude of men, women, and children prisoners. The Roman general, having assembled his army with great expedition, fell upon the enemy while they were loaden with plunder and encumbered with prisoners, and obliged them to fly, leaving behind them all their prey and captives. He set all the prisoners immediately at liberty, and having bestowed part of the spoils, whose owners could not be found, on his soldiers, he restored the rest to the original proprietors; gaining as much glory by his justice and generosity after the victory, as he had done by his wisdom and valour in the battle. He marched his victorious army to London (then called Augusta), which he entered in triumph, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, who viewed him as their deliverer from impending ruin. Here, reflecting on the state of the country, and the further prosecution of the war, he invited over Civilis, a person of great probity and wisdom, and committed to him the administration of the civil government: he also sent for Dulcinius, a captain renowned for his courage and conduct, to assist him in the command of the army. During the late times of confusion, many Roman officers, soldiers, and others had deserted to the enemy, either through fear, or a desire of sharing with them in their plunder; and still continued with them, through despair of mercy. To reclaim these, Theodosius issued a proclamation, promising a pardon to all who returned to their duty before a certain day. This gracious and prudent measure produced the happiest effects, great numbers embracing the promised amnesty (180).

(180) Amm. Marcel. l. 27. c. 7.

Theodosius,



Theodosius, having spent the winter in establishing order and tranquillity in the south parts of Britain, took the field in the spring, directing his march northward. The enemy every where fled before him, abandoning not only the open country, but also many forts, stations, and cities which they had seized, though not without leaving behind them many marks of their rapacious and destructive dispositions. The Romans still advancing, took possession of the places which the enemy had abandoned, and repaired such of them as they had destroyed, until they recovered the whole country to the south of Severus's wall, which had long been the boundary of the empire on that side. But Theodosius, not yet fatiated with victory and success, pursued the flying enemy still further, and drove them beyond the wall of Antoninus Pius, which he repaired, and made once more the frontier of the Roman territories in Britain. The country between the two walls he reduced into the form of a province, which he named Valentia, in honour of the emperor Valens. But while this excellent person was engaged in these glorious toils, a dangerous plot was forming against his authority and life. One Valentinus, who had been banished into Britain for his crimes, was the author of this conspiracy, in which he found means to engage several other exiles, and even some Roman officers and soldiers. But this plot was happily discovered when it was on the point of being carried into execution; and Theodosius having commanded Valentinus and a few of the most guilty of his accomplices to be put to death, very wisely and generously prohibited any further enquiry or prosecution (181).


A. D. 368.  
Great success and wise conduct of Theodosius.

Theodosius was no less fit for the cabinet than the camp, and excelled as much in the arts of securing and improving, as of making conquests. Of this he gave many proofs while he commanded in Britain. During the long peace which had reigned in this island, the walls, forts, and castles, which had been built for the protection of the province, were very much neglected; and military discipline very much relaxed. He repaired the former, and revived the latter. Having discovered that the Arcani, a kind of light troops, who were sta-

A. D. 369.  
Theodosius much beloved in Britain.

(181) Amm. Marcel. l. 28. c. 3. 7.

tioned

A. D. 369.  tioned in the advanced posts on the frontiers, and designed to act as scouts or spies, had betrayed their trust, and corresponded with the enemy, he cashiered them with disgrace, and established another corps in their room, for that important service. He corrected many abuses in the collection of the public revenues, and even persuaded the emperor to make some abatement in the taxes. He gave all possible encouragement and assistance to the provincials, in repairing the damages which their villages, towns, and cities had sustained in the late incursions. In one word, from the greatest confusion, distress, and misery, he brought the Roman territories in Britain, to a state of the most perfect order, happiness, and security (182). The many great and good actions which this excellent person performed in this island, as well as in other places, not only furnished a theme to the best poets of that age (183), but excited the warmest gratitude and affection in all who had enjoyed the benefit of his wise and virtuous administration. When he was recalled by the emperor, to be raised to one of the highest dignities in the empire, he was attended to the place of his embarkation by infinite multitudes of people, who loaded him with blessings, and pursued him with the most fervent prayers for his prosperity.

A. D. 375. Maximus assumes the purple in Britain. The Roman territories in Britain enjoyed the most profound tranquillity for several years after the departure of Theodosius. The south coasts were secured by a powerful fleet against the depredations of the Saxons; and the Scots and Picts had received, so severe a check, that they made no attempts upon the northern frontiers. This tranquillity might have been of much longer continuance, if the provincial Britons, as well as the Roman soldiers, had not espoused the cause of an unfor-

(182) Amm. Marcel. l. 28. c. 3. 7.

(183) Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra proinis  
 Qui medios Libyæ sub casside pertulit ætus,  
 Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni  
 Littoris, ac pariter Boræ vastator & Austri.  
 Quid rigor æternus? Cæli quid sidera profunt?  
 Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxoni fuso  
 Orcades. incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,  
 Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Claudian, Panegy. Theod.  
 tunate



tunate pretender to the imperial purple. This was Maximus, an officer of great reputation in the Roman army in Britain. The emperor Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, finding himself and his infant brother Valentinian II. very unequal to the task of governing and protecting all the provinces of their mighty empire, declared Theodosius (son of that Theodosius who had lately commanded with so much glory in this island) his partner in the empire, on January 16th, A. D. 379, and sent him into the east to fight against the Goths. This measure, which proved very fortunate to the empire, was highly offensive to Maximus, who having served in an equal rank, and with equal reputation, thought himself equally entitled to a place on the imperial throne. He determined therefore to seize by force what he could not obtain by favour, and assumed the purple in this island, A. D. 381 (184).

If Maximus could have contented himself with the dominion of the Roman territories in Britain, he might probably have enjoyed it long, without much molestation. Though he was a Spaniard by birth, he had resided many years in this island, had married the daughter of a British chieftain, and by his good services under Theodosius the elder, he had contributed not a little to the present peace and prosperity of the country (185). These things greatly endeared him to the provincial Britons, who espoused his cause with as much warmth as the army had done. But this island appeared too narrow a sphere for his ambition, and he aspired to the possession of the whole western empire; the present circumstances of which seemed to flatter him with the hopes of success. Valentinian II. one of the reigning emperors of the west, was still in his childhood; his elder brother Gratian was a weak unpopular prince, who had given general disgust to the Roman soldiers, by his fondness for strangers; and Theodosius, his most formidable rival, was fully employed in the east. To seize this favourable opportunity for accomplishing his designs, he enlisted prodigious numbers of

A. D. 375.

A. D. 379.

A. D. 383.  
Maximus's  
expedition  
to the con-  
tinent.

(184) Zosim. l. 4.

(185) Rowland's *Monâ Antiq.* p. 166, 167.

- A. D. 383. the British youth, who crowded with eagerness to his standard; and having trained them to the use of arms, he transported them with his veteran troops to the continent. Soon after he had landed his army near the mouth of the Rhine, he received a great accession of strength, by the Roman troops in that neighbourhood, and in Germany, declaring in his favour. The emperor Gratian, having raised a very numerous army, advanced towards Maximus to give him battle; but after some skirmishing, being betrayed by his generals, and abandoned by his troops, he fled towards Lyons, where he fell into an ambush and was slain, on August 25th, A. D. 383. By this means Maximus obtained possession of all those provinces of the empire which had been under the immediate government of Gratian. Elated with this success, he declared Victor, who was his son by a British lady, his partner in the empire, which attached the Britons in his army still more firmly to his cause. Nor did he stop here, but by various means he obliged Valentinian II. to abandon Italy A. D. 387, leaving him sole master of the western empire. But this great prosperity was not of long continuance. For Valentinian having implored the protection of Theodosius, emperor of the east; that great prince generously espoused his cause, and marched into the west, at the head of a gallant army, to restore him to his dominions. Maximus was defeated in two great battles, and having retired to Aquileia (186), he was there seized by his own soldiers and delivered to Theodosius, who commanded him to be put to death, in August, A. D. 388. The British forces in the party of Maximus, were not present in these unfortunate engagements; having been sent a little before with the young emperor Victor (to whom, as their countryman, they were peculiarly devoted) into Gaul, to make head against the Franks. But Victor was soon after defeated

(186) *Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,  
 Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,  
 Mœnibus et portu celeberrima: sed majus illud  
 Eminent, extremo quod te sub tempore, legit,  
 Solverat exacto cui justa piacula lustro  
 Maximus, armigeri quondam sub nomine lixæ:  
 Felix qui tanti spectatrix læta triumphi,  
 Punisti Aufonio Rutupinum Marte latronem.*

*Aufonius.  
 and*




and slain, and his army put to flight. The unhappy Britons, who had followed the fortunes of this young prince, were now in a deplorable situation : in a foreign country ; surrounded with enemies ; without a leader to conduct them ; or ships to carry them home. In this extremity, they directed their route to the north-west point of Gaul (which was then called Aremorica), in hopes of finding the means of passing from thence into Cornwall. But being disappointed in this, and having met with a kind reception from the Belgæ, who then inhabited that coast, they settled there, and never returned again into Britain. The number of these settlers was so great, that they are said to have given their own name to that part of the continent, which was thenceforward called Britanny ; and to have laid the foundation of that friendly intercourse, and remarkable resemblance, which so long subsisted between the inhabitants of that district, and the ancient Britons of this island.

South Britain very soon and very sensibly felt the fatal consequences of the emigration of so great a number of her bravest sons. For the Scots, Picts, Franks, and Saxons, encouraged by this circumstance, renewed their incursions and depredations. But Theodosius the Great, who had become sole master of the Roman world, by the death of Valentinian II. and of the usurper Eugenius, sent Chryfantus, a general of great reputation, as his vicar into Britain, to put a stop to these ravages. This officer, who afterwards became a bishop, executed his commission with great ability and success ; expelled the enemies, and restored the tranquillity of the province (187).

The peace and prosperity which Britain and the other provinces of the Roman empire enjoyed under the protection of the great Theodosius, was not of long duration. For that illustrious prince ended his glorious life and reign at Milan, on January 17th this year : bequeathing to his eldest son, Arcadius, the empire of the east, and to the youngest, Honorius, that of the west. He put this last prince (who was then only ten years of age), and his dominions, under the tuition of his friend

(187) Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 12.

A. D. 395.  Stilico, who had been the companion of all his toils and victories. As soon as the death of Theodosius, and the succession of his infant son, were known, an inundation of enemies poured into the western empire on all sides, and seemed to threaten it with immediate and total ruin. Amongst others, the Scots and Picts invaded the Roman province in this island, and pursued their destructive ravages with great ferocity. But at length Stilico, who for some time discharged his important trust with fidelity and honour, sent a reinforcement of troops into Britain, which expelled the enemies out of that province, and restored its peace (188). This exploit of Stilico was esteemed so famous and important, that it is far from being forgotten by his poetical panegyrist (189).

A. D. 403. But notwithstanding this, and some other small advantages of the Roman arms, the distresses of the western empire daily increased and multiplied. Africa was dismembered from it; Thrace, Hungary, Austria, and several other provinces, were desolated; and the dreadful Alaric was bending his destructive course towards Rome itself, at the head of an infinite multitude of Goths, Vandals, Alans, and other fierce barbarians. In this extremity, the troops which had lately been sent into this island were recalled. The incursions of the Scots and Picts, which immediately followed, were not the worst consequences of this measure. For a spirit of mutiny and rebellion seizing the Roman troops which were constantly stationed in Britain, they laid aside all regard to the reigning emperor, and invested one of their

Marcus, Grarian, and Constantine, successively made emperors by the army in Britain.

A. D. 407. own officers, named Marcus, with the purple. But they soon became weary of this idol of their own erection, pulled him down, put him to death, and set up one Gratian in his room. Nor did the second choice answer their expectations, or continue long in their good graces; and in less than four months after his elevation,

(188) Claud. de bello Gallico.

189) Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,  
Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Hibernem  
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis.  
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timorem  
Scotica, nec Pictum tremorem, nec littore toto  
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Claud. in laud. Stil.

they



they deposed and murdered him (190). Still persisting A. D. 407.  
 in their rebellious dispositions, and becoming quite wanton and capricious in their conduct, they next set up one Constantine, an officer of inferior rank, merely, as it is said, on account of his bearing the beloved and auspicious name of Constantine. This person, being A. D. 408.  
 either more capable or more fortunate, made a much greater figure than his two short-lived predecessors. To keep his troops employed, and prevent their cabaling against his person or authority, he meditated an expedition into Gaul. In order to this, he enlisted great numbers of the British youth, and having trained them to the use of arms, he transported them to the continent, together with the best of his regular troops. The first undertakings of this adventurer were crowned with remarkable success. He got possession of the two rich and extensive provinces of Gaul and Spain, declared his eldest son Constans (who had been a monk) his colleague, and fixed the seat of his empire at Arles, which he named Constantia. But this gale of prosperity was not of long continuance. For having failed in his attempt upon Italy, and quarrelled with his best friend Gerontius, his affairs declined faster than they had advanced. His son Constans was intercepted and slain by Gerontius, at Vienne in Gaul, and shutting himself up in his capital city of Arles, he was taken and put to death in September, A. D. 411 (191). The British youth who had followed Constantine into Gaul, retired into Britanny after his death, and there met with a kind reception from their countrymen, amongst whom they settled (192).

After the death of the usurper Constantine, the Roman province in Britain returned to the obedience of the emperor Honorius, who sent Victorinus with some troops for its recovery and defence. This general struck terror into all his enemies in this island, and merited the poetical encomium below (193). But the increasing

A. D. 412.  
The other  
Romans  
leave Bri-  
tain.

(190) Zosim. l. 6, Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 11.

(191) Sozomen, l. 9. c. 11, 12, 13, 14.

(192) Speed's Chron. p. 280.

(193) *Consciis oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,  
Et quæcunque ferox arva Britannus arat.*

Rutilius Claud.  
distresses

A. D. 412. distreffes of the empire obliged Honorius to recal Victorinus, with all his troops, out of the Roman province in this island, and to leave it in a very defenceless state; occasioned not only by the departure of these troops, but also by the late great emigrations of the British youth, with the two usurpers, Maximus and Constantine.

A. D. 414. As soon as the Scots and Picts received intelligence that the Romans had withdrawn their standing army out of Britain, they prepared to invade the territories of the provincial Britons, hoping to meet with little opposition. But on this occasion they found themselves mistaken, and met with a warmer reception than they expected. For though the regular forces of the Romans were gone, there were still many veteran soldiers and others, who having obtained houses and lands in the several colonies, were unwilling to abandon them; and the Britons, encouraged and assisted by these veterans, took up arms, and repulsed the invaders (194). These incursions, however, being constantly renewed for several years, rendered the country equally uncomfortable and unsafe, and pointed out the necessity of some more powerful protection. Application was accordingly made to Rome for assistance; but Honorius, being still involved in great difficulties, assured them that he could grant them none; gave up all his claims to their allegiance, and exhorted them to defend themselves. The Romans who still remained in Britain, discouraged by this reply, and despairing of ever enjoying any tranquillity in a country subject to continual incursions, disposed of their estates, and carrying with them their money and effects, retired to the continent (195).

A. D. 416. The provincial Britons were now in a more dangerous condition than ever, having lost not only the flower of their own youth, and the Roman regular forces, but even those few Romans who had lingered some time longer amongst them, and by their encouragement, example, and assistance, had enabled them to make some defence against their enemies. Besides this, both their civil and military government were now dissolved; and by the policy of the Romans, they had been long deprived of

(194) Zosim. l. 6.

(195) Id. *ibid.*



the use and exercise of arms; so that they now remained a timid disorderly multitude, ready to become an easy prey to the first bold invader. Nor was it long before they were invaded. For their dangerous and vigilant neighbours the Scots and Picts, informed of their helpless state, renewed their incursions; and meeting with little resistance, they pushed them further, and with greater ferocity than usual. These two nations, passing the firths of Forth and Clyde, overrun and plundered the whole province of Valentia, between the walls of Antoninus and Severus, and threatened the other provinces with the same fate. In this extremity, the unhappy Britons dispatched messengers to Rome, who represented the deplorable state of their country, in the most affecting terms, to the emperor Honorius, earnestly implored his protection, and promised the most cheerful submission to his authority. The emperor, moved by their entreaties, and being more at leisure than formerly, by the expulsion of the Goths out of Gaul, and some other favourable events, sent over one legion to the assistance of the Britons. This legion arriving unexpectedly, and falling upon the Scots and Picts as they were straggling about the country in quest of plunder, slew great numbers of them, and obliged the rest to retire with precipitation beyond their firths. The Romans, having thus performed the service for which they were sent, and exhorted the Britons to repair the wall of Antoninus Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, to protect them against the future attempts of their enemies, they returned in triumph to the continent (196).

The wall of Antoninus, having been originally built of turf, and now repaired with the same materials, provided but a very slender security to the country within it, on this occasion. For as soon as the Scots and Picts were informed of the departure of the Roman legion, they prepared for a repetition of their inroads. Some of them passed the firths in their little boats, while others made their way over the wall, and all of them together, pouring like an irresistible torrent into the country of the provincial Britons, bore down all before them. The wretch-

A. D. 418.  
The Britons obtain the assistance of a legion a second time from the Romans.

(196) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 12. Chron. p. 26. Gildæ Hist. p. 11, 12.

A. D. 418. ed inhabitants, seeing nothing but inevitable destruction before their eyes, from which they were unable to defend themselves, had again recourse to Rome for protection. Their ambassadors, it is said, appeared before the emperor with their garments rent, ashes upon their heads, and all the marks of the most deep distress; they painted the misery of their country in the most lively colours, and with many cries and tears implored assistance; that the Roman name might not become contemptible in Britain, and that those provinces, which had flourished so long under their protection, might not be utterly destroyed. These importunate supplications proved effectual, and the emperor sent a second legion into Britain, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna. This legion arrived suddenly in autumn, and again surprised and defeated the plundering Picts and Scots, killing great numbers of them, and obliging those who escaped to take shelter behind their firths, in those woods and mountains whither they had been accustomed to convey their annual booty. This victorious legion did not return so soon to the continent as the former had done, but remained some time in South Britain, to put that country in a better posture of defence, against the future attacks of its restless and ever-returning enemies. Being now convinced that it was impossible to render the wall of Antoninus an effectual barrier, because the enemies so easily passed the firths in their curroghs, and landed within it; that wall was slighted, and the whole province of Valentia was given up, in order to secure the rest more effectually. With this view, the wall of Severus, which had fallen to decay, through the injuries of time and of the enemy, was thoroughly repaired, by the united labours of the legion and the provincial Britons, with solid stone and lime. The expence of this great work was borne by the cheerful contributions of many private persons, and of the several British states, who considered it as one of the chief means of their future safety. But as walls and bulwarks are of little use, without brave, expert, and well-armed soldiers to defend them, the Roman general gave the Britons exact models of all the several kinds of arms, with ample instructions how to make and use them; exhorting them to act bravely in defence of their country, their wives, children,



children, and liberties. He represented to them, that they were not inferior to their enemies in bodily strength, or any natural endowment, and that they needed only to rouse their native courage, and exert a proper spirit, to bid defiance to their dreaded adversaries. Gallio having finished all the works which were thought necessary for the defence of the northern frontiers against the Picts and Scots, marched into the South, where his fleet lay; and because these coasts were sometimes infested by the Franks and Saxons, he there built several castles, at proper intervals, with extensive prospects towards the sea, for the security of these parts. After having conferred all these benefits, this great general honestly acquainted the Britons, that they were to expect no further assistance from the Romans, whose affairs would no longer permit them to undertake any more of these troublesome expeditions for their relief: and then, this last Roman legion setting sail, they bid a final adieu to Britain, about four hundred and seventy-five years after their ancestors had first landed in it, under the conduct of Julius Cæsar (197).

A. D. 419.

A. D. 420.

We are now come to that calamitous period which intervened between the final departure of the Romans, and the arrival of the Saxons. But since this is certainly one of the most melancholy periods of the British history, and since the accounts which we have of these unhappy times are as imperfect as they are uncomfortable, it will not be proper to dwell long upon them.

A. D. 421.  
History of  
Britain  
from the  
final de-  
parture of  
the Romans  
to the arri-  
val of the  
Saxons.

The provincial Britons were now left in the full and free possession of a large, rich, and beautiful country; adorned with many noble monuments of Roman art and industry; crowded with cities, towns, and villages, united to one another by the most substantial roads; and the whole defended by a stupendous wall, which hath been the admiration of all succeeding ages. But notwithstanding all this seeming prosperity, they were a very disconsolate and unhappy people. They were so far from rejoicing in the recovery of their freedom, that they considered the retreat of their lordly masters as a great misfortune; and beheld the departure of the Romans with more dismay, than their brave ancestors had beheld their

State of the  
Britons.

(197) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. c. 12. Gildæ Hist. c. 13, 14.

A. D. 421. first approach. Conscious of their own unwarlike character, of their disunited and unsettled state, their imaginations were haunted with the most dreadful apprehensions of their ferocious enemies.

A. D. 422. Nor was it long before the apprehensions of the wretched Britons were realized. For when the Scots and Picts had received intelligence that the Romans were gone out of the island, with a resolution never to return, they issued from their woods and mountains with great confidence, and in greater numbers than they ever had done before. Finding the wall of Antoninus unguarded, and the province of Valentia abandoned, they overrun it without meeting with the least resistance or opposition. Had it been their design to acquire new and more comfortable habitations, in a better soil and climate, they might have settled peaceably in this large and fine country, between the two walls. But, like their ancestors the Caledonians, their incursions were made, not so much with a view to conquest as to plunder, which they carried home, and enjoyed with the highest relish amongst their own hills. For several years successively they wasted and plundered this district which had fallen into their hands, carrying home for their winter's provision what they could not consume upon the spot (198).

A. D. 426. Scots and Picts break through Severus's wall.

The country which lay between the walls being at length so desolated, that it afforded no more booty to the destroyers, they began to meditate an incursion into the rich and yet untouched provinces beyond the wall of Severus. When they approached this bulwark, they found it completely repaired, its turrets, forts, and castles filled with garrisons, and its ramparts crowded with armed men, who seemed to threaten destruction to all who dared to advance within their reach. But all this was formidable only in appearance. For the Britons had profited so little by the military instructions of their late masters, that, instead of planting proper guards and centinels, and relieving one another, their whole number had stood several days and nights upon the ramparts without intermission. By this means their limbs were quite benumbed with cold, fatigue, and fasting; and the Scots and Picts found very little danger in attacking such

(198) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. c. 13. Gildæ Hist. c. 13, 14.



torpid adversaries; who suffered themselves to be pulled down from the wall with hooks, and dashed against the ground. In a word, after a very faint resistance, the Britons abandoned the wall, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. But the Scots and Picts breaking in, like hungry wolves into a sheep-fold, pursued them with great slaughter, plundered the country, and returned home laden with booty. In the same manner did these unwelcome guests repeat their destructive visits for several years, to the unspeakable terror and damage of the wretched Britons (199). A. D. 426.

Even these pernicious incursions were not the only troubles with which the unhappy Britons were now afflicted. Destitute of order, law, and government, civil rage and rapine prevailed in every corner; and they are said to have discovered much more spirit in robbing and destroying one another, than in defending themselves against the common enemy. After the dissolution of the Roman government, many petty tyrants were set up in different parts of the country; and soon after pulled down and put to death, to make room for others still more flagitious. Great numbers of the inhabitants, driven to despair by so many miseries, neglected to plough and sow their lands, forsook their houses, and roaming up and down in the woods, led a savage kind of life, on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and what they could catch in hunting. To crown the whole, this neglect of agriculture naturally produced a famine, which was followed by a pestilence; and these two dreadful scourges put an end at once to the lives and sufferings of great multitudes of the unhappy Britons (200). A. D. 436.

These dire calamities, which seemed to threaten South Britain with utter ruin and depopulation, were productive of one happy consequence. The Scots and Picts, dreading infection, and the efforts of the desperate Britons, which had been fatal to many of them, and finding little plunder in a land of famine, desisted from their incursions, and remained quiet at home for several A. D. 440.

(199) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. c. 12. Gildæ Hist. c. 13, 14.

(200) Gildæ Hist. c. 16, 19, 21.

A. D. 440. years. Encouraged by this unexpected return of tranquillity, the Britons issued from their lurking-places, repaired their houses, and applied to agriculture. Their lands, meeting with friendly seasons, after so many years of rest, produced all kinds of grain in a degree of abundance hitherto unknown; and the late famine was succeeded by the greatest affluence and plenty of all things. But the Britons of those times (if we may believe their own historian Gildas) were as unfit for prosperity as adversity. Forgetting their former woes, and regardless of future dangers, they plunged, with the most unthinking wantonness, into intemperance and debauchery of all kinds. However, it was not long before they were awakened from this pleasing dream. For their ancient enemies in the North, having heard of the prodigious plenty which reigned in South Britain, renewed their incursions, and repeating them for several years, reduced the Britons almost to the same distress from which they had so lately emerged (201).

A. D. 446.  
Britons apply to the Romans for assistance in vain.

The declarations of the Romans at their last departure, that they were never to return, had been so positive, and the confusions of the empire ever since that time had been so great, that the Britons, in all the late miseries, had not made any application to them for relief. But the fame of the renowned Ætius, præfect of Gaul, affording them a glimmering of hope that they might possibly obtain some assistance from that quarter in their present distress, they sent ambassadors to that general, with letters, in the following mournful strain: “ To Ætius, thrice consul, the groans of the Britons. “ The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us “ back on the swords of the barbarians; so that we “ have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being “ either drowned or butchered.” But all their lamentations and intreaties, on this occasion, were in vain. Ætius might pity, but he could not assist them; being at that time employed in collecting all his forces, to resist the terrible Attila, king of the Hunns, who threatened the total destruction of the western empire (202).

(201) Gildæ Hist. c. 16. 19. 21. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 14.

(202) Gildæ Hist. c. 19. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.



Soon after the Britons had been thus disappointed in their expectations of succours from the Romans, they received a new alarm, which filled them with the greatest consternation. The incursions of the Scots and Picts, however destructive, had hitherto been only transient. As soon as those ravagers had collected a sufficient quantity of booty, they returned with it into their own country, leaving the owners to enjoy the rest in some tranquillity. But a report was now propagated, that these two nations had resolved to invade South Britain with their united forces, to extirpate the nations, and settle in the country. This report, whether true or false, being generally believed, caused the greatest terror and dismay. An assembly of all the British kings, princes, and chieftains was convened, to deliberate what was proper to be done, to prevent so great a danger. Amongst the great number of petty princes, which composed this assembly, Vortigern, sovereign of the Silures, was the most considerable. This prince, on account of the extent of his dominions, the number and bravery of his followers, and his own personal accomplishments, seems to have acted the part of a kind of universal monarch over the other chiefs. By his authority this assembly was called, he presided in it, and too much influenced its decisions. Instead of embracing vigorous measures, worthy of so many chieftains, to depend upon their own bravery for their security, the only question was, to whom they should apply for assistance and protection. It was in vain to make any further applications to the Romans; nor was it easy to find any other nation able and willing to give them the assistance which they wanted. When they were at this loss, Vortigern, in an evil hour, though not perhaps with an ill intention, proposed to make application to the Saxons. That nation abounded in shipping, delighted in war, and equalled, if not exceeded, their enemies in ferocity. The Britons had often experienced the bravery of the Saxons to their cost, and therefore thought it good policy to employ it in their defence; never reflecting these that dangerous

A. D. 449.  
Britons send  
ambassadors  
to the Sax-  
ons.

~~2~~ ~~1~~ protectors

A. D. 449. protectors might become their enemies, and at last their masters. In the end, the proposal of Vortigern was embraced, and ambassadors were appointed to go and invite an army of Saxons into this island, to assist the Britons of the South against their northern neighbours (203). The names of these ambassadors are not preserved in history; but (if we can depend on the historian of the Saxons) their address to that people was in the following humble, or rather abject strain (204).

Speech of  
the British  
ambassadors  
to the Sax-  
ons, and  
their arrival  
in Britain.

“ Most noble Saxons, the wretched and miserable Britons, worn out by the perpetual incursions of their enemies, having heard of the many glorious victories which you have obtained by your valour, have sent us their humble suppliants to implore your assistance and protection. We have a spacious, beautiful, and fertile country, abounding in all things, which we resign to your devotion and command. Formerly we lived in peace and safety under the protection of the Romans; and next to them, knowing none more brave and powerful than you, we fly for refuge under the wings of your valour. If by your powerful assistance we shall become superior to our enemies, we promise to perform whatever service you shall think fit to impose upon us.” If the Britons were really capable of making use of such slavish language, they had little reason to complain afterwards of the treachery of the Saxons, or to expect any better treatment from them than they met with. But it is more probable, that this speech, like many others in history, was composed by the historian, than by those to whom it is imputed.

In whatever manner the British ambassadors addressed themselves to the Saxons, they were unhappily successful in their negotiation; and a small army of that nation was immediately sent into Britain, which was afterwards followed by several others.

(203) Gildæ Hist. c. 22, 23. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 15.

(204) Witichindus.



These Saxon armies, instead of protecting the Britons A. D. 449. against their enemies, either destroyed, enslaved, or expelled them; and seating themselves in their room, brought about another great revolution in the state of South Britain; which will be the subject of the second book of this work.





THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

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B O O K I .

C H A P . II .

*The history of religion in South Britain, from the first  
invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar, A. A. C.  
55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

S E C T I O N I .

HISTORY of DRUIDISM.

**T**H E R E never was any nation upon earth, whose <sup>Importance</sup> history is intitled to any degree of attention, <sup>of religion.</sup> which had not some religion. Nor was there ever any religion which had not some influence upon the minds and manners, the actions and characters of those nations by whom it was professed. For these two reasons, the history of their religion must always be an important and essential part of the history of every nation: as without some knowledge of this, and of the events immediately relating to it, we cannot form right conceptions of the laws, customs, characters, circumstances, and public transactions of any people.

When

Ancient Britons famous for religion.

When the Romans first invaded Britain, under Julius Cæsar, the inhabitants of it were famous, even among foreign nations, for their superior knowledge of the principles, and their great zeal for the rites of their religion. This circumstance we learn from the best authority, the writings of that illustrious and observing general, Julius Cæsar; who informs us, “That such of the Gauls as were desirous of being thoroughly instructed in the principles of their religion (which was the same with that of the Britons) usually took a journey into Britain, for that purpose (1).”

Antiquity of the religion of the Britons.

This religion, in the knowledge of which the Britons of that age so much excelled, could justly boast of very high antiquity. The first and purest principles of it at least descended to them together with their language, and many other things, from Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, from whom the Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations derived their origin (2). For it is not to be imagined that this renowned parent of so many nations, who was only the grandson of Noah, could be unacquainted with the knowledge of the true God, and of the most essential principles of religion; or that he neglected to communicate this knowledge to his immediate descendants, and they to their posterity from age to age. But unhappily, the method by which this religious knowledge was handed down from Gomer to his numerous posterity in succeeding ages, was not well calculated to preserve it pure and uncorrupted. This was by tradition, which, however limpid it may be near its fountain-head, is, like other streams, very apt to swell and become turbid in its progress. Accordingly we find, that at the period where this history begins, the religion of the ancient Britons had degenerated into an absurd, wicked, and cruel superstition.

Method of delineating this religion.

In delineating this very corrupt system of religion, it will be sufficient to give a brief account—Of its priests, who taught its principles, and performed its sacred rites—Of the religious principles which they taught—Of the deities whom they worshipped—Of the various

(1) Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(2) Pezron, Antiq. Celt. c. 3. Hotoman, Franc. Gal, c. 2.



acts of worship which they paid to these deities, with their times, places, and other circumstances—And finally, of the extinction of these priests, and of their religion, to make way for a more pure and heavenly institution.

The priests who taught the principles, and performed the offices of religion among the ancient Britons were called Druids (3). This class of men, for many ages, enjoyed the highest honours, and the greatest privileges, in this island and in several other countries. "There are only two orders of men," says Cæsar, speaking of the Gauls, and it was the same in Britain, "who are in any high degree of honour and esteem; these are the Druids and the nobles (4)." To say nothing in this place of their prodigious influence in civil affairs, they had the supreme and sole direction of every thing relating to religion. "No sacred rite was ever performed without a Druid; by them, as being the favourites of the Gods, and depositaries of their counsels, the people offered all their sacrifices, thanksgivings, and prayers; and were perfectly submissive and obedient to their commands. Nay, so great was the veneration in which they were held, that when two hostile armies, inflamed with warlike rage, with swords drawn, and spears extended, were on the point of engaging in battle; at their intervention, they sheathed their swords, and became calm and peaceful (5)." The persons of the Druids were held sacred and inviolable; they were exempted from all taxes and military services; and, in a word,

British  
priests,  
their dig-  
nity.

(3) The name of these famous priests is derived by some writers from the Teutonic word *Druthin*, a servant of truth\*: by others from the Saxon word *Dry*, a magician†: by others from the Greek word *δρυς*, an oak‡: and by others, with the greatest probability, from the Celtic or British word *Derw*, which also signifies an oak§; for which the Druids had a most superstitious veneration. This last derivation is much countenanced by a passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, who, speaking of the philosophers and priests of Gaul, the same with our Druids, says they were called *Saronidæ*, from *Σαρων*, the Greek name of an oak||.

(4) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(5) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

\* M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 341.

† Spelman, Gloss.

‡ Plin. l. 16. c. 44.

§ Dickenson Delphi Phœnicizantes, p. 188.

|| Diod. Sicul. l. 5.

they

they enjoyed so many immunities and distinctions, that princes were ambitious of being admitted into their Society (6).

Arch-  
druid.

The Druids were not all of equal rank and dignity. Cæsar says that some of them were more eminent than others, and that the whole order was subject to one supreme head or Archdruid. This high-priest was elected from amongst the most eminent Druids, by a plurality of votes. But this high station was attended with so much power and riches, with so many honours and privileges of various kinds, that it was an object of great ambition, and the election of one to fill it, sometimes occasioned a civil war (7).

Three  
classes of  
Druids.

The Druids were also divided into three different classes, who applied to different branches of learning, and performed different parts in the offices of religion. These three classes were, the Bards, the Euhages or Vates, and Druids: which last name was frequently given to the whole order, though it was also sometimes appropriated to a particular class (8).

1st class.

The bards were the heroic, historical, and genealogical poets of Germany, Gaul, and Britain. They did not properly belong to the priestly order, nor had they any immediate concern with the offices of religion. On the contrary, they carefully abstained from introducing any thing of a religious nature into their poems; and therefore they will fall more naturally under our consideration in another place (9).

2d class.

Those of the second class were called by the Greeks, *ουατις*; by the Romans, Vates; and by the Gauls and Britons, Faids. They were unquestionably of the priesthood, and performed an important part in the public offices of religion; by composing hymns in honour of the Gods, which they sung to the music of their harps and other instruments, at the sacred solemnities. They were, in a word, the sacred musicians, the religious poets, and pretended prophets of all the Celtic nations,

(6) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Cicero de divinatione, l. 1. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(7) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(8) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. Strabo, l. 4. Ammian. Marcellin. l. 15.

(9) See chap. 5th, of poetry.



who believed them to be divinely inspired in their poetical compositions, and also blessed with revelations from Heaven, concerning the nature of things, the will of the Gods, and future events. The Latin poets were not unacquainted with this distinction between the mere secular Bard or Poet and the divine Vates; or of the great superiority of the latter above the former. This appears from the verses quoted below; in which Lycidas assumes the name of Poet as his right, but declines the more honourable title of Vates, which was given him by the shepherds, as too high a compliment (10). With these religious poets and pretended prophets, both Gaul and Britain very much abounded, in the times we are now considering, as we learn from the concurring testimonies of Strabo, Diodorus, and Marcellinus (11): and a modern writer, of great authority in these matters, assures us, that there are some families still subsisting, both in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, which bear their name, and are probably descended from some of these once celebrated Faids (12).

The Druids, who composed the third, or to speak <sup>3d class.</sup> more properly, the second class of the ancient British priesthood, were by far the most numerous, and therefore the whole order was commonly called by that name. They performed all the offices of religion, except that part which we have just now observed was allotted to the preceding class; and it is even probable, that in the absence of the Faids, they performed that part also, and assisted in it when they were present.

Many of the Druids seem to have lived a kind of collegiate or monastic life, united together in fraternities, as Marcellinus expresses it. The service of each temple required a considerable number of them, and all these lived together near the temple where they served. The Archdruid of Britain is thought to have had his or- Manner of living.

(10) . . . . . et me fecere poetam  
Pierides, sunt et mihi carmina: me quoque dicunt  
Vatem pastores, sed non ego credulus illis.

Virgil. Eclog. 9 ver. 32.

(11) Strabo, l. 4. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. Ammian, Marcellin l. 15.

(12) Macpherson's Dissertations, p. 203.

dinary residence in the isle of Anglesey, where he lived in great splendor and magnificence for those times, surrounded by a great number of the most eminent persons of his order. In this isle, it is pretended, the vestiges of the Archdruid's palaces, and of the houses of the other Druids, who attended him, are still visible (13). But not a few of the Druids led a more secular and public way of life, in the courts of princes and families of great men, to perform the duties of their function. For no sacred rite or act of religion could be performed without a Druid, either in temples or in private houses. Nor does it seem improbable, that some of these ancient priests retired from the world, and from the societies of their brethren, and lived as hermits, in order to acquire a greater reputation of sanctity. In the most unfrequented places of some of the western islands of Scotland, there are still remaining the foundations of small circular houses, capable of containing only one person, which are called by the people of the country Druids houses (14). None of these ways of life seem to be very suitable to a married state, and it is therefore probable that the far greatest part of the Druids lived in celibacy, and were waited upon by a set of female devotees, who will presently be described.

**Revenues.** It is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover particularly what were the revenues of the ancient British Druids. In general we may conclude that they were as great as the people could afford, considering the superstitious veneration which they entertained for their persons, and the implicit obedience which they paid to their dictates. It is never difficult for those who have once obtained the entire direction of men's consciences, to secure to themselves a considerable portion of their possessions. The Druids seem to have had the superiority, if not the entire property of certain islands on the coast both of England and Scotland; as Anglesey, Man, Harris, &c. and it is highly probable that they had also territories in different parts of the continent, near their

(13) Rowland's *Mona Antiq.* p. 83. &c. &c.

(14) Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 154.



several temples. There can be no doubt, that a great part of the offerings which were brought to their sacred places, and presented to their Gods, fell to their share. These offerings were very frequent, and on some occasions very great. It was a common practice with the nations of Gaul and Britain, to dedicate all the cattle, and other spoils which they had taken in war, to that deity by whose assistance they imagined they had gained the victory (15). Of these devoted spoils the priests were at least the administrators, if not the proprietors. They were frequently consulted, both by states and private persons, about the success of intended enterprises, and other future events; and were well rewarded for the good fortune which they promised, and the secrets of futurity which they pretended to reveal (16). To say nothing here of the profits which they derived from the administration of justice, the practice of physic, and teaching the sciences (which were all in their hands), they certainly received great emoluments from those whom they instructed in the principles, and initiated into the mysteries of their theology; especially from such of them as were of high rank, and came from foreign countries. Besides this (if we can depend upon a tradition mentioned by several writers) there were certain annual dues (we know not what they were) exacted from every family by the priests of that temple within whose district the family dwelt; and these artful priests had invented a most effectual method to secure the punctual payment of these dues. All these families were obliged (under the dreadful penalties of excommunication) to extinguish their fires on the last evening of October, and to attend at the temple with their annual payment; and the first day of November to receive some of the sacred fire from the altar, to rekindle those in their houses. By this contrivance, they were obliged to pay, or to be deprived of the use of fire, at the approach of winter, when the want of it would be most sensibly felt. If any of their friends or neighbours took pity on the delinquents, and supplied them with fire, or even conversed with them, they were laid under the same

(15) *Cæsar de Bel Gal.* l. 6. *Athen.* l. 4.(16) *Ælian. Var. Histor.* l. 2. c. 31.

terrible sentence of excommunication, by which they were not only excluded from all the sacred solemnities, but from all the sweets of society, and all the benefits of law and justice (17). From these sources of wealth which we have mentioned (and perhaps they had others to us unknown), we have reason to think, that the British Druids were the most opulent, as well as the most respected body of men in their country, in the times in which they flourished.

Numbers.

Nothing can be affirmed with certainty, concerning the precise number of the British Druids: though, in general, we have reason to believe, that they were very numerous. Both the Gauls and Britons of these times were much addicted to superstition: and among a superstitious people there will always be many priests. Besides this, they entertained an opinion, as we are told by Strabo, which was highly favourable to the increase of the priestly order. They were fully persuaded, that the greater number of Druids they had in their country, they would obtain the more plentiful harvests, and the greater abundance of all things (18). Nay, we are directly informed by Cæsar, that great numbers of people, allured by the honours and privileges which they enjoyed, embraced the discipline of the Druids of their own accord, and that many more were dedicated to it by their parents (19). Upon the whole, therefore, we shall probably not be very much mistaken, if we suppose, that the British Druids bore as great a proportion in number to the rest of the people, as the clergy in popish countries bear to the laity, in the present age.

Druidesses.

Besides the Druids, the Britons had also Druidesses, who assisted in the offices, and shared in the honours and emoluments of the priesthood. When Suetonius invaded the island of Anglesey, his soldiers were struck with terror at the strange appearance of a number of these consecrated females, who ran up and down among the ranks of the British army, like enraged furies, with their hairs dishevelled, and flaming torches in their hands, imprecating the wrath of Heaven on the invaders of their

(17) Toland's Hist. of the Druids, p. 71, 72. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(18) Strabo, l. 4.

(19) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.



country (20). The Druidesses of Gaul and Britain are said to have been divided into three ranks of classes. Those of the first class had vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in sisterhoods, very much sequestered from the world. They were great pretenders to divination, prophecy, and miracles; were highly admired by the people, who consulted them on all important occasions as infallible oracles, and gave them the honourable appellation of *Senæ*, i. e. venerable women. *Mela* gives a curious description of one of those Druidical nunneries. It was situated in an island in the British sea, and contained nine of these venerable vestals, who pretended that they could raise storms and tempests by their incantations; could cure the most inveterate diseases; could transform themselves into all kinds of animals; and foresee future events. But it seems they were not forward in publishing the things which they foresaw, but chose to make some advantage of so valuable a gift. For, it is added, they disclosed the things which they had discovered, to none but those who came into their island on set purpose to consult their oracle (21): and none of these, we may suppose, would come empty-handed. The second class consisted of certain female devotees, who were indeed married, but spent the far greatest part of their time in the company of the Druids, and in the offices of religion; and conversed only occasionally with their husbands; who perhaps thought themselves very happy in having such pious wives. The third class of Druidesses was the lowest, and consisted of such as performed the most servile offices about the temples, the sacrifices, and the persons of the Druids (22).

Such were the ministers and teachers of religion among the ancient Britons. It is now time to enquire what were the religious principles and opinions which they taught.

The Druids, as well as the Gymnosophists of India, the Magi of Persia, the Chaldeans of Assyria, and all the other priests of antiquity, had two sets of religious doctrines and opinions, which were very different from one another. The one of these systems they communicated only to the initiated, who were admitted into their own order, and at their admission were solemnly sworn to keep that system of doctrines a profound secret from

Twofold  
doctrine of  
the Druids.

(20) Tacit. Annal. l. 14.

(21) *Mela*, l. 3. c. 2.

(22) Gruttel. p. 62. *Relig. de Gaul.* l. 1. c. 27.

all the rest of mankind (23). Besides this, they took several other precautions to prevent these secret doctrines from transpiring. They taught their disciples, as we are told by Mela, in the most private places, such as caves of the earth, or the deepest recesses of the thickest forests, that they might not be overheard by any who were not initiated (24). They never committed any of these doctrines to writing, for fear they should thereby become public (25). Nay, so jealous were some orders of these ancient priests on this head, that they made it an inviolable rule never to communicate any of these secret doctrines to women, lest they should blab them (26). The other system of religious doctrines and opinions was made public, being adapted to the capacities and superstitious humours of the people, and calculated to promote the honour and opulence of the priesthood.

Secret doctrines of the Druids,

It cannot be expected that we should be able to give a minute detail of the secret doctrines of the Druids. The Greek and Roman writers, from whom alone we can receive information, were not perfectly acquainted with them, and therefore they have left us only some general hints, and probable conjectures about them, with which we must be contented. The secret doctrines of our Druids were much the same with those of the Gymnosophists and Brachmans of India, the Magi of Persia, the Chaldeans of Assyria, the priests of Egypt, and of all the other priests of antiquity. All these are frequently joined together by ancient authors, as entertaining the same opinions in religion and philosophy; which might be easily confirmed by an induction of particulars (27). The truth is, there is hardly any thing more surprising in the history of mankind, than the similitude, or rather identity, of the opinions, institutions, and manners of all these orders of ancient priests, though they lived under such different climates, and at so great a distance from one another, without intercourse or communication. This amounts to a demonstration, that all these opinions and institutions flowed originally from one fountain; the instructions which the sons of Noah gave to their immediate

(23) Mela, l. 3. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. in proem.

(24) Mela, l. 3. c. 2. Lucan, l. 1.

(25) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. (26) Strabo, l. 2.

(27) Mela, Strabo, Diod. Sicul. Diogen. Laert. &c.

descendants,



descendants, and they to their posterity; many of which were carefully preserved and handed down through a long succession of ages, by an order of men in every nation set apart for that purpose. Though these streams of religious knowledge therefore flowed through different channels, into very distant countries, yet they long retained a strong tincture of their original fountain. The secret doctrines of the Druids, and of all these different orders of priests, were more agreeable to primitive tradition and right reason, than their public doctrines; as they were not under any temptation, in their private schools, to conceal or disguise the truth. It is not improbable that they still retained, in secret, the great doctrine of One God, the creator and governor of the universe (28). This, which was originally the belief of all the orders of priests which we have mentioned, was retained by some of them long after the period we are now considering, and might therefore be known to the Druids at this period. This is one of the doctrines which the Brachmans of India are sworn to keep secret: "That there is one God, the creator of heaven and earth (29)." Cæsar acquaints us, that they taught their disciples many things about the nature and perfections of God (30). Some writers are of opinion, and have taken much learned pains to prove, that our Druids, as well as the other orders of ancient priests, taught their disciples many things concerning the creation of the world---the formation of man---his primitive innocence and felicity---and his fall into guilt and misery---the creation of angels---their rebellion and expulsion out of Heaven---the universal deluge, and the final destruction of this world by fire; and that their doctrines on all these subjects were not very different from those which are contained in the writings of Moses, and other parts of scripture (31). There is abundant evidence that the Druids taught the doctrine of the immortality of the souls of men; and Mela tells us, that this was one of their secret doctrines which they were permitted to publish, for political rather than religious reasons. "There is one thing which they

(28) Augustin. de civitate Dei, l. 8. c. 9.

(29) Francisc. Saver. Epist. de Brachman.

(30) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(31) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 32.

“ teach their disciples, which had been made known to  
 “ the common people, in order to render them more  
 “ brave and fearless; viz. That souls are immortal,  
 “ and that there is another life after the present (32).”  
 Cæsar and Diodorus say, that the Druids taught the  
 Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls into  
 other bodies (33). This was perhaps their public doctrine  
 on this subject, as being most level to the gross concep-  
 tions of the vulgar. But others represent them as teach-  
 ing that the soul after death ascended into some higher  
 orb, and enjoyed a more sublime felicity. This  
 was probably their private doctrine, and real senti-  
 ments (34).

Public doc-  
 trines of the  
 Druids.

But however agreeable to truth and reason the secret  
 doctrines of the Druids might be, they were of no  
 benefit to the bulk of mankind, from whom they were  
 carefully concealed. For these artful priests, for their  
 own mercenary ends, had embraced a maxim, which  
 hath unhappily survived them, that ignorance was the  
 mother of devotion, and that the common people were  
 incapable of comprehending rational principles, or of  
 being influenced by rational motives; and that they were  
 therefore to be fed with the coarser food of superstitious  
 fables. This is the reason assigned by Strabo for the  
 fabulous theology of the ancients. “ It is not possible  
 “ to bring women, and the common herd of mankind  
 “ to religion, piety, and virtue, by the pure and sim-  
 “ ple dictates of reason. It is necessary to call in the aids  
 “ of superstition, which must be nourished by fables and  
 “ portents of various kinds. With this view therefore  
 “ were all the fables of ancient theology invented, to  
 “ awaken superstitious terrors in the minds of the ig-  
 “ norant multitude (35). As the Druids had the same  
 ends in view with the other priests of antiquity, it is  
 highly probable that their public theology was of the  
 same complexion with theirs; consisting of a thousand  
 mythological fables, concerning the genealogies, attri-  
 butes, offices, and actions of their Gods; the various  
 superstitious methods of appeasing their anger, gaining

(32) Mela, l. 3. c. 11.

(33) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Diod. Sicul. l. 5.

(34) Ammian. Marcel. l. 13. Lucan. l. 1. v. 455, &c.

(35) Strabo

their



their favour, and discovering their will. This farrago of fables was couched in verse, full of figures and metaphors, and was delivered by the Druids from little eminences (of which there are many still remaining) to the surrounding multitudes (36). With this fabulous divinity, these poetical declaimers intermixed moral precepts, for the regulation of the lives and manners of their hearers; and were peculiarly warm in exhorting them to abstain from doing any hurt or injury to one another; and to fight valiantly in defence of their country (37). These pathetic declamations are said to have made great impression on the minds of the people, inspiring them with a supreme veneration for their Gods, an ardent love to their country, an undaunted courage, and sovereign contempt of death (38). The secret and public theology of the Druids, together with their system of morals and philosophy, had swelled to such an enormous size, in the beginning of this period, that their disciples employed no less than twenty years in making themselves masters of all their different branches, and in getting by heart, that infinite multitude of verses in which they were contained (39).

How long the several nations who descended from Gomer, the son of Japhet, and in particular the ancient Gauls and Britons, continued to worship only the one living and true God; and at what time, or by what means the adoration of a plurality of Gods was introduced amongst them, it is impossible for us to discover, with any certainty; though we have sufficient evidence that this change had taken place before the beginning of our present period (40). It is highly probable, that this fatal innovation was introduced by slow degrees, proceeded from, and was promoted by the three following causes. The different names and attributes of the true God, were mistaken for, and adored as so many different divinities. The sun, moon, and stars, the most striking and illustrious objects in nature, were at first viewed with great veneration, as the most glorious works

The Gods  
of the an-  
cient Bri-  
tons.

(36) Rowland's *Mona Antiq.*

(37) *Id* *ibid.* p. 253. Diogen. Laert. in Proem.

(38) Lucan. l. 1. v. 460, &c. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(39) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(40) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

and

and lively emblems of the Deity, and by degrees came to be adored as Gods. Great and mighty princes, who had been the objects of universal admiration during their lives, became the objects of adoration after their deaths. The Britons had Gods of all these different kinds, as will appear from the following brief detail :

Hesus.

The Supreme Being was worshipped by the Gauls and Britons under the name of Hesus, a word expressive of his attribute of Omnipotence, as Hizzuz is in the Hebrew (41). But when the worship of a plurality of Gods was introduced, Hesus was adored only as a particular divinity, who by his great power presided over war and armies, and was the same with Mars (42). As the Germans, Gauls, and Britons were much addicted to war, they were great worshippers of Hesus, when become a particular divinity, from whom they expected victory; and they paid their court to him by such cruel and bloody rites, as could be acceptable only to a being who delighted in the destruction of mankind (43).

Teutates.

Teutates was another name or attribute of the Supreme Being, which, in these times of ignorance and idolatry, was worshipped by the Gauls and Britons as a particular divinity. It is evidently compounded of the two British words, Deu-Tatt, which signify God the parent or creator, a name properly due only to the one true God (44); who was originally intended by that name. But when these nations sunk into idolatry, they degraded Teutates into the sovereign of the infernal world; the same with the Dis and Pluto of the Greeks and Romans (or, as others think, with Mercury); and worshipped him in such a manner as could be agreeable to none but an infernal power (45):

(41) Pſal 24. v. 8.

(42) Boethorn. Orig. Gal. c. I. p. 11.

(43) Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. 2 17. Lucan. l. I. v. 445.

(44) Et quibus immitis placatur fanguine dno

Teutates : horrensque feris altaribus Hesus.

Lucan. l. I. ver. 445.

(45) Baxter Gloſſ. Brit. p. 277. Cæſar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 18. Dionyſ. Halicar. l. I. p. 16.



So tremendous and awful is the sound of thunder, Taranis, that all nations seem to have agreed in believing it to be the voice of the Supreme Being, and as such it was no doubt considered by the Gauls and Britons, as well as by other nations, while they continued to worship only one God (46). But when they began to multiply their Gods, Taranis, so called from Taran, thunder, became one of their particular divinities, and was worshipped also by very inhuman rites.

The Sun seems to have been both the most ancient and most universal object of idolatrous worship; in-<sup>The Sun under various names.</sup> much, that perhaps there never was any nation of idolaters, which did not pay some homage to this glorious luminary. He was worshipped by the ancient Britons with great devotion, in many places, under the various names of Bel, Belinus, Belatucardus, Apollo, Grannius, &c. all which names in their language were expressive of the nature and properties of that visible fountain of light and heat (47). To this illustrious object of idolatrous worship, those famous circles of stones, of which there are not a few still remaining, seem to have been chiefly dedicated: where the Druids kept the sacred fire, the symbol of this divinity, and from whence, as being situated on eminences, they had a full view of the heavenly bodies..

As the Moon appeared next in lustre and utility to the Sun, there can be no doubt, that this radiant queen of heaven obtained a very early and very large share in the idolatrous veneration of mankind. What Diodorus says of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, may perhaps be said with equal truth of all other idolatrous nations. "When they took a view of the universe, and contemplated the nature of all things, they imagined that the Sun and Moon were the two first and greatest Gods (48)." The moon, as we are told by Cæsar (49), was the chief divinity of the ancient Germans, out of gratitude, it is probable, for the favours which they re-

(46) Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

Lucan. l. 1. v. 446.

Job, chap. 40. v. 9. Psalm. 29. 3, 4, 5.

(47) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 35. Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 206, 261.

M'Pherfon's Dissert. p. 313.

(48) Diod. Sicul. l. 1.

(49) Cæsar, l. 6. c. 21.

ceived from her lunar majesty, in their nocturnal and predatory expeditions; nor did they think it proper to fight, or engage in any important enterprize, while this their protectress was in a state of obscurity (50). The Gauls and Britons seem to have paid the same kind of worship to the Moon, as to the Sun; and it hath been observed, that the circular temples dedicated to these two luminaries were of the same construction, and commonly contiguous (52).

Gods of  
Britain  
who had  
been men.

But a great number of the Gods of Gaul and Britain, as well as of Greece and Rome, had been men, victorious princes, wise legislators, inventors of useful arts, &c. who had been deified, by the admiration and gratitude of those nations which had lost the knowledge of one infinitely perfect Being, who was alone intitled to their supreme admiration and gratitude (53). It is even certain, that those deified mortals who were adored by the Gauls and Britons were in general the very same persons who were worshipped by the Greeks and Romans. These were Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and the other princes and princeesses of the royal family of the Titans; who reigned with so much lustre, both in Asia and Europe, in the patriarchal ages (54). The only question is, whether the Gauls and Britons, and other Celtic nations, borrowed their Gods of this class, from the Greeks and Romans, or these last borrowed theirs from them. To convince us that the Celtic Gods were the originals, and those of the Greeks and Romans the copies, it is sufficient to observe, that all those deified princes belonged to the Celtæ by their birth, and were sovereigns of the Celtic tribes, who peopled Gaul and Britain—that all their names were significant in the Celtic language, and expressive of their several characters—and that the Gauls and Britons, and the other nations who were called barbarians, were much more tenacious of the opinions and customs of their ancestors, than the Greeks and Romans, who discovered a great propensity

(50) Cæsar, l. i.

(52) Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 365.

(53) Cicero de Natura Deorum, l. 1. Diod. Sicul. l. 3. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6 p. 17.

(54) Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.



to adopt the Gods and religious ceremonies of other nations (55). Of these deified princes who were worshipped by all the Celtic nations, and by many others, the following were the most illustrious :

Saturn was one of the greatest of the Titan princes, <sup>Saturn.</sup> and the first of that family who wore a crown, and assumed the title of king ; his ancestors having contented themselves with that of chieftains (56). His name in the Celtic language signifies Martial, or Warlike, a name to which he was well intitled, having dethroned his father Uranus, subdued his brother Titan, and extended his empire over the greatest part of Europe (57). Though Cæsar doth not name Saturn among the Gods of Gaul and Britain, yet there is sufficient evidence that he was known and worshipped in these parts. Cicero says, that he was worshipped chiefly in the west (58) : and Dion. Halicarnassus directly affirms, that he was adored by all the Celtic nations who inhabited the west of Europe. (59). Saturn was represented as a cruel and bloody, as well as a martial prince ; and his deluded worshippers seem to have imagined that he still retained these odious qualities in his deified state ; for they endeavoured to gain his favour by human victims (60).

Jupiter, the youngest son of Saturn, was still a greater <sup>Jupiter.</sup> and more renowned prince than his father, whom he dethroned. He so far eclipsed his two elder brothers, Neptune and Pluto, that they acted only as his vicegerents in the government of certain provinces of his prodigious empire. The true name of this illustrious prince was Jow, which in the Celtic language signifies young ; he being the youngest son of Saturn, and having performed very great exploits while he was in the flower of his youth (61). To this name the Latins afterwards added the word Pater (father), but still retained the true name in all the other cases but the nominative. Jow or Jupiter seems to have been a prince of great personal accomplishments, though in some particulars not of very

(55) Dionys. Halicar. l. 7. p. 474.

(56) Tertul. de Corona. p. 17.

(57) Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 10.

(58) Cicero de Natura Deorum. l. 3.

(59) Dion. Halicar. l. 1. c. 4.

(60) Id. *Ibid.*

(61) Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 11, 12.

strict morals; and as he reigned in prodigious splendor over an immense empire, we need not wonder that he was extravagantly flattered during his life, and deified (as was become the custom) after his death. The same high strains of adulation were addressed to him in his deified state, and at length he came to be considered by Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Britons, and many other nations, as the greatest of all Gods, to whom they impiously ascribed every divine perfection, as will appear from the verses quoted below (62).

Mercury.

Mercury was the favourite son of Jupiter by his cousin Maia, and the most accomplished prince of all the Titan race. He was so much beloved by his father Jupiter, that he gave him the government of the West of Europe in his own lifetime. His name in the Celtic tongue was compounded of the two words, Mercs, which signifies merchandize, and Wr, a man; a name which was justly conferred upon him, on account of his promoting commerce, as well as learning, eloquence, and all the arts in his dominions. It was on these accounts also, that in his deified state he was esteemed the God of merchants, orators, and artists; and as thieves will sometimes thrust themselves into good company, they too claimed his protection (63). The Gauls (and probably the Britons) having enjoyed the benefit of the wise and good government of this prince, their esteem and gratitude made them regard him as their chief God (64).

Many other  
Gods, God-  
deses, &c.

Besides these, there is sufficient evidence, that our unhappy ancestors, in those times of ignorance, had many other imaginary Gods, who had been real men, to whom they paid religious homage; but there seems to

- (62) Primus cunctorum est et Jupiter ultimus idem :  
 Jupiter et caput et medium est : sunt ex Jove cuncta.  
 Jupiter est terræ basis, et stellantis Olympi.  
 Jupiter et mas est, estque idem nympa perennis.  
 Spiritus est cunctus, validusque est Jupiter ignis.  
 Jupiter est pelagi radix : est lunaque solque.  
 Cunctorum rex est, princepsque et originis auctor.  
 Namque sinu occultans, dulces in luminis auras  
 Cuncta tulit : sacro versans sub pectore curas,

Apuleius de mundo, l. 1.

(63) Pezron Antiq. Celt. l. 1. c. 14.

(64) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17.



be little necessity for making such a detail as this complete (65). They worshipped also several female divinities or Goddeses; as Andraſte, who is supposed to have been the same with Venus or Diana; Onvana, Minerva, Ceres, Proserpine, &c. &c. (66). Nay, into such an abyss of superstition and idolatry were they sunk, that, according to Gildas, they had a greater number of Gods than the Egyptians; and there was hardly a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which was not supposed to have some divinities, or genii residing in them (67.) Such were the unworthy objects to whom the benighted Britons paid religious worship and adoration of various kinds; some of which we shall now proceed to enumerate.

The great ends which the ancient Britons had in view in the worship which they paid to their Gods, seem to have been these four—To express their admiration of their perfections, and gratitude for their favours—to obtain from them such things as they wanted and desired—to appease their anger, and engage their love—and to discover their designs and counsels with regard to future events. In consequence of this, their acts of religious worship were also of four kinds, and consisted of—songs of praise and thanksgiving—prayers and supplications—offerings, and sacrifices—and the various rites of augury and divination.

Poetry, it hath been imagined by some writers, was the parent of poetry; and the first poems were hymns of praise and thanksgiving to the Supreme Being. However this may be, it is very certain, that such hymns were of the highest antiquity, and the most ancient poetical compositions now extant are of that kind (68). Nor was the use of such sacred hymns less universal than it was ancient, and they have always made a part of the religious worship of every nation. For which reasons we may conclude in general, that such songs of praise and thanksgiving, expressive of their admiration, love, and gratitude to their Gods; were used by the ancient

(65) See Sammis Brit. Antiq. cap. 9

(66) Id. Ibid. Cæsar. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 15.

(67) Historia Gildæ, c. 2. Pelloutier Hist. Celt. v. 2. p. 36 to 41, &c. &c.

(68) Deuteronomy, chap. 32. Judges, chap. 5.

Britons (who were a very poetical people) in their religious solemnities. If we could be certain that the famous Hyperborean island described by Diodorus Siculus was Britain, or any of the British isles, we should then have a direct proof, that the religion of the ancient Britons consisted chiefly in singing hymns to Apollo, or the Sun, accompanied with the music of various instruments (69). “ Hecatæus and some other ancient  
 “ writers report, that there is an island about the big-  
 “ nefs of Sicily, situated in the ocean, opposite to the  
 “ northern coast of Celtica (Gaul), inhabited by a  
 “ people called Hyperboreans, because they are beyond  
 “ the north wind. The climate is excellent, and the  
 “ soil is fertile, yielding double crops. The inhabitants  
 “ are great worshippers of Apollo (the Sun), to whom  
 “ they sing many hymns. To this God they have con-  
 “ secrated a large territory, in the midst of which they  
 “ have a magnificent round temple, replenished with  
 “ the richest offerings. Their very city is dedicated to  
 “ him, and is full of musicians and players on various  
 “ instruments, who every day celebrate his benefits and  
 “ perfections.” Besides this, the Britons and other nations, had another reason for employing songs and musical instruments in great numbers, in their religious worship. This was to drown the cries of those human victims which they offered in sacrifice to their Gods (70). There was, as we have already seen, a particular class of the priesthood appointed to compose those sacred hymns, and to perform the musical part of worship; though it is not improbable, that on some occasions, all the Druids, and perhaps all the people present, joined in these songs. The hymns composed by the Eubates or Faids, and sung at their sacred solemnities, no doubt, made a part of that poetical system of divinity, in which the Druids instructed their disciples; but as they were never committed to writing, they are now lost.

Prayers  
and suppli-  
cation.

As it hath always been one end of religious worship to obtain certain favours from the objects of it; so prayers and supplications for these favours, have always

(69) Diød. Sicul. l. II. c. 29.

(70) Plutarch. de Superstitione.  
made



made a part of the religious worship of all nations, and in particular of that of the ancient Britons. When in danger, they implored the protection of their Gods; prayers were intermixed with their praises, accompanied their sacrifices, and attended every act of their religion (71). It seems indeed to have been the constant invariable practice of all nations, the Jews not excepted, whenever they presented any offerings or sacrifices to their Gods, to put up prayers to them to be propitious to the persons by whom and for whom the offerings or sacrifices were presented; and to grant them such particular favours as they desired. These prayers were commonly put up by a priest appointed for that purpose, with his hand upon the head of the victim, immediately before it was killed (72). Pliny acquaints us with the substance of one of these prayers, which was usually made by a Druid at one of their most solemn sacrifices. "Which done, they begin to offer their sacrifices, and "to pray to God, to give a blessing with his own gift to "them that were honoured with it (73). When we consider the poetical genius of the ancient Britons, as well as the practice of other nations of antiquity, we have some reason to think, that their prayers, as well as praises, were in verse, and made part of their poetical system of divinity (74).

Mankind having found, by experience, the great <sup>Offerings.</sup> efficacy of gifts and presents, in appeasing the anger, and gaining the favour of their fellow-creatures, began to think that they might probably make the same impressions on the objects of their religious worship; and employed them to that purpose (75). Offerings of various kinds constituted an important part of the religion of the ancient Britons, and of many other nations. These offerings were of different kinds and degrees of value, according to the different circumstances of those who presented them; and consisted generally of the most useful and excellent things which they could procure, and

(71) Dio, Caf. 1. 62.

(72) Ovid, Met, l. 7. v. 245, &c. Virg. Æneid. l. 6. v. 248, &c. Levit. chap. 1. v. 4.—chap. 16. v. 21.

(73) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 16. c. 44.

(74) Exorant magnos carmina sæpe Deos. Ovid. Trist. l. 11.

(75) Munera crede mihi placeant hominesque Deosque.

which

which they were taught would be most agreeable to the Gods (76). This was a mode of worship which the Druids very much encouraged, and their sacred places were crowded with those pious gifts; expressive of the gratitude of the donors for favours which they had already received, or of their desires of obtaining others; and not a few of these offerings were in consequence of vows which had been made in a time of trouble. When armies returned from a successful campaign, they commonly offered the most precious of their spoils to some God to whom they imagined themselves indebted for their success. These spoils were piled up in heaps in their consecrated groves, or even by the side of some hallowed lake; and were esteemed so sacred, that they were seldom or never violated (77).

**Sacrifices.**

Mankind, in all ages, and in every country, have betrayed a consciousness of guilt, and dread of punishment from superior beings, on that account. In consequence of this, they have employed various means to expiate the guilt of which they were conscious, and to escape the punishments of which they were afraid. The means which have been most universally employed by mankind for these ends, were sacrifices of living creatures to their offended Gods; which constituted a very essential part of the religion of the ancient Britons, and of almost all other ancient nations. The animals which were sacrificed by them, as well as by other nations, were such as they used for their own food; which being very palatable and nourishing to themselves, they imagined they would be no less agreeable to their Gods. These victims were examined by the Druids with great care, to see that they were the most perfect and beautiful in their several kinds, after which they were killed, with various ceremonies, by priests appointed for that purpose. On some occasions the victims were consumed entirely by fire upon the altar; but more commonly they were divided into three parts, one of which was consumed upon the altar, another fell to the share of the priests who officiated; and on the third, the person who brought the sacrifice, feasted with his friends (78).

(76) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

(77) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.

(78) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 35.



It had been well, if our British ancestors had confined themselves to the sacrificing of oxen, sheep, goats, and other animals; but we have undoubted evidence, that they proceeded to the most horrid lengths of cruelty in their superstition, and offered human victims to their Gods. It had unhappily become an article in the druidical creed, "That nothing but the life of man could atone for the life of man." In consequence of this maxim, their altars streamed with human blood, and great numbers of wretched men fell a sacrifice to their barbarous superstition. On some great occasions they formed a huge colossal figure of a man, of osier twigs, and having filled it with men, and surrounded it with hay and other combustible materials, they set fire to the pile, and reduced it, with all the miserable creatures included in it, to ashes (79). For this abominable purpose, indeed, they are said to have preferred such as had been guilty of theft, robbery, and other crimes, as most acceptable to their Gods; but when there was a scarcity of criminals, they made no scruple to supply their place with innocent persons. These dreadful sacrifices were offered by the Druids for the public, at the eve of a dangerous war, or in a time of any national calamity; and for particular persons of high rank, when they were afflicted with any dangerous disease. By such acts of cruelty did the ancient Britons endeavour to avert the displeasure, and gain the favour of their Gods. But that we may not on this account entertain a more unfavourable opinion of their manners and dispositions than we ought, or be led to think them greater barbarians than they were, it is but justice to observe, that many of the most polite and learned nations in the heathen world, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans, were guilty of the same superstitious barbarities (80). This observation is not made to diminish our horror at such savage and sanguinary superstitions, for that cannot be too great; but to prevent us from imagining, that our British ancestors were naturally more cruel, or more stupid, than other nati-

(79) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16. Strabo, l. 4.

(80) Euseb. de laud. Constant. l. 1. c. 7. Laëtant. l. 1. c. 23. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 35.

ons ; and to shew us to what deplorable excesses the most humane and intelligent people upon earth are capable of proceeding, when they are left to themselves, and are destitute of the light of Revelation.

**Divination.** It seems to have been one article in the creed of the ancient Britons, and of all the other nations of antiquity, that the Gods whom they worshipped had the government of the world, and the direction of future events in their hands ; and that they were not unwilling, upon proper application, to discover these events to their pious worshippers (81). “ The Gods (says Ammianus), either “ from the benignity of their own natures, and their “ love to mankind, or because men have merited this “ favour from them, take a pleasure of discovering im- “ pending events by various indications (82).” This belief gave rise to astrology, augury, magic, lots, and an infinite multitude of religious rites and ceremonies ; by which deluded mortals hoped to discover the counsels of Heaven, with regard to themselves and their undertakings (83). We learn from Pliny, that the ancient Britons were greatly addicted to divination, and excelled so much in the practice of all its arts, that they might have given a lesson to the Persians themselves. It will not certainly be thought necessary to give a minute laborious detail of all these arts of divination. It is sufficient to observe, that besides all those which were practised by them in common with other nations, they had one of a very horrid nature, which is thus described by Diodorus Siculus : “ They have a great veneration for those who “ discover future events, either from the flight of birds, “ or the inspection of the entrails of victims ; and all “ the people yield an implicit faith to their oracles. On “ great occasions they practise a very strange and incredi- “ ble manner of divination. They take a man who is “ to be sacrificed, and kill him with one stroke of a “ sword above the diaphragm ; and by observing the “ posture in which he falls, his different convulsions, “ and the direction in which the blood flows from his “ body, they form their predictions, according to cer-

(81) *Ælian Variar. Hist.* l. 2. c. 31.

(82) *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 21.

(83) *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 30. c. 1.



“tain rules which have been left them by their ancestors (84).”

By such acts of religious worship did the ancient Britons, in those times of darkness, express their pious affections, and endeavour to gain the favour, and discover the will of their Gods. These acts of religion were performed by them, at certain stated times, and in certain places, which were esteemed sacred, and appropriated to religious purposes; which, with some other circumstances, claim a little attention.

It is impossible to suppose a public or national religion, without having certain times fixed for the celebration of its solemnities. Accordingly there have been such times settled by the laws and customs of all nations in all ages; and amongst others, by those of our British ancestors. When we consider how much the Gauls and Britons were addicted to superstition, we shall be inclined to think, that they had daily sacrifices and other acts of religion, at least in their most famous places of worship. The hours for these daily services were perhaps at noon and midnight, when they believed, according to Lucan, that the Gods visited their sacred groves (85). At noon they probably paid their homage to the Sun and the celestial Gods, and at midnight, to the Moon and the infernal powers. The Britons certainly were not ignorant of that ancient and universal division of time into weeks, consisting of seven days each; for several writers of unquestionable veracity assure us, that this was known, not only to the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, but to all the barbarous nations (86). But whether one of these seven days in every week was consecrated to religion, is not so well known. The Britons divided their time by lunar months, reckoning neither from the change nor from the full, but from the sixth day of one Moon to the sixth day of another; and the first day of every lunar month, according to their way of reckoning, or the sixth, according to ours, was a religious festival. “This (speaking of one of their most sacred solemnities), says Pliny, is always done

Times of their worship.

(84) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 35. (85) Lucan. l. 3. v. 423, &c.

(86) Joseph. contra Appion. l. 2. c. 89. Philo, l. 2. p. 657. Dio. Cass. l. 37. c. 18.

“ on the sixth day of the Moon. A day so esteemed  
 “ among them, that they have made their months, and  
 “ years, and even ages, which consist but of thirty years,  
 “ to take their beginning from it. The reason of their  
 “ chusing that day is, because the Moon is by that time  
 “ grown strong enough, though not come to the half  
 “ of its fulness (87).” The Gauls and Britons had several annual festivals, which were observed with great devotion and solemnity. Of this kind was the august solemnity of cutting the mistletoe from the oak by the Arch-druid; which is thus described by Pliny: “ The Druids  
 “ hold nothing so sacred as the mistletoe of the oak. As  
 “ this is very scarce, and rarely to be found, when any  
 “ of it is discovered, they go with great pomp and ceremony on a certain day to gather it. When they have  
 “ got every thing in readiness under the oak, both for  
 “ the sacrifice and the banquet which they make on this  
 “ great festival, they begin by tying two white bulls to  
 “ it by the horns. Then one of the Druids, clothed  
 “ in white, mounts the tree, and with a knife of gold  
 “ cuts the mistletoe, which is received in a white sagram.  
 “ This done, they proceed to their sacrifices and feasting (88).” This festival is said to have been kept as near as the age of the Moon permitted to the tenth of March, which was their New-year’s-day. The first day of May was a great annual festival, in honour of Belinus, or the Sun (89). On this day prodigious fires were kindled in all their sacred places, and on the tops of all their cairns, and many sacrifices were offered to that glorious luminary, which now began to shine upon them with great warmth and lustre. Of this festival there are still some vestiges remaining, both in Ireland and in the Highlands of Scotland, where the first of May is called Beltein, i. e. the fire of Bel, or Belinus (90). Midsummer-day and the first of November, already mentioned, were likewise annual festivals (91); the one to implore the friendly influences of Heaven upon their fields, and the other to return thanks for the favoura-

(87) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

(88) Id. *ibid.*

(89) Toland’s Hist. Druids, p. 74. Mem. de l’Acad. Royale, v. 19. p. 489.

(90) Toland’s Hist. Druids, p. 69. &amp;c.

(91) Id. *ibid.*



ble seasons and the fruits of the earth; as well as to pay their yearly contributions to the ministers of their religion. Nay, it is even probable, that all their Gods and Goddeses, their sacred groves, their hallowed hills, lakes, and fountains, had their several anniversary festivals (92); so that the Druidish calendar was perhaps as much crowded with holidays as the Popish one is at present. On these festivals, after the appointed sacrifices and other acts of devotion were finished, the rest of the time was spent in feasting, singing, dancing, and all kinds of diversions (93).

It is no less necessary to the support of a public and national religion, to have certain places appointed for the performance of its various offices. There appear to have been many such places in Britain, in the period we are now considering; but very different from those structures which have been erected for the purposes of religion in later ages. It was an article in the Druidical creed, "That it was unlawful to build temples to the Gods; or to worship them within walls and under roofs (94)." All their places of worship therefore were in the open air, and generally on eminences, from whence they had a full view of the heavenly bodies, to whom much of their adoration was directed. But that they might not be too much incommoded by the winds and rains, distracted by the view of external objects, or disturbed by the intrusion of unhallowed feet, when they were instructing their disciples, or performing their religious rites, they made choice of the deepest recesses of groves and woods for their sacred places. These groves were planted, for that purpose, in the most proper situations, and with those trees in which they most delighted. The chief of these was the strong and spreading oak, for which tree the Druids had a very high and superstitious veneration. "The Druids (says Pliny) have so high an esteem for the oak, that they do not perform the least religious ceremony, without being adorned with garlands of its leaves.—These philosophers believe, that every thing that grows upon that tree doth come from Heaven; and that God hath

(92) Pelloutier, Hist. Celt. l. 3. c. 9.

(93) Tacit. de Mor. German. c. 40. (94) Id. c. 9.

(94) Tacit. de Mor. German. c. 9.

“ chosen that tree above all others (95).” In this veneration for the oak, from whatever cause it proceeded, the Druids were not singular. The priests of many other nations, and even the Hebrew patriarchs, seem to have entertained an almost equal veneration for that tree (96). These sacred groves were watered by some consecrated fountain or river, and surrounded by a ditch or mound, to prevent the intrusion of improper persons. In the center of the grove was a circular area, inclosed with one or two rows of large stones set perpendicular in the earth; which constituted the temple, within which the altar stood, on which the sacrifices were offered. In some of their most magnificent temples, as particularly in that of Stone-henge, they had laid stones of prodigious weight on the tops of the standing pillars, which formed a kind of circle aloft in the air, and added much to the grandeur of the whole. Near to the temple (which is so called for want of a more proper word) they erected their *carneddes*, or sacred mounts; their *cromlechs*, or stone tables, on which they prepared their sacrifices; and all other things which were necessary for their worship. Though the sacred groves of the Druids have been long ago destroyed from the very roots, yet of the temples, *carneddes*, and *cromlechs*, which were inclosed within them, there are still many vestiges remaining in the British isles, and other parts of Europe (97). Many readers will probably be better pleased with Lucan’s poetical description of one of these Druidical groves than with the tedious prosaic one given above (98).

There

(95) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

(96) Gen. chap. 31. v. 4. 8. Josh. 24. v. 26, &c. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 34.

(97) Rowland’s *Mona Antiq.* sect. 7----9. Keyser *Antiq. Septentrion.* p. 77. Martin’s *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 9, &c.

(98) *Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,  
Obscurum cingens connexis aera ramis,  
Et gelidas alte submotis folibus umbras.  
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes  
Silvani, Nymphæque tenent, sed barbara ritu  
Sacra deum, structæ diris altaribus aræ,  
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor, &c. &c.*

Lucan. *Phars.* l. 3. v. 399.



There seems to be no necessary connexion between polytheism and idolatry, or the worship of many Gods and the worship of idols; though the one hath often introduced the other. The Egyptians, Persians, Romans, and other ancient nations, had no idols, images, or statues, for a long time after they began to worship many Gods (99). This was the case with the inhabitants of Britain when they were first invaded by the Romans. They worshipped many Gods, but they had no images of these Gods, at least none in the shape of men or other animals, in their sacred groves (100). But whether this proceeded from a religious principle, or from their ignorance of the art of sculpture may be doubted. For though they had no artificial statues, yet they had certain visible symbols or emblems of their Gods. "All the Celtic nations (says Maximus Tyrius) worshipped Jupiter, whose emblem or representation amongst them was a lofty oak (101)." The oaks which were used for this purpose were truncated, that they might be the better emblems of unshaken firmness and stability. Such were those in the Druidical grove described by Lucan (102). Those images, which Gildas says were still remaining in his time, both within and without the walls of the ruinous heathen temples, had been erected by the Romans, or by the Britons after they were conquered, as well as the temples themselves (203).

Nor far away for ages past had stood  
 An old unviolated sacred wood;  
 Whose gloomy boughs thick interwoven made  
 A chilly cheerless everlasting shade:  
 There, nor the rustic Gods, nor satyrs sport,  
 Nor fawns and sylvans with the nymphs resort:  
 But barb'rous priests some dreadful pow'r adore,  
 And lustrate ev'ry tree with human gore, &c. &c.  
 Rowe's Lucan, book 3. l. 594.

(99) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. I. c. 34. p. 241.

(100) Tacit. de Mor. Ger. c. 9. (101) Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. 38.

(102) . . . . Simulacraque mœsta deorum  
 Arte carent. Cæsisque extant informia truncis.  
 Lucan, l. 3. ver. 412.

. . . . Strong knotted trunks of oak stood near,  
 And artless emblems of their Gods appear.

(103) Gildæ Historia, c. 2.

The

Decline of  
the Druids,  
and of their  
religion.

The British Druids were in the zenith of their power and glory at the beginning of this period; enjoying an almost absolute authority over the minds and persons of their own countrymen; and being greatly admired and resorted to by strangers (104). But as the Romans gained ground in this island, the power of the Druids gradually declined, until it was almost quite destroyed. For that victorious people, contrary to their usual policy, discovered every where a very great animosity against the persons and religion of the Druids. This animosity seems to have proceeded from the two following causes. Though the Romans still sacrificed millions of mankind to their ambition, and had formerly sacrificed great numbers of them to their Gods; yet they now began to entertain a just abhorrence of those cruel rites, and to persecute the Druids and others who were guilty of them. The other and chief cause of the hatred of the Romans against the Druids was of a political nature. Those priests were not only the ministers of religion, but (as we shall see in the next chapter) they were the civil judges, legislators, and even sovereigns in their several countries. They were sensible that if the Romans prevailed, it would be impossible for them to preserve their power; and therefore they employed all their influence in animating their countrymen to make a vigorous resistance against those invaders; and in stirring them up to frequent revolts, after they had submitted. On the other hand, the Romans were no less sensible that they could not establish their own authority, and secure the obedience of Gaul and Britain, without destroying the authority and influence of the Druids in these countries. With this view they obliged their subjects in these provinces to build temples, to erect statues, and offer sacrifices after the Roman manner; and made severe laws against the use of human victims. They deprived the Druids of all authority in civil matters, and shewed them no mercy when they found them transgressing the laws, or concerned in any revolt. By these means, the authority of the Druids was brought so low in Gaul, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, about A. D. 45, that he is said by his historian to have destroy-



ed them in that country (105). About the same time they began to be persecuted in the Roman province newly erected, by that emperor, in the south-east parts of Britain; from whence many of them retired into the isle of Anglesey, which was a kind of little world of their own. But they did not remain long undisturbed in this retirement. For Suetonius Paulinus, who was governor of Britain under Nero, A. D. 61, observing that the isle of Anglesey was the great seat of disaffection to the Roman government, and afforded an asylum to all who were forming plots against it, he determined to subdue it. Having conducted his army into the island, and defeated the Britons who attempted to defend it, though they were animated by the presence, the prayers, and exhortations of a great multitude of Druids and Druidesses, he made a very cruel use of his victory. For not contented with cutting down their sacred groves, demolishing their temples, and overturning their altars, he burnt many of the Druids in those fires which they had kindled for sacrificing the Roman prisoners, if the Britons had gained the victory (106). So many of the Druids perished on this occasion, and in the unfortunate revolt of the Britons under Boadicia, which happened immediately after, that they never made any considerable figure after this period in South Britain. Such of them as did not think fit to submit to the Roman government, and comply with the Roman rites, fled into Caledonia, Ireland, and the lesser British isles, where they supported their authority and superstition for some time longer.

But though the dominion of the Druids in South Britain was destroyed at this time, many of their pernicious principles and superstitious practices continued much longer. Nay, so deeply rooted were these principles in the minds of the people both of Gaul and Britain, that they not only baffled all the power of the Romans, but they even resisted the superior power and divine light of the gospel for a long time after they had

Long duration of their superstitious.

(105) Sueton. in Vita Claudii, c. 25.

(106) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 3.

embraced

embraced the Christian Religion. This is the reason that we meet with so many edicts of emperors, and canons of councils, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, against the worship of the sun, moon, mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees (107). This wretched superstition continued even longer in Britain than in some other countries, having been revived first by the Saxons, and afterwards by the Danes. It is a sufficient and melancholy proof of this, that so late as the eleventh century, in the reign of Canute, it was found necessary to make the following law against those heathenish superstitions: " We strictly discharge and  
 " forbid all our subjects to worship the Gods of the  
 " Gentiles; that is to say, the sun, moon, fires, ri-  
 " vers, fountains, trees, and woods of any kind (108).

Having given this brief delineation of Druidism, and traced it from the beginning of this period to its decline and final extinction, we now proceed, with pleasure, to the more agreeable subject of the second section of this chapter.

(107) Pelloutier. *Hist. Celt.* l. 3. c. 4.

(108) L. L. Poltlic. *Canuti Regis*, c. 5. apud Lendenbrog. in *Glossar.* p. 1473.



## SECTION II.

*History of the Christian Religion from its first introduction into South Britain, to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

**A**MONG the many evidences of the truth and divine origin of the Christian Religion, that which arises from its rapid progress in the world, and the astonishing success of its first preachers, is not the most inconsiderable. It is not indeed the province of the historian to pursue this argument, and set it in its full light, but only to lay the foundation on which it is built, by giving an impartial account of the time and manner in which the several nations were brought to the knowledge and belief of the Gospel. This is what we are now to attempt with regard to Britain.

Rapid progress of the Gospel.

The religious as well as civil antiquities of nations are commonly involved in much obscurity. This is evidently the case with regard to the precise time in which the Christian Religion was introduced into this island. Either the first British Christians kept no memoirs of this happy event, or these memoirs have long since perished. Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who flourished in the sixth century, declares that he could find no British records of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, while it was subject to the Romans; and assures us, that if any such records had ever existed, they had either been destroyed by their enemies, or carried into foreign countries by some of the exiled Britons (1). We must therefore, with that ancient historian, be contented with what light and information we can collect from the writers of other nations, who incidentally mention the time, and other circumstances, of the planting of Christianity in this island.

No British memoirs of the time when Christianity was first planted in Britain.

(1) Gildæ Historia, c. 1.

Testimonies of writers about the time of planting Christianity in Britain.

It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, from the concurring testimonies of several writers, and from other circumstances, that Britain was visited by the first rays of the Gospel before the end, perhaps about the middle, of the first century (2). Tertullian, in his book against the Jews, which was written A. D. 209, positively affirms, "That those parts of Britain into which the Roman arms had never penetrated, were become subject to Christ (3)." From hence we may conclude, that Christianity had been known some time before this in the Roman provinces in South Britain. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsaria, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, was equally famous for his learning and integrity, and being in high favour with Constantine the Great, had the best opportunities of being well informed of the state and history of the Christian Religion in all the provinces of the Roman empire. He wrote a book to demonstrate the truth of the Gospel; in which he endeavours to prove, that the apostles must have been assisted by some power more than human, since they had preached with so much success, in so many remote cities and countries, "to the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Indians, Scythians, and to those which are called the British islands (4)." Now as the strength of this reasoning depended entirely on the truth of these facts, we have reason to suppose that Eusebius knew they were undeniable: and if they were so, it follows that the Gospel was preached in this island in the apostolic age. This is further confirmed by the following testimony of Theodoret: "These, our fishermen, publicans, and tent-makers, persuaded not only the Romans and their subjects, but also the Scythians, Sauromatæ, Indians, Persians, Seræ, Hyrcanians, Britons, Cimmerians, and Germans, to embrace the religion of him who had been crucified (5)." Theodoret flourished in the former part of the fifth century, and was unquestionably one of the most learned fathers of the church. To these we may

(2) Du Pin's Church Hist. Cent. 2d. in Tertull.

(3) Tertull. contra Judæos, c. 7.

(4) Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. 3. c. 7. p. 113.

(5) Theod. tom. 4. ser. 9. p. 610.



subjoin the testimony of Gildas, who seems to fix the time of the first introduction of the Christian Religion into South Britain about the period of the great revolt and defeat of the Britons under Boadicia, A. D. 61. For having briefly mentioned these events, he adds, " In the mean time, Christ the true sun afforded his rays ; that is, the knowledge of his precepts, to this island, benumbed with extreme cold, having been at a great distance from the sun ; I do not mean the sun in the firmament, but the eternal sun in heaven (6)." This was no doubt the tradition about this matter which prevailed in Britain in the beginning of the sixth century, when Gildas wrote ; and it was probably not far from the truth.

We shall be more disposed to give credit to these testimonies concerning the early introduction of the Christian Religion into Britain, when we consider the state of that country, and of the church in these times. The emperor Claudius established a Roman province in the south-east parts of Britain, A. D. 43 : a Roman colony was soon after settled at Camelodunum ; London and Verulam had become large, rich, and flourishing municipia, or free cities, crowded with Roman citizens, before the revolt under Boadicia. All this must certainly have occasioned a constant and daily intercourse between Rome and Britain ; so that whatever made any noise, or became the subject of attention in that great capital of the world, could not be long unknown in this island. Now it is unquestionably certain that the Christian Religion had not only made great progress at Rome in the reign of Claudius, but had even engaged the attention of the government (7). It must therefore have been heard of, at least, in Britain before A. D. 54, when Claudius died. Before that year also many Britons of high rank had been carried prisoners to Rome, and others had gone thither to negotiate their affairs at the imperial court ; and a much greater number of Romans had come from Rome into Britain, to occupy civil and military posts in this island. Can it be supposed, therefore,

Evidences from the state of Britain of the early introduction of Christianity.

(6) Gildæ Historia, c. 6.

(7) Suetonius in Vita Claud. c. 25.

that

that none of these Britons on their return into their own country, or of these Romans on their coming into this island, brought with them the knowledge of the Christian Religion? It is much more probable, that among those great multitudes of people of all ranks who came from Rome into Britain between A. D. 43, and A. D. 54, there were some, perhaps many Christians. Such, we have reason to think, was that famous lady Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the very first governor of the Roman province in Britain; of whom Tacitus gives this account: “ Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, married to Plautius, who was honoured with an ovation or lesser triumph for his victories in Britain, was accused of having embraced a strange and foreign superstition; and her trial for that crime was committed to her husband. He, according to ancient law and custom, convened her whole family and relations; and having, in their presence, tried her for her life and fame, pronounced her innocent of any thing immoral. Pomponia lived many years after this trial, but always led a gloomy melancholy kind of life (8).” It is highly probable, that the strange superstition of which Pomponia was accused, was Christianity; for the Roman writers of these times knew very little of that religion, and always speak of it in such slight contemptuous terms (9). The great innocence of her manners, and the kind of life which she had led after her trial, render this still more probable. Now if this illustrious lady was really a Christian, and accompanied her husband during his residence in Britain, from A. D. 43, to A. D. 47, she might be one of the first who brought the knowledge of Christ into this island; and might engage some of the first preachers of the Gospel to come into it in this very early period. But if the Christian Religion made great progress and much noise at Rome in the reign of Claudius, it made much greater in that of his successor Nero. For about the third year of that reign, A. D. 57, St. Paul, the most zealous, eloquent, and successful of the apostles, arrived at Rome, where he continued two whole years,

(8) Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 32.

(9) Sueton. Nero, c. 16. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.



preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him (10). In this time, that great apostle made a prodigious number of converts of many different nations, and of all ranks. For in a letter which he wrote from that city to the Philippians, he acquaints them, that his having been sent a prisoner to Rome, had fallen out rather into the furtherance of the Gospel; so that his bonds in Christ were manifest in all the palace, and in all other places (11). Besides, there were many other Christian preachers at Rome, at that time, who all spoke with great boldness, and had their share of success (12). Now, among all these numerous converts, is it not very probable that there were some Britons, or some Romans who had occasion soon after to go into Britain; or at least some who had friends in this island, to whom they would naturally communicate an account of the new religion which they had embraced? There seems to be strong evidence that there was at least one Briton of high rank and great merit among St. Paul's converts. This was Claudia, mentioned with Pudens, 2 Tim. 4. 21. who is thought to be the same with Claudia, the wife of Pudens; a British lady so much celebrated by Martial for her beauty and virtue, in the two epigrams in part quoted below (13). But however this may be, it appears to be morally certain, from all these testimonies and circumstances, that the first rays of the light of the Gospel reached the south-east parts of this island some time between A. D. 43, and A. D. 61.

But though the name of Christ was not altogether unknown in Britain in this very early period, yet the number of Christians in this island was then certainly very small; consisting perhaps of a few particular persons or

Small number of Christians in Britain before the persecution under Nero.

(10) Acts, chap. 28. v. 31.

(11) Philippians, chap. 1. v. 12. 13.

(12) Ibid. v. 14

(13) Claudia, Rufe, meo nupit peregrina Pudenti:  
Maſte eſto tædis O Hymenæe tuis, &c.

L. 4, Epigram. 13.

Claudia ceruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis  
Edita, cur Latix peſtora gentis habet?  
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere matres  
Italides poſſunt, Athides eſſe ſuam, &c.

L. 11, Epigram. 54.  
families,

families, who contented themselves with the private exercise of their religion; and with recommending it to their friends and neighbours, without much noise or observation. But this little flock gradually increased by converts at home, and accessions from abroad. After the suppression of the great revolt under Boadicia, Provincial Britain enjoyed great tranquillity for many years, under a succession of mild and good governors, and presented an inviting asylum to Christians who were cruelly persecuted in other parts, particularly at Rome. For the greatest part of that imperial city having been reduced to ashes by a dreadful fire, A. D. 64, the infernal tyrant Nero, to divert the suspicion of his having been the incendiary, laid the blame of it upon the Christians; and on that false pretence put prodigious numbers of these unpopular innocents to the most cruel kinds of death. "Some of them (says Tacitus) were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by dogs; others were crucified; and others being burned, served as torches to enlighten the streets of the city in the night-time (14)." From those direful sufferings, according to the permission of their gracious master, great multitudes of Christians fled into other cities and countries; of whom, it is highly probable, not a few took shelter in this island, as a place of the greatest safety; and thereby greatly increased the number of Christians in Britain. From about this time, therefore, we may suppose the Christians in Britain began to be formed into religious societies, under spiritual guides, for the instruction of their minds and regulation of their manners, and, in a word, began to assume the face and form of a Christian church.

Who  
planted  
Christianity  
in Britain.

If it be not easy to ascertain the precise time when a Christian church was first planted in Britain, it is still more difficult to discover by whose ministry that church was planted. The accounts which are given us of this matter by ancient writers, are very various and unsatisfactory; some ascribing the conversion of the Britons to one, and some to another of the apostles, or other primitive preachers of the Gospel. It may not, however,

(14) Tacit. *Annal.* l. 15. c. 44.



be improper to mention, in a very few words, the most considerable of these accounts, though some of them are not a little absurd and improbable.

If this question were to be determined by a plurality <sup>St. James.</sup> of votes, the apostle James, the son of Zebedee and the brother of St. John, would certainly be declared the apostle of the Britons, as well as of the Spaniards. For a great crowd of ancient historians, martyrologists, and other writers, collected by the most learned Archbishop Usher, affirm, that this apostle preached the Gospel in Spain, in the British isles, and in other countries of the West (15). But it is almost impossible that this can be true; for we are assured by St. Luke, that so early as A. D. 44, "Herod the king stretched forth his hands  
" to vex certain of the church. And he killed James  
" the brother of John with the sword (16)."

Some other writers acquaint us, that it was the apostle <sup>Simon Ze-</sup> Simon surnamed Zelotes, who first preached the Gospel <sup>lotes.</sup> in the West, and particularly in the British isles; and that he suffered martyrdom, and was buried in Britain. But a far greater number of writers, with much greater probability, fix the scene of this apostle's labours and sufferings in the East (17).

Baronius, and some other writers of the church of Rome, who take all opportunities of magnifying the apostle Peter, though sometimes at the expence of his brethren, contend with great earnestness, that he was the first who preached the Gospel, and planted a Christian church in Britain (18). But they can produce no tolerable evidence or authority for this opinion; and it is certain nothing can be more improbable. Metaphrastes indeed says, and he is the only writer of any antiquity that says any thing of the matter, "That St. Peter  
" spent twenty-three years at Rome, and in Britain, and  
" other countries of the West; and particularly, that  
" he continued a long time in Britain, converted many  
" nations, constituted many churches, in which having

(15) Usher. de primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 1. p. 6.

(16) Acts, ch. 12. v. 1, 2.

(17) Usherius de primord. Eccles. Brit. c. 1. p. 7.

(18) Baron. Annal. tom. 1. p. 537. Parson's Conversion of Brit. p. 19.

" ordained

“ordained bishops, presbyters, and deacons, he returned to Rome in the 12th year of Nero (19).” But Metaphrastes was a mere modern in comparison of the apostolic times, and his testimony, as Baronius acknowledges, is of little or no weight (20). It appears from Scripture, that the charge of preaching the Gospel to those of the circumcision, was in a peculiar manner committed to St. Peter (21). From whence we may be certain, as well as from other evidence, that this apostle spent his life in preaching in Judea, Alexandria, Antioch, Babylon, and such countries as abounded with Jews, and not in Britain, where there were few or none of that nation at this time. It is not necessary to say any thing of the Caledonian apostleship of St. Andrew, for which very respectable authorities might be alleged; though it is certainly no better founded than that of his brother St. Peter’s, in Provincial Britain (22).

St. Paul.

There is only another of the apostolic college to whom the introduction of Christianity into Britain hath been ascribed, viz. the apostle Paul. And it must be confessed, that the tradition concerning him, is not only supported by very ancient and venerable authorities, but also that it doth not seem to be any way inconsistent with what we know with certainty of the character and history of that apostle. Theodoret, whose testimony hath been already produced to prove, that the Christian Religion was not altogether unknown in Britain in the days of the apostles, in some other places of his works insinuates, that the apostle Paul preached the Gospel in this island, as well as in Spain and other countries in the West (23), Clemens Romanus and St. Jerome say the same thing in rather plainer terms (24). These testimonies of ancient writers, to which, if it were necessary, some others might be added, are confirmed by the consideration of several particulars in the writings, the character, and history of this apostle. Nothing is more certain, than that he was animated with the most fervent

(19) Uffer. de Ecclef. Brit. primord. p. 7.

(20) Baron. Annal. tom. 1. A. D. 61.

(21) Galat. ch. 2. v. 7.

(22) Dr. M<sup>Pherson</sup>’s Dissert. p. 353.

(23) Uffer. de Ecclef. Brit. primord. p. 8.

(24) Stillingfleet’s Orig. Brit. p. 37, 38.



zeal for the propagation of the Christian Religion, and that he flew like lightning from one country to another in the execution of this design. It appears from his own writings, and from the canonical history of the Acts of the Apostles, written by St. Luke, that from the time when this apostle first began to preach the Gospel, to the time when he was sent prisoner to Rome, he had made an almost incredible number of journies into many countries of the East, where he preached the Gospel, and planted Christian churches (25). It appears too, from the same unquestionable authority, that some time before his imprisonment, he had a presage of that event, and a certain knowledge that he should never return again into the East; and that none of those among whom he had hitherto preached should see his face any more (26). He was released from his confinement at Rome, and set at full liberty to go where he pleased, A. D. 58; from which, to the time when he suffered martyrdom at Rome, A. D. 67, in the last year of Nero, was no less than nine years. Where then did this most active and zealous apostle spend these last nine years of his laborious life? To this question, it must be confessed, no very satisfactory answer can be given. The writings, as well as the persons of the primitive teachers of Christianity were exposed to the most cruel persecutions, and both very often perished in the same flames; which is the reason that we know so little of some parts of their history. But from several circumstances it appears most probable, that St. Paul spent the last years of his life in the western provinces of the Roman empire, of which Britain was one. He had taken a final leave of the churches in the East, into which he had been assured by a Divine Revelation, that he never should return. He writes to Timothy from Rome immediately after his deliverance, that the design of Providence in delivering him out of the lion's mouth, i. e. from the tyrant Nero, was, that his preaching might be fully known; and that all the Gentiles might hear (27); probably meaning those of the West, as well as those of the East. This apostle was always ambitious of preach-

(25) Acts, chap. 13—21.

(27) 2 Tim. ch. 4. v. 17.

(26) Ibid. chap. 20. v. 25.

ing in countries where the name of Christ was not at all, or very little known; lest he should build upon another man's foundation (28). Now, the western provinces of the Roman empire presented him a large uncultivated field, where the name of Christ was very little known at the time of his deliverance. It appears too, in particular, that his heart was very much set upon making a journey into Spain, by way of Rome, to preach the Gospel in that country (29). Is it not reasonable to suppose then, that he accomplished this design after he was released from his confinement at Rome? If he did this, and travelled through Gaul into Spain, and spent years in these countries, it is not improbable that he also visited Britain, which was then become a large and flourishing province of the Roman empire. In a word, though it would be rash and unwarrantable in a modern writer to affirm positively, that the apostle Paul preached the Gospel in Britain, yet it is certainly no presumption to affirm, that if any of the apostles preached in this island, it was most probably, the apostle Paul (30).

**Aristobulus.** The conversion of the first British Christians is by some authors ascribed to Aristobulus, who is mentioned by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (31). This extraordinary person, of whom St. Paul says so little, was, according to these authors, very happy in a great number of excellent relations. For he was, as they pretend, the same with Zebedee, the father of the two apostles, James and John, by his wife Salome; he was also brother to Barnabas, and father-in-law to the two apostles, Peter and Andrew. A person so well related could hardly fail to meet with preferment in the church. Accordingly they tell us, that he was ordained a bishop by his son-in-law St. Peter, and sent to preach the Gospel in Britain, where he suffered martyrdom (32). All this is so palpably absurd and legendary that it merits no serious confutation.

**Joseph of Arimathea.** The honour of planting the first Christian church in South Britain hath been bestowed by others upon Joseph of Arimathea, who buried our Saviour in his own new

(28) Romans, ch. 15. v. 20.

(29) Ib. ch. 15. v. 24. 28.

(30) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 39—48.

(31) Chap. 16. v. 10.

(32) Uffer. de Eccles. Brit. primord. p. 9, 10.



tomb (33). Now, though the tradition of Joseph's coming into Britain is altogether improbable, and supported by no tolerable authority, yet as it has been seriously defended by some Popish writers, and (which is almost as absurd) seriously refuted by some protestants, it may not be improper to gratify the reader's curiosity, by laying before him the first and most simple edition of this story, and also some of the embellishments which were afterwards added to it by other monkish writers. William of Malmesbury, in the beginning of his History of the Antiquities of the Church of Glastenbury, having mentioned the dispersion of the apostles by the persecution in which St. Stephen suffered martyrdom, he proceeds to this purpose: " That St. Philip came into the  
 " country of the Franks, where he converted many to  
 " the Faith; and being desirous of propagating the  
 " knowledge of Christ still further, he chose twelve of  
 " his disciples, and having devoutly laid his right hand  
 " upon each of them, he sent them to preach the word  
 " of life in Britain, under the conduct of his dear friend  
 " Joseph of Arimathea, who buried the Lord. These  
 " missionaries arriving in Britain, A. D. 63, from the  
 " assumption of the blessed Mary, the 15th, they  
 " preached the Gospel with great zeal. The barbarous  
 " king of the country, however, and his subjects, re-  
 " jected their new doctrine, and would not abandon  
 " their ancient superstition; but as Joseph and his com-  
 " panions had come from a very distant country, and  
 " behaved modestly, he granted them a certain island  
 " in the borders of his kingdom, called Iniswitrin, for  
 " their residence; and two other Pagan princes suc-  
 " cessively granted them twelve hides of land for their  
 " subsistence. These holy men living in this wilder-  
 " ness, being admonished by the angel Gabriel to build  
 " a church to the honour of the blessed Virgin, the  
 " mother of God, they were not disobedient to the di-  
 " vine command, but built a small chapel of wattles in  
 " a place pointed out to them: a humble structure in-  
 " deed, but adorned with many virtues! For as this  
 " was the first Christian church in these regions, the Son

(33) St. Matthew, chap. 27. v. 60.

“ of God was pleased to do it the singular honour of dedicating it himself to the honour of his mother (34).” Though this original story hath a very decent proportion of the marvellous, it did not satisfy the luxuriant fancies of the monks of Glaftenbury, who made almost as great a change in it, as they did in their old church of wattles, by their successive embellishments. It will be sufficient to convince us of this, to give the following short extract, which is said to have been taken out of the archives of the church of Glaftenbury : “ There were six hundred  
 “ men and women who were to come over into Britain  
 “ with Joseph of Arimathea, who having all taken a  
 “ vow of abstinence till they came to land, they all  
 “ broke it, except fifty, who came over the sea on the  
 “ shirt of Josephus the son of Joseph. But the rest  
 “ having repented of the breach of their vow, a ship was  
 “ sent to bring them over, which had been built by king  
 “ Solomon. There came over with them a duke of the  
 “ Medes, called Nacianus, formerly baptized by Joseph  
 “ in the city of Saram, with the king of it, called Mor-  
 “ draius, who valiantly killed a king of North Wales,  
 “ who kept Joseph a prisoner, &c. &c. (36).” It will not be necessary to spend any time in proving, that these monstrous fictions were the pure inventions of the monks of Glaftenbury, to promote the reputation and riches of their monastery. For nothing could equal the wantonness and effrontery of the monks in the middle ages, in inventing and propagating such extravagant legends, but the great simplicity of the people in believing them (37).

By mission-  
aries from  
the East.

A modern writer of no little learning and sagacity, hath advanced it as a probable opinion, that Christianity was first planted in this island by missionaries who came immediately from the East, sent (as he thinks most likely) by the famous St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who suffered martyrdom, A. D. 173 (38). The only reason which he gives for this new and singular opinion is, the conformity of the British Christians with the churches of

(34) Gulielm. Malmsh. de Antiq. Glafst. Eccles. apud Gal. tom. 1. p. 292.

(36) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 13.

(37) Vide Uffer. de Eccles. Brit. primord. c. 2.

(38) Dr. M' Pherson's Dissert. 20.



the East, about the time of keeping Easter. But nothing can be more certain, than that the Christian Religion was introduced into Britain, long before there was any talk, at least before there was any controversy, about the time of keeping Easter. That controversy doth not seem to have made any noise in the church till about the middle of the second century, and probably did not reach Britain till some time after. Now, as the British church was not then under any subjection to the church of Rome, nor indeed any one national church subject to another, when this controversy about the time of keeping Easter came to be agitated among the British Christians, it is not at all surprizing, that they chose to conform to the practice of the eastern church, which was the mother of all other churches, and most likely to be in the right. To this they might be persuaded by some persons of influence amongst them, who had studied the controversy, and were well enough acquainted with the arguments on both sides.

Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that after all that hath been written on this subject, it is now impossible to discover with certainty, who were the first preachers of the Gospel, and the chief instruments of planting a Christian church in this island. Nor have we any reason to be much concerned at this, since we know that we are indebted for this inestimable blessing to that gracious Being from whom every good and perfect gift cometh; and that to him, and not to the visible instruments of his providence, our supreme gratitude and thanks are due.

As the Christian Religion was very early introduced into Britain, so after its introduction it continued to diffuse its light from one of the British nations unto another, until they were all, in some measure, illuminated. The progress of the Roman arms, though without any intention of theirs, contributed not a little to the progress of the Gospel, by reducing all the different nations of South Britain under one government, and thereby opening a free and uninterrupted intercourse over the whole country. As the conquest of South Britain was completed by the Romans before the end of the first century, we have reason to think, that the name and religion of Christ were known, in some degree, in almost every corner of

First planters of Christianity in South Britain not certainly known.

Cent. 2. Progress of the Gospel gradual.

that

that country, about the beginning of the second. We have the greater reason to be of this opinion, when we consider, that by the destruction of the Druids, which had happened before that time, one great obstacle to the progress of the Gospel was removed; and the minds of the Britons were left open to the impressions of a more pure and rational religion.

Conversion  
of king  
Lucius.

But though the first dawns of the Gospel had so early visited this island, and were so widely diffused, we cannot suppose, that the number of Christians here was either very great in the second century, or that they were in general of the most distinguished rank. The perfect tranquillity, and freedom from persecution, which the Christians in Britain enjoyed during the whole of the second, and the greatest part of the third century, is a proof, not only of their prudent and peaceable behaviour, but also that they were not thought formidable for their power or numbers, by the Roman government. In other provinces of the Roman empire, where the number of Christians was become very great, they were severely persecuted in the beginning of this century, even by the most humane governors, under the mildest emperors; as by Pliny, under the emperor Trajan, in Pontus and Bithynia (29). Indeed, if the famous story of the conversion of Lucius, king of Britain, and of his subjects, to the Christian faith, which is so gravely and circumstantially related by so many authors, could be believed, we should be led to entertain much higher ideas of the state of the British church in this period. But certainly there never was any story more evidently false, absurd, and contradictory, in almost every circumstance, than this of king Lucius; as it is related by different authors. Some of them make this Lucius king of all the British isles; some king of Britain; some king of south Britain; and some only a petty king of some part of South Britain, they know not where: and (to mention only another of the contradictory circumstances of this story) no fewer than twenty-three different dates have been assigned for this event of the conversion of king Lucius, by different writers (40). If there is any truth

(19) Plin. Epist. 97. l. 10.

(40) Usser. Eccles. Brit. primord. c. 3.



at all in this story, it requires more than human penetration and sagacity, to distinguish it from the heap of fables and contradictions under which it is buried. But that the reader's curiosity may not be disappointed, we shall lay before him the very short account of this matter, which is given by Nennius, the most ancient of our historians by whom it is mentioned; and also the more pompous and circumstantial narration of Jeffrey of Monmouth. By comparing these two accounts together, he will observe how much this famous tale had improved between the seventh century, in which Nennius lived, and the twelfth, in which Jeffrey of Monmouth flourished.

“ In the year 164 (says Nennius) from the incarnation  
 “ of our Lord, Lucius, monarch of Britain, with all  
 “ the other petty kings of all Britain, received baptism,  
 “ from a deputation sent by the Roman emperors, and  
 “ by the Roman pope Evaristus (41).” This is but a  
 very short story, and yet it contains at least two as great  
 falsehoods and absurdities as can well be imagined.  
 What can be more absurd and false than to assert that  
 there was a great British monarch named Lucius, with  
 many petty British kings under him, at a time when all  
 South Britain, and a considerable part of North Britain,  
 were under subjection to the Romans? Unless it be  
 still more absurd to affirm, that the two heathen emperors,  
 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Verus,  
 sent deputies to convert and baptize the kings and people  
 of Britain. On this foundation, however, which was laid  
 by Nennius, subsequent writers, by degrees, raised a very  
 magnificent structure, which was at length brought to  
 perfection, by the inventive and romantic genius of Jeffrey  
 of Monmouth, as appears from the following narration :

“ Coilus had but one son, named Lucius, who ob-  
 “ taining the crown after his father's death, imitated all  
 “ his acts of goodness, and seemed to his people to  
 “ be no other than Coilus himself revived. As he had  
 “ made this good beginning, he was willing to make a  
 “ better end : for which purpose he sent letters to pope  
 “ Eleutherius, desiring to be instructed by him in the

(41) Nennij. Hist. Brit. c. 18.

“ Christian

“ Christian Religion. For the miracles which Christ’s  
 “ disciples performed in several nations wrought convic-  
 “ tion in his mind, so that being inflamed with an ardent  
 “ love of the true faith, he obtained the accomplish-  
 “ ment of his pious request. For that holy pope, upon  
 “ receipt of this devout petition, sent to him two most  
 “ religious doctors, Faganus and Duvanus, who, after  
 “ they had preached concerning the incarnation of the  
 “ word of God, administered to him baptism, and made  
 “ him a profelyte to the Christian Faith. Immediately  
 “ upon this, people from all countries assembling toge-  
 “ ther, followed the king’s example, and being washed  
 “ in the same holy laver, were made partakers of the  
 “ kingdom of Heaven. The holy doctors, after they  
 “ had almost extinguished paganism over the whole  
 “ island, dedicated the temples, that had been founded  
 “ in honour of many Gods, to the one only God and  
 “ his saints, and filled them with congregations of  
 “ Christians. There were then in Britain eight and  
 “ twenty flamens, as also three archflamens, to whose  
 “ jurisdiction the other judges and enthusiasts were sub-  
 “ ject. These also, according to the apostles command,  
 “ they delivered from idolatry, and where they were  
 “ flamens made them bishops, where archflamens arch-  
 “ bishops. The seats of the archflamens were at the  
 “ three noblest cities, viz. York, London, and Caerleon  
 “ upon Uske, in Glamorganshire. Under these three,  
 “ now purged from superstition, were made subject  
 “ twenty-eight bishops, with their dioceses (42).” An  
 astonishing revolution indeed! and the more astonishing  
 that it was brought about by the influence of a British  
 king, at a time when there could be no British king on  
 the south side of the firths of Forth and Clyde, except  
 in a state of entire subordination to the Romans. But  
 honest Jeffrey does not stop here. Though he had pro-  
 vided the infant church of Britain with a very decent set  
 of archbishops and bishops, who had been archflamens  
 and flamens, he was sensible that they would have made  
 but an awkward figure in their new character without  
 good houses and good livings, and therefore he hath  
 taken care to make them rather better in that respect

(42) Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 4. c. 19.



than they had been before, that they might have no reason to repent the change of their religion. For a little further he adds, "That the glorious king Lucius, being highly rejoiced at the great progress the true faith and worship had made in his kingdom, granted, that the possessions and territories formerly belonging to the temples of the Gods, should now be converted to a better use, and appropriated to Christian churches. And, because greater honour was due to them than to the others, he made large additions of lands and mansion-houses, and all manner of privileges to them." It was very fortunate for these right reverend converts that good king Lucius was of so different a disposition from his famous successor, Henry VIII. Jeffrey at last finishes the history of this wonderful monarch, by telling us, "That he departed this life in the city of Gloucester, and was honourably buried in the cathedral church, in the hundred and fifty-sixth year after our Lord's incarnation (43)." Such is the account which is given by Jeffrey of Monmouth of the conversion of king Lucius, and its important consequences. A late church historian says, very gravely, "That this account looks very suspicious;" and takes much learned pains to prove, that the Pagan and Christian hierarchy were not so very like, and so easily convertible into one another as Jeffrey hath represented them. "That there were British bishops (says he) in Lucius's time, is without question;" but he seems to think that this good king had it not in his power to provide quite so well for them (44). The truth is, that it is almost equally ridiculous to draw any serious consequences from this extravagant story, or to take any pains in refuting it; since every one who knows any thing of the state of Britain at that time, must know, that it contains as many falsehoods and impossibilities as sentences.

If there is any truth at all in this story of king Lucius, it cannot possibly be any more than this: That some time or other in the second century, there was a petty prince or chieftain of the Britons in favour with the Romans, and indulged by them with some degree of authority in

What little truth there might be in the story of king Lucius.

(43) Gaulfrid. Monumut. l. 5. c. 1.

(44) Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. v. 1. p. 13, 14.

his country, who embraced the Christian Religion, and promoted the conversion of his friends and followers, to the utmost of his power. This might possibly happen; but whether it did happen or not is certainly very doubtful, since Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who was a Briton and a zealous Christian, gives not the least hint of such a thing.

The happy situation of the Christians in Britain preserved them from the contagion of those fatal heresies which were broached in the second century, and greatly disturbed the peace of the Christian church, and obstructed the progress of the Gospel in other places. For the heresiarchs of this early period, as Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Montanus, &c. being either Egyptians or Asiatics, countries with which Britain had little or no intercourse, the Christians in this island remained in a happy ignorance of their peculiar opinions; and continued to enjoy the light of the Gospel in the same purity in which it had been communicated to them by their first teachers. This circumstance contributed not a little both to the internal peace and external safety of the infant church of Britain, and preserved it from many calamities which fell upon other churches which were infected with these heresies.

Further  
progress of  
Christianity

Though it is abundantly evident, that the Christian Religion was very far from being established in Britain in this early period, so generally, or with so much éclat and splendor as the Monkish writers pretend, yet it plainly appears, that it not only subsisted, but even continued gradually to gain ground. For about the beginning of this century (according to the testimony of Tertullian, already quoted) it had extended beyond the limits of the Roman province, into those parts of Britain which had not submitted to the arms of that victorious people (45). This was probably brought about by the ministry of some of the provincial Britons, who having embraced Christianity, and being animated with an ardent zeal for the propagation of their new religion, communicated the knowledge of it to the free and independent Britons, who were of the same stock, and spoke the same language with themselves. How far the light

(45) Tertul. contra Judæos, c. 7.



of the Gospel penetrated, at this time, into the wilds of Caledonia, it is impossible to discover.

The Christian churches in Asia, Africa, and on the continent of Europe, were, during the whole of this century, persecuted and relieved by turns, according to the different dispositions of the reigning emperors; and of the governors, priests, and people of the provinces they were planted (46). It was the peculiar felicity of the Christians in Britain, to enjoy a profound tranquillity and peace, for the greatest part of this age. This might be owing, under Providence, to their distant situation; to the humanity of their governors; to the want of power in the heathen priests; to their own prudent and peaceable behaviour; and perhaps to other causes, to us unknown.

At last, the flames of persecution, which had often raged with so much violence in other countries, reached this peaceful and sequestered corner of the Roman empire. This persecution broke out in Britain some time in the reign of the emperor Dioclesian, who assumed the purple A. D. 284, and laid it aside A. D. 305; but in what year of this reign it began, and how long it continued, cannot be discovered. Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, says, that it continued nine years in some other countries, but only two in Britain; and expresses himself in such a manner, as would lead us to think they were the last two years of Dioclesian's reign (47). This agrees well enough with the accounts of the most ancient church historians, who represent this persecution as raging with the greatest violence in the beginning of the fourth century (48). But venerable Bede, and the greatest number of our old historians, place this persecution, and the martyrdom of St. Alban, in the year 286. The truth is, if either Dioclesian, or his colleague Maximianus, had any hand in this persecution, it must have been either near the beginning or near the end of their joint reign: for in the intermediate time, Britain was governed more than ten years, first by

(46) Moshemii Hist. Eccles. sæcul. 3. c. 2. Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 7. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 4.

(47) Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 7, 8.

(48) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 6. Lactant. de Mort. Perseq. c. 14. p. 601.

Carauſius, and afterwards by Aleſtus, in a manner quite independent of theſe emperors (49). Not only are we thus uncertain about the preſiſe time of this perſecution, but the accounts which we have of its other circumſtances are very unſatisfactory; being given us by Monks, a ſet of men who could not abſtain from the marvellous, where religion was concerned (50). The truth, when ſeparated from the legendary and miraculous embellishments with which it is adorned by theſe writers, ſeems to have been this: That ſome time near the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, the Chriſtians in the Roman province in Britain were perſecuted for their religion: that in this perſecution St. Alban, a native of Verulamium, ſuffered martyrdom in that city, and was the firſt Britiſh martyr: that beſides him, Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon, and many others, both men and women, in ſeveral different places, ſuffered at the ſame time, in the ſame glorious cauſe: but that a ſtop was ſoon put to this cruel perſecution by the good providence of God, and the church reſtored to a ſtate of tranquillity.

Government, doctrine, and worſhip of the Britiſh churches in the firſt three centuries.

We have not materials to enable us to give a ſatisfactory and outhentic account of the government, doctrine, and worſhip of the ancient Britiſh churches in the firſt three centuries, before they received any protection and ſupport from the civil government. We have already ſeen the pompous plan of Jeffrey of Monmouth, ſaid to have been copied from the Pagan hierarchy by king Lucius. His countryman, Giraldus Cambrenſis, preſents with a ſtill more ſplendid and extenſive form of eccleſiaſtical government, in imitation of the civil government of the Romans, which (as he ſays) was ſettled in Britain in the days of this wonderful king, above two hundred years before the arrival of the Saxons. “According to the number of provinces which were in Britain in the times of Paganism, five metropolitans were ſettled, one in each province; with twelve ſuffragans under each metropolitan, in twelve different cities. The metropolitan of the firſt province was ſeated at Caerleon, with twelve ſuf-

(49) Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 8. c. 6. Biographia Britannica, c. 1. p. 83. note E.

(50) Gildæ Hiſt. Brit. c. 8. Bedæ Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 7.

“ fragans



“ fragans under him: the metropolitan of the third  
 “ province at London, with twelve suffragans under  
 “ him: the metropolitan of the fourth province at  
 “ York, with twelve suffragans under him: the metro-  
 “ politan of the fifth province at St. Andrews, with  
 “ twelve suffragans under him (51).” A most regular  
 and beautiful plan, consisting of five archbishops and  
 sixty bishops, very properly disposed! But, as Sir Henry  
 Spelman modestly observes, “ Giradus Cambrensis seems  
 “ to have run riot as much in this narration, as Jeffrey  
 “ of Monmouth.” The doctrine of the British churches,  
 in the first three centuries, was probably much the  
 same in substance with that of the Apostles creed, as  
 we are assured both by Gildas and Bede that they were  
 not infected with any heresy, till they came to be tainted  
 with that of Arius (52). In their ceremonies and rites  
 of worship, it is not to be imagined they differed much  
 from the other churches of these times, or had any  
 thing very singular; only in the keeping of Easter,  
 they imitated the churches of Asia, rather than that  
 of Rome (53).

It is natural to enquire in what manner the clergy were maintained, churches built, and the other expences of religion defrayed, in the ancient British church, as well as in other primitive churches, in the first three centuries, when they received no favour, protection, or support from the state. The apostles, their fellow-labourers, and perhaps some of their immediate successors, were supported partly by the work of their own hands, and partly by the grateful contributions of the faithful (54). In these primitive times, when a competent number of persons were converted to the Christian Religion in any place, sufficient to constitute a decent congregation, they formed themselves into a church or religious society; and every member of this society contributed, according to his abilities, to the maintenance of those who ministered in holy things, to the support of the poor, and to all other necessary

How the  
 expences of  
 religion  
 were de-  
 frayed in  
 the first  
 three cen-  
 turies.

(51) Giraldus, apud Spelman. Concilia. tom. 1. p. 15. 16.

(52) Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 9. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 8.

(53) See King's Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, part the second.

(54) 1 Theff. c. 2. v. 9. 2 Theff. c. 3. v. 8. Galatians, c. 6. v. 6.

charges.

charges. The contributions for those purposes were commonly made in their religious assemblies on the first day of the week, according to the apostolic direction (55). Many of the primitive Christians, full of the most ardent zeal for their religion, did not content themselves with giving their share to these stated contributions for those pious uses, but bestowed houses, gardens, and even lands upon the church, or left them to it by their last wills (56). It appears, however, that the Christians of Britain, in this early period, were either not very liberal to their clergy, or, which is more probable, not very rich. For the British bishops, as we shall see by and bye, were remarkably indigent, even in the next century, when the church enjoyed the favour of the civil government. But whatever was the state of the revenues of the clergy in those times of poverty and persecution, no inference can certainly be drawn from it to determine what it ought to be in more opulent and happy ages.

Cent. 4.  
Christians  
delivered  
from per-  
secution.

After the churches of Christ, in almost all the provinces of the Roman empire, had been so long exposed to the most cruel persecutions which broke out upon them from time to time, it pleased the Divine Providence to put an end to their trials and sufferings of this kind in the former part of the fourth century. The British Christians were the very first who enjoyed the advantage of this great deliverance. For Constantius Chlorus being in Britain when he was declared emperor, upon the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximianus, A. D. 305; he immediately put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, which before he had been obliged to permit, in obedience to the edicts of these emperors (57). This excellent prince having died at York the year after, he was succeeded by his illustrious son Constantine the Great, who proved the glorious instrument of delivering the Christian church from all the grievous oppressions under which it had so long groaned. Though there is no reason to think that Constantine the Great was a Christian at the time of his accession, yet it appeared even before he left Britain, that

(55) 1 Corinth. c. 16. v. 1. 2.

(56) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. c. 4. p. 177.

(57) Euseb. Hist. l. 8. c. 13.



he was determined to protect the Christians from persecution, and to shew them still greater favour than his father had done. Encouraged by these favourable dispositions in the new emperor, who had assumed the purple in their country, the British Christians came out of the lurking-places, into which they had retired to avoid the late persecution, rebuilt their ruined churches, and kept their sacred solemnities with pure and joyful hearts (58).

It had been usual, from the very days of the apostles, when any dispute arose among the faithful about doctrine, discipline, or worship, for as many of the clergy to meet together as convenient, to examine the matter in question, and to give their opinion about it; which was generally decisive, and received with great submission. These meetings of the clergy were called synods, or councils. In the first three centuries, when the Christian church did not enjoy the protection of the state, these councils were held with great privacy, and their transactions are little known (59). But as soon as Constantine the Great began to declare more openly in favour of the Christian Religion, and to interest himself warmly in the affairs of the church, these assemblies of the clergy became more frequent, more splendid, and more important. They were called by the emperor, sometimes honoured with his presence, and their decrees enforced and executed by his authority. It is a demonstration that the British church was in a settled and respectable state near the beginning of this century, that we find some of her clergy in one of the first of these councils which was called by the emperor. This was the council of Arles, which met in that city, A. D. 314. Among the clergy who were summoned to this council, and subscribed its decrees, we meet with these following: Eborus, bishop of York; Restitus, bishop of London; Adelfius, bishop of Colonia Londinensium (it should probably be Colonia Lindum, Lincoln); Sacerdos, a presbyter, and Arminius, a deacon, of the same city (60). This council was not very numerous, consisting only of

British bishops in the council of Arles.  
A. D. 314.

(58) Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 8. Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 8.

(59) Du Pin's Eccles. Hist. v. 1. p. 192.

(60) Spelman, Concil. tom. 1. p. 42.

thirty-three bishops, and a still smaller number of presbyters and deacons, summoned as representatives of the clergy, out of all the provinces of the western empire. Of these bishops there were indeed four out of the province of Vienne in Gaul, of which Arles was the capital, on account of their vicinity, but only one out of every other province; and there being only three Roman provinces then in Britain, three bishops was its full proportion. This seems to intimate that the churches in Britain were at this time viewed in the same light, and treated on the same footing with those of the other provinces of the empire.

Kindness of  
Constantine  
to the  
Christian  
clergy.

As Constantine the Great became more open in his profession of the Christian Religion, he became also more liberal of his favours to the Christian clergy, who now began to feel the cherishing influences of royal favour. But in this he proceeded with great prudence, equity, and caution, granting them only such favours as did no injury or injustice to any other set of men. By one edict he exempted the Christian clergy from military and other burdensome services, that they might enjoy leisure and freedom to attend the duties of their sacred function. By another edict he bestowed all the goods and possessions of the late martyrs who had died without heirs, upon the church. But the famous edict which he published at Rome, July 3d, A. D. 322, was of far greater advantage to the clergy than all the rest (61). By this edict Constantine gave full liberty to persons of all ranks, to give by their last wills as great a part of their estates as they pleased to the church. At Rome, and in other opulent cities, this last edict greatly enriched the clergy in a little time, by the liberal donations of many wealthy Christians (62). But as the Christians in this island were not in general so wealthy as in some other countries, riches did not flow with so rapid a tide into the British churches as into others. The offer which the emperor Constantius made to the bishops of the western empire, assembled at the council of Ariminum, A. D. 359, to maintain them at the public charge, was refused by them

(61) Cod. Theod. l. 16. c. 2. Euseb. l. 10. c. 7. Zosimen, l. 1. c. 9. Euseb. vit. Constant. l. 2. c. 36.

(62) M. le Beau, Hist. de Bas Empire, tom. 1. p. 319.



all, except three of those who came from Britain; who, not being able to maintain themselves, chose rather to Cent. 4. accept of the emperor's offer, than be a burden to their brethren (63). A proof, that all the bishops of the western empire, except a very few, were already raised to a state of independency, within less than forty years after the making of the last-mentioned edict. So great was the zeal and liberality of the Christians of these times!

The Christian church was no sooner delivered from external violence, by the conversion of Constantine, than it was torn in pieces by internal discord; and the flames of persecution were quickly succeeded by the no less violent and destructive flames of religious controversy. The most fatal of these controversies was that which broke out A. D. 317, between Arius, a presbyter in the church of Alexandria, and Alexander, bishop of that city, about the divinity of Christ. This dispute was managed with great warmth, made a mighty noise, and in a little time destroyed the peace of almost every corner of the Christian church. It is difficult to discover how soon the opinions of Arius became known in Britain, or to what degree they prevailed here in this century. If we could depend upon the testimony of Gildas, we should be led to think, that Arianism had made great progress in this island, soon after its first appearance. For having described the happy and peaceful state of the British church for some time after the conclusion of the Dioclesian persecution; he proceeds in this strain: "This sweet concord between Christ the head and his members continued until the Arian perfidy appeared; and like an enraged serpent, pouring in upon us its foreign poison, inflamed brethren and countrymen with the most cruel hatred: and a passage being thus made over the ocean, every other wild beast, who carried the venom of any heresy in his horrid mouth, easily instilled it into the people of this country, who are ever unsettled in their opinions, and always fond of hearing something new (64)." But the truth is, this lamentable declaimer being determined to load his

Doctrine of the British churches in this century.

(63) Sulpit. Sever. Hist. l. 2.

(64) Gildæ Hist. Brit. c. 9.

unhappy countrymen with the imputation of every thing which he esteémed bad and odious, and having a great abhorrence of all heresy in general, and of Arianism in particular, represented them as deeply infected with that, and every other heresy, perhaps without much ground. For the opinions of Arius had been condemned with so much solemnity by the famous council of Nice, A. D. 325 (at which it is very probable the bishops of Britain assisted), and had been opposed with so much zeal by Constantine the Great and his son Constans, that they made little progress for a long time in the western provinces of the Roman empire. It is true, indeed, that at the council of Ariminum, A. D. 359, which was called by the emperor Constantius, who favoured the Arian party, almost all the bishops of the west, who were there assembled, to the number of four hundred, and, amongst others, those of Britain, subscribed a creed, which differed a little from that of the council of Nice (65). But this appears to have been the effect of mere force. For at the beginning of the council they unanimously declared their approbation of the Nicæan creed, and pronounced anathemas against the errors of Arius; and after their return into their respective dioceses, they renewed their former declarations in favour of the faith of Nice, and renounced their involuntary subscriptions at Ariminum, as soon as they could do it with safety (66). This is a certain proof that the opinions of Arius had as yet made little or no progress among the clergy in the western empire; though it is at the same time an evidence, that the spirit of enduring persecution was very much abated. St. Athanasius, and the bishops assembled in the council of Antioch, A. D. 363, assure the emperor Jovian, in their letter to him, that the bishops of Spain, Gaul, and Britain, continued to adhere to the faith of the council of Nice; of which they had been informed by letters from these bishops (67). Both St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom speak often of the orthodoxy of the British church in their writings (68).

(65) Du Pin, *Eccles. Hist.* cent. 4. vol. 2. p. 263.

(66) Hilar. *Fragment.* p. 431.

(67) Athanas. *Græco-Lat.* tom. 1. p. 399.

(68) Hieron. *ad Euagrium, ad Marcil.* Chrysost. tom. 3. p. 696. tom. 6. p. 635. tom. 8. p. 111.



From all which it seems highly probable, that the Arian opinions did not prevail much in the ancient British churches; at least not in this century.

After the conversion of Constantine, he and his successors interested themselves greatly in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and acted as the supreme heads on earth of the church, as well as of the state. By their authority the hierarchy was brought to an almost perfect conformity with the civil government of the Roman empire. In order to this, several new ecclesiastical dignitaries, as patriarchs, metropolitans, and archbishops, were established in the church, to correspond to the *præfecti prætorii*, *vicarii*, and *præsides provinciarum* in the state (69). According to this model there should have been one metropolitan, and first three, then four, and at last five archbishops in Britain; as it was one vicariate under the *præfectus prætorii* of Gaul, and consisted first of three, afterwards of four, and at last of five provinces. But it seems probable, that this model of church government was never fully established in Britain, on account of the unsettled state of the country, and the poverty of the British churches, which could not well support so many prelates of so high a rank agreeable to their dignity. But whatever was the state of ecclesiastical government in the British churches in this period, there is no evidence that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, or of any foreign bishop (70).

Government of the British church in cent. 4.

While the churches of Christ were obnoxious to the civil powers, and every moment in danger of persecution, they performed the rites of their religious worship with much privacy and little pomp. This was most agreeable to the pure and spiritual nature of the Christian worship, and most conducive to real piety. But after they came to enjoy security, wealth, and royal favour, they began to embellish their worship with many new-invented ceremonies, and even adopted some of the Pagan rites and practices with little alteration. Great numbers of magnificent churches were built, and adorned with the

Rites of worship in the 4th century.

(69) Mosheim. Hist. Eccles. sæcul. 4 p. 156.

(70) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. ch. 3.

pictures of saints and martyrs, in imitation of the Heathen temples; the Christian clergy officiated in a variety of habits, not much unlike those of the Pagan priests; fasts, festivals, and holidays were multiplied; and, in one word, an ostentatious and mechanical worship, hardly to be distinguished in its outward appearance from that of their Heathen neighbours, was introduced in the place of pure and rational devotion (71). The Christian clergy were betrayed into this criminal and fatal imitation of their Pagan predecessors, partly by their vanity and love of pomp, and partly by their hopes of thereby facilitating the conversion of the Heathens. There was, indeed, an almost infinite variety in the forms of religious worship in the Christian church at this time; and almost every particular church had something peculiar in its way of worship. The British churches differed considerably from those of Gaul, and still more from those of Italy, in their public service, and had not as yet departed so far from the genuine simplicity of the Gospel (72). The British Christians, however, of this age did not want their share of superstition; of which it will be sufficient to give one example. About this time it began to be imagined, that there was much sanctity in some particular places, and much merit in visiting them. The places which were esteemed most sacred, and were most visited, were those about Jerusalem, which had been the scenes of our Saviour's actions and sufferings. To these holy places prodigious numbers of pilgrims crowded from all parts of the Christian world, and particularly from Britain. "Though the Britons (says St. Jerome) are separated from our world by the intervening ocean, yet such of them as have made any great progress in religion, leaving the distant regions of the West, visit those sacred places at Jerusalem, which are known to them only by fame, and the relations of Holy Scripture (73)." Nay, some of these deluded superstitious vagabonds, who had more strength or more zeal than others, went as far as Syria, to see the famous self-tormentor Simeon Stylites, who

(71) Mosheim. Hist. Eccles. sæcul. 4. c. 4. p. 175. Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, in his works, vol. 3.

(72) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 216, &c.

(73) Hieron. tom. 1. epist. 17.



lived fifty-six years on the top of a high pillar. “ Many people came to see him (says Theodoret, his historian) from the most remote corners of the West, particularly from Spain, Gaul, and Britain (74).”

In this century, a new order of ecclesiastics appeared in Europe. These were the monks, or regular clergy, who, in process of time, made a most conspicuous figure in the Christian church, and, by professing poverty, and pretending to renounce the world, arrived at a prodigious pitch of worldly wealth and power. This extraordinary order had its origin in Egypt, the native country and favourite soil of superstition. In the times of persecution several Christians in Egypt retired into deserts to avoid its fury, and there lived a very solitary and abstemious life, subsisting for the most part on the pure element, and the spontaneous productions of the earth. St. Anthony, the father of the monastic life, was one of these solitaries, and acquired so great a fame for sanctity, that many persons flocked around him in his retirement, and put themselves under his conduct. These he formed into fraternities about the beginning of this century, placed them in monasteries, and gave them rules for their behaviour (75). St. Pachomius and Hilarion, two of his admirers, soon after founded monasteries in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria; and the East was in a few years overrun with these wretched fanatics, who seemed to think that the perfection of religion consisted in being useless and miserable. This spirit penetrated into Europe about the middle of this century, and unhappily prevailed almost as much in the West as it had done in the East (76). It is difficult to discover at what time the monastic life was introduced into this island, and to what degree it prevailed in the ancient British church. For no regard is due to the absurd and impossible stories of our monks of the middle ages, about the famous monasteries which were built here in the days of king Lucius (77). Nor can we give credit to all the ex-

Origin of  
the monastic  
life in  
Britain.

(74) Theodoret, Philotheus, c. 26.

(75) Acta Sanctorum, tom. 2. p. 107.

(76) Mosheim Hist. Eccles. secul. 4. c. 3.

(77) Usserii Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 194.

traordinary

traordinary things which are told us by the same authors, of the famous British monastery of Banchor, not far from Chester, which contained, as they pretend, no fewer than two thousand one hundred monks, divided into seven courses, each course containing three hundred (78). But though this is probably very much exaggerated, we have reason to believe in general, that there were monks and monasteries in Britain before the end of this century, as well as in the other provinces of the western empire, and particularly one at Banchor Monachorum. There was one very essential difference between these ancient British monks, and those who succeeded them in after-times. The British monks of Banchor, and no doubt in other places, supported themselves in a frugal manner, by the work of their own hands; and while a certain number of them were performing the offices of religion, the rest were employed in labour, by a regular rotation (79). But the monks who succeeded them, in the middle ages, were maintained in sloth and luxury, by the mistaken charity and profuse donations of kings, nobles, and other wealthy persons.

Cent. 5.

From the beginning of the fifth century to the arrival of the Saxons, the inhabitants of South Britain were involved in variety and succession of national calamities, which seemed to threaten their ruin and extirpation. Besides the desolating evils of war, pestilence, and famine (mentioned in the first chapter of this book), they were distracted and torn in pieces by religious disputes, in this unhappy period. These disputes were occasioned by the introduction and spreading of the peculiar opinions of Pelagius, which were maintained by some, and impugned by others with the most vehement and acrimonious zeal. This famous heresiarch was a native of Britain; which might be one reason why his opinions met with so favourable a reception, and so many advocates in this island (80). It is not necessary to enumerate all the opinions of Pelagius; the most important and plausible of them were these following: "That Adam was naturally mortal, and would have died though he had

(78) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 2, c. 2.

(79) Id. Ibid. (80) Id. l. 1, c. 10.



“ not sinned—That Adam’s sin affected only himself,  
 “ but not his posterity; and that children at their birth  
 “ are as pure and innocent as Adam was at his creation—  
 “ That the grace of God is not necessary to enable men  
 “ to do their duty, to overcome temptation, and even  
 “ to attain perfection; but they may do all this by the  
 “ freedom of their own wills, and the exertion of their  
 “ natural powers (81).” These opinions, so soothing  
 to the pride of men, were propagated in Britain with  
 great success by some of the disciples of Pelagius, par-  
 ticularly by one named Agricola, the son of Severianus,  
 a bishop; while Pelagius himself, and his other followers,  
 Celestus a Scotsman, and Julianus of Campania, were  
 employed in the same work at Rome and other  
 places (82).

The orthodox clergy in Britain did every thing in their  
 power to put a stop to the progress of these errors; but  
 finding all their efforts in vain, and that they were not  
 so expert in the arts of controversy as their subtle adver-  
 saries, they sent into Gaul for assistance in this spiritual  
 warfare. The bishops of Gaul, being assembled in a  
 great council, appointed two of their number, Germa-  
 nus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes, to  
 go to the assistance of their brethren in Britain, who were  
 so hard pressed. The two good bishops cheerfully obeyed  
 the appointment, and embarked for the scene of  
 action; but when they had proceeded about halfway on  
 their voyage, with a favourable gale, the Devil (who it  
 seems was a great friend to the Pelagians) raised a most  
 violent storm with a design to drown them: from which  
 however they escaped by a miracle. At their arrival on  
 the British shore, they found a great multitude of ortho-  
 dox Christians waiting to receive them; having got in-  
 telligence of their approach in a very extraordinary  
 way (83). The bishops, without delay, engaged in the  
 important work on which they were sent, and by their  
 preaching, sometimes in the churches, and sometimes

Public dis-  
 putation  
 between the  
 orthodox  
 and the  
 Pelagians.

(81) Usser. Eccles. Britan. primord. p. 218. Concil. Lab. tom. 2.  
 p. 1529.

(82) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 10—17.

(83) Some evils spirits (says Bede) being dispossessed by the exor-  
 cists, were constrained to tell story of the tempest, and the approach  
 of the bishops.

in the highways and open fields, they filled the whole island with the fame of their virtues, their learning, and eloquence: confirmed the orthodox in their faith; and reclaimed many of the Pelagians from their errors. The champions of Pelagianism were at first dispirited, and declined the combat; but seeing themselves in danger of losing all their reputation, and all their followers, they took heart, and challenged their formidable adversaries to a public disputation. This challenge was joyfully accepted by Germanus and Lupus; and both parties came to the field of battle (which was probably at Verulamium) attended by a numerous train of their friends and followers; and a prodigious multitude of other people came also to the place, to hear and judge for themselves, on which side the truth lay. The external appearances and real characters of the two contending parties at this famous congress, it is said, were very different. The Pelagian champions and their chief followers were richly dressed, and full of pride and presumptuous confidence in their own abilities: the two bishops and their attendants were very plain in their attire, diffident of themselves, and devoutly depending on divine assistance. The Pelagian orators opened the debate, and spent a great deal of time in making an ostentatious display of their eloquence, and in long rhetorical speeches, which contained little solid argument, and produced no conviction. When they had finished their harangues, the venerable prelates stood up, and poured forth such an irresistible torrent of arguments from Scripture, reason, and the testimonies of authors, as quite confounded and silenced their adversaries, and fully convinced their hearers. The surrounding multitudes testified their assent and approbation by the loudest acclamations, and were with great difficulty restrained from knocking the Pelagian champions on the head (84).

Germanus and Lupus, having finished their work in Britain, return into Gaul.

Germanus and Lupus continued some time in Britain after they obtained the complete victory over the Pelagians, confirming the British Christians in the right faith by their reasoning and preaching, and (as the monkish historians tell us) by their miracles. Germanus had, it seems, brought with him a very large and valuable cargo



of relics of all the apostles, and of many martyrs, which he deposited in the tomb of St. Alban the proto-martyr of Britain. This precious hoard was opened some ages after in the presence of king Offa, and all the relics were found very fresh and in good keeping, and proved a very valuable treasure to the monks of St. Albans (85). They did not indeed enjoy this treasure without rivals, for the monks of St. Pantaleon at Cologn, affirmed that St. Germanus was so far from leaving any relics in Britain, that he brought away with him from thence the body of St. Alban, which he deposited at Rome, and which was from thence transferred to their monastery by the empress Theophania, A. D. 986. To demonstrate the truth of this assertion, they produced the body of the holy martyr, far fresher, and in much better condition, than that at St. Albans in England (86). Such were the gross and monstrous frauds of the monks of the middle ages, to deceive the world and enrich themselves! Germanus and Lupus having at length finished the work for which they had come into Britain, prepared to return into Gaul, when they were detained some time longer by a very strange accident. The Devil, being very much provoked at Germanus for the defeat of his friends the Pelagians, laid a snare for him, and the saint falling into it, strained his foot. This was a piece of very ill-judged malice, by which the Devil did his friends no service; as it gave Germanus an opportunity of working a great many more miracles. The Scots and Picts, who had no hand in the saint's misfortune, suffered greatly from it. For these two nations happening to invade South Britain in this interval, they were totally and shamefully defeated by Germanus at the head of the British army, merely by crying out Alleluja three or four times, in which cry he was joined by all his troops. At last the two good bishops, having triumphed over both the spiritual and carnal enemies of the Britons, set sail for Gaul, and by their own merits, and the intercession of St. Alban, who was much pleased with the compliment of the relics he had received from them, they obtained a safe and

(85) Math. Florileg. Hist. ad annum 794.

(86) S. S. Vita Sanctor. Jan. 28. tom. 3.

pleasant passage (87). The reader cannot fail to observe, that this account of Germanus's first expedition into Britain, which is taken from venerable Bede, one of the best and most learned of our monkish historians, makes a ridiculous appearance, through that tincture of the marvellous which runs through it. But it would have appeared ten times more ridiculous, if all the wonderful circumstances which are mentioned by that author and other monks, had been inserted. This prodigious delight in mixing marvellous legends with all their narrations relating to religion and the saints, was the reigning taste of those dark ages, from which the most upright and intelligent writers could not emancipate themselves. Nor does this very much impair their credit, or diminish their use, since it is not, for the most part, very difficult to distinguish what is legendary from what is true, or at least probable, in their narrations.

Second expedition of Germanus into Britain.

Though the advocates for the Pelagian opinions had been silenced by the arguments, or intimidated by the authority of Germanus and Lupus, yet it plainly appears that they had not been convinced. For these two prelates were no sooner gone, than they began to propagate their heretical notions with as much zeal, and, which is more surprising, with as much success as ever. Nor had the orthodox clergy profited so much by the instructions of their late venerable co-adjutors, as to be able to defend their own cause, but were obliged to apply to them a second time for their assistance. The wretched Britons, in this period, seem to have been sunk into such a state of imbecillity in their minds, as well as bodies, that they could make as little resistance against their spiritual as against their secular enemies. Germanus having heard of the distress of his friends, and danger of the orthodox faith, hastened to their relief and support, accompanied by Severus bishop of Treves, a disciple of his former companion Lupus. The two bishops, at their arrival, were pleased to find that the defection from the right faith had not been so great as they had apprehended; and immediately applied themselves with great zeal to accomplish the design of their mission. For this purpose they preached and reasoned with great eloquence

(87) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 19. 20.



and power (to say nothing of their working miracles), and thereby reclaimed such as had apostatized, and confirmed those who were wavering. On this occasion, however, these good bishops did not think fit to depend entirely on the efficacy of their spiritual weapons, but called in the assistance of the secular arm, and procured the banishment of the chief Pelagians out of the island. By these means the orthodox faith was restored, and remained, for a long time, pure and inviolated (88).

It is a little strange that these two expeditions of Germanus into Britain are not mentioned by Gildas, the most ancient of our historians, who flourished only about a century after. This must be owing either to his intended brevity, or imperfect information. For as they are related at great length by Constantius, a monk of Auxerre, who wrote the life of Germanus, not many years after his death, we have little reason to doubt of their reality (89). There are also great diversity of opinions about the particular years in which these expeditions happened. It is sufficient to say, that they must have happened some time between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons. For Germanus became bishop of Auxerre, A. D. 418, a very few years before the final departure of the Romans, and died A. D. 448, only one year before the arrival of the Saxons (90). This last event produced a melancholy revolution in the state of religion in Britain, which, together with the conversion of the Saxons to the Christian Religion, and their church history, will be the subject of the second chapter of the second book of this work.

(88) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 21.

(89) Id. l. i. c. 17. not. I. by Dr. Smith.

(90) Stillingfleet's Orig. Brit. p. 209. Usser. primord. Eccles. Britan. p. 382.

The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Education to the Board of Trustees of the University of the State of New York. The letter is dated January 10, 1892, and is addressed to the Board of Trustees. The letter discusses the progress of the Board of Education and the various reports that have been received from the different districts. It also mentions the various committees that have been appointed and the work that they have done. The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Board of Education.

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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

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B O O K I .

C H A P . III .

*The history of the constitution, government, and laws of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans, under Julius Caesar, A. A. C. 55, to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

S E C T I O N I .

*A brief account of the names, situations, limits, and other circumstances of the several nations which inhabited Great Britain before it was invaded and conquered by the Romans; and of the changes that were made in the state of these nations, and of their country, by that conquest.*

**N**EXT to the laws and fancies of religion, those of civil government have the greatest influence on the manners and characters of nations, as well as on their fortunes and external circumstances. On the one hand, wise and equitable laws, a mild, prudent, and steady administration, contribute very much to render a people  
wife

The great influence of laws on manners.

wife and virtuous, as well as great and happy : on the other hand, unjust and oppressive constitutions, a cruel and despotic exercise of authority, tend as much to debase their minds as to depress their fortunes, to make them worthless as to make them wretched. It is impossible therefore to form just ideas of the character and manners of any people, in any period of their history, or to account for them, without an attentive investigation of the constitution of their government, the nature and spirit of their laws, the forms of their judicial proceedings, and other particulars of their police. For these are the great hinges on which both the characters and fortunes of nations have always turned. Whenever any remarkable revolution hath happened in the constitution and government of any people, either for the better or the worse, that revolution hath always been attended, or very soon followed, by a proportional change in the spirit, character, and manners of that people. The truth of these observations might be demonstrated, if it were necessary, by examples out of the history of every nation. On this account, and for several other reasons, we have devoted the third chapter of every book of this work to a brief, but careful investigation of the constitution, government, and laws of the inhabitants of Great Britain, in the several successive periods of their history.

The first form of government patriarchal.

The fathers and heads of families were the first sovereigns, and the patriarchal was the most ancient form of government amongst mankind. This is so evident, from the whole strain of ancient history ; so agreeable to reason and the natural course of things ; and so universally acknowledged, that it is quite unnecessary to spend any time in proving it (1). The first states or civil societies, therefore, in every country were no other than large families, clans, or tribes, consisting of brothers, sisters, cousins, and other near relations, living in the same district, under the protection and government of their common parent, or of his representative, the head of the tribe or family. In these small patriarchal states there was little need of positive laws, to

(1) Origin of Laws, &c v. 1. p. 10, 11. Gen. c. 38. Hom. Odyss. l. 9. v. 197. and Plato de Leg. l. 3. p. 806.



limit the authority of the sovereign, or secure the obedience of the subjects. The strong ties of nature, and the warm feelings of mutual affection, supplied the place of laws on both sides. The patriarchal sovereign, viewing his subjects as his family, his dearest friends, and near relations, exercised his authority with mildness; and the subjects, looking upon their sovereign as their parent, the chief and head of their family, whose honour and interest were inseparable from their own, obeyed with cheerfulness.

But this patriarchal government, in its most pure and simple form, was probably not of very long continuance in any country. For as these distinct and independent tribes became each more and more numerous, they gradually approached nearer to one another; disputes arose between them, about their limits, their properties, the honour and dignity of their chiefs, and many other things. These disputes produced wars; and each of the contending clans, in order to defend themselves and annoy their enemies, contracted the most intimate alliances with one or more neighbouring clans, which were thereby, in a little time, consolidated into one large society or state. In this manner, and perhaps in several other ways, a great number of petty states or kingdoms were formed in almost every country with whose history we are acquainted. These ancient kingdoms consisted of two, three, four, or more tribes or clanships, under one king, who was commonly the head of the chief clan of which the state was composed; while each of the heads of the other tribes still retained a great degree of authority in his own tribe.

This seems to have been the state of society and government, both in Gaul and Britain, when they were first invaded by the Romans. Both these countries were then possessed by many petty states, governed by kings, or chief magistrates under some other denomination, independent of, and, for the most part, at war with one another. In each of these little states or kingdoms there were several chieftains, who governed each his own tribe with a kind of subordinate authority. With respect to Gaul, while Tacitus tells us, that it was inhabited by sixty-four different states, Appian assures us, that it contained

Succeeded by the monarchical.

Many small kingdoms in Britain when invaded by the Romans.

contained no fewer than four hundred different nations (2). These two accounts are not really contradictory; as the former respects the kingdoms, and the latter the tribes of which these kingdoms were composed. According to this proportion of sixty-four kingdoms, and four hundred tribes, each of these Gaulish kingdoms, one with another, contained about six tribes or clanships. Britain was in the same condition when it was first invaded by the Romans; containing many independent states, each composed of several tribes or clanships. Of this it will be sufficient to give one decisive proof. When Cæsar invaded Britain, the Cantii, or people of Kent, formed one of the British kingdoms; and yet that illustrious writer mentions no fewer than four kings in Kent at the same time, which could be no other than the chieftains or heads of so many clans or families of which that little kingdom was composed (3).

Description  
of these  
kingdoms.

Before we proceed to speak of the constitution and laws of these ancient British kingdoms, it may not be improper to give a very brief description of them; pointing out the situation, limits, and chief places in each of them, with the time and manner in which they ceased to be independent states, and fell under the dominion of the Romans. This will enable us to form distinct ideas of the political state of our country when it was invaded by the Romans, and of the changes which were made in it by that invasion. In giving this description, we shall begin at the south-west point of Britain, and proceed to its north-east extremity.

Danmonii.

1. The Danmonii inhabited the south-west parts of Britain. The name of this ancient British nation is differently written by different authors. By Solinus they are called Dumnani; by Ravennas Domnii; and by Ptolemy, Danmonii; and all the conjectures that have been made concerning the derivation of these names are vague and uncertain (4). The Danmonii seem to have inhabited that tract of country which is now called Cornwall and Devonshire, bounded on the south by the British Ocean, on the west by St. George's Channel, on

(2) Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 44. Appian. de Bel. civil. Pop. Rom. l. 2. p. 71.

(3) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 18. (4) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 1808.



the north by the Severn Sea, and on the east by the country of the Durotriges (5). Some other British tribes were also seated within these limits; as the Coffini and Ostidamni, which were probably particular clans of the Danmonii; and, according to Mr. Baxter, they were the keepers of their flocks and herds (6). As the several tribes of the Danmonii submitted without much resistance to the Romans, and never joined in any revolt against them, that people were under no necessity of building many forts or keeping many garrisons in their country. This is the reason why so few Roman antiquities have been found in that country, and so little mention is made of it and its ancient inhabitants by Roman writers. Ptolemy names a few places, both on the sea-coasts and in the inland parts of this country, which were known to, and frequented by, the Romans. The most considerable of these places are the two famous promontories of Bolerium and Ocrinum, now the Landsead and the Lizard; and the towns of Isca Danmoniorum and Tamare, now Exeter and Saltash (7). As the Danmonii submitted so tamely to the Romans, they might perhaps permit them to live, for some time at least, under their own princes and their own laws; a privilege which we know they granted to some other British states. In the most perfect state of the Roman government in Britain, the country of the Danmonii made a part of the province called Flavia Cæsariensis, and was governed by the president of that province. After the departure of the Romans, kingly government was immediately revived amongst the Danmonii in the person of Vortigern, who was perhaps descended from the race of their ancient princes, as his name signifies in the British language a chieftain, or the head of a family.

2. The Durotriges were seated next to the Danmonii, Durotriges. on the east side, and possessed that country which is now called Dorsetshire (8). The name of this ancient British nation is evidently derived from the two British words Dur, water, and Trigo, to dwell; and it is no less evident, that they got their name from the situation of their country, which lies along the sea coast. It is not very

(5) Camd. Brit. p. 2.

(6) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 190.

(7) See Appendix.

(8) Camd. Brit. p. 51.

certain whether the Durotriges formed an independent state under a prince of their own, or were united with their neighbours the Danmonii; as they were reduced by Vespasian under the dominion of the Romans, at the same time, and with the same ease, and never revolted (9). The peaceable disposition of the inhabitants was probably the reason that the Romans had so few towns, forts, and garrisons in this pleasant country. Dorchester, its present capital, seems to have been a Roman city of some consideration, though our antiquaries are not agreed about its Roman name. It is most probable that it was the Durnovaria in the 12th Iter of Antoninus. Many Roman coins have been found at Dorchester; the military way, called Jeening-Street, passed through it; and some vestiges of the ancient stone wall with which it was surrounded, and of the amphitheatre with which it was adorned, are still visible (10). The country of the Durotriges was included in the Roman province called Flavia Cæsariensis, and governed by the president of that province, as long as the Romans kept any footing in these parts.

Belgæ.

3. To the east of the Durotriges, on the same coast, were seated the Belgæ, who inhabited the countries now called Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire (11). When Cæsar invaded Britain, some part of this country was possessed by the Segontiaci, whose chief town was Winchester, called by the Britons, Caer-seguent, from the name of these its ancient inhabitants (12). But this people seem to have been soon after subdued by, and incorporated with, the Belgæ, as they are never afterwards mentioned. The name of the Belgæ discovers their origin, and demonstrates that they were a colony of that great and powerful nation of the same name, who inhabited a great part of Gaul, and are described by Cæsar, in the beginning of his commentaries. There are many arguments to prove, that all the ancient inhabitants of Britain originally came from Gaul, at different times, and under many different leaders; and that as one wave impels another towards the shore, so these successive

(9) Eutrop. l. 5. c. 8.

(10) Stukeley Itin. curios. p. 153, 154, &c.

(11) Camd. Brit. p. 67.

(12) Musgrave Belg. Brit. p. 42.



colonies drove each other further and further north, till the whole island was peopled. But the time and other circumstances of the arrival of these first colonies in this island are buried in the impenetrable shades of antiquity, except a few of the latest of them, who settled here not very long before the Roman invasion. With respect to these last colonies who inhabited the south parts of Britain, we have the express testimony of Cæsar, that they came from Gaul. "The sea-coast of Britain" is peopled with Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder. These last passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the several states from whence they are descended (13)." The latest of these Belgic colonies came into Britain only a few years before Cæsar's invasion. This colony was conducted by Divitiacus, king of the Sueffioners, one of the most powerful of the Belgic nations in Gaul, and having obtained a footing on the British coast, he continued to reign over our Belgæ in this island, as well as over his ancient subjects on the continent (14). He was succeeded in his continental territories by Galba, and in his British dominions by another of his sons, perhaps Segonax, who attempted to destroy Cæsar's fleet (15). Though the Segontiaci submitted to Cæsar, we hear nothing of the submission of the Belgæ to that conqueror. The honour of subduing that British nation was reserved to Vespasian, who, landing an army in these parts, A. D. 49, fought thirty-two battles, took more than twenty towns, subdued two very powerful nations (one of which was the Belgæ) and the Isle of Wight (16). After this time the country of the Belgæ was much frequented by the Romans, who made in it many excellent military ways, and built several beautiful towns, which are mentioned both by Ptolemy and Antoninus (17). The most remarkable of these towns were Venta Belgarum, Winchester, famous for the imperial weavery which was there established; and Aquæ Solis, Bath, even then renowned for its warm and salutary springs. The country of the

(13) Cæf. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 10.

(14) Id. l. 2. c. 9.

(15) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 214.

(16) Sueton. in vita Vespas.

(17) See Appendix.—Musgrave's Belg. Brit. c. 4, 5, 6.

Belgæ was also included in the Roman province called Flavia Cæsariensis, and governed by the president of that province and his inferior officers.

Bibroci.

4. To the north-east of the Belgæ were seated the Bibroci, who inhabited that country, or at least a part of it, which is now called Berkshire (18). The name of this people leads us to the discovery of their origin, as well as of the place of their residence in this island. For they certainly came from that part of Gaul where the town called Bibrax was situated, which belonged to the Rhemi, and was attacked with so much fury by the other Belgic nations, because it had declared for Cæsar (19). It is not certainly known when this colony of the Bibroci left their native country and settled in Britain, though it is probable that it was not very long before Cæsar's invasion, to whom, perhaps, they were engaged to submit by the influence and example of their friends and countrymen in Gaul. As the Bibroci were but a small nation, they seem to have been subdued by some of their neighbours before the invasion under Claudius, which is the reason they are no further mentioned in history. The name of the hundred of Bray in Berkshire is evidently derived from the name of these its ancient inhabitants; as the ancient Bibracte in France now bears the same name of Bray.

Attrebatii.

5. The Attrebatii were seated next to the Bibroci, in part of Berkshire and part of Oxfordshire (20). This was one of those Belgic colonies which had come out of Gaul into Britain, and there retained their ancient name. For the Attrebatii were a tribe of the Belgæ, who inhabited that country which is now called Artois. They are mentioned by Cæsar among the nations which composed the Belgic confederacy against him; and the quota of troops which they engaged to furnish on that occasion was fifteen thousand (21). Comius of Arras was a king or chieftain among the Attrebatii in Gaul in Cæsar's time, and he seems to have possessed some authority, or at least some influence, over our Attrebatii in Britain; for he was sent by Cæsar to persuade them to sub-

(18) Baxt. Gloss. p. 41. Camd. Brit. p. 170.

(19) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 2. c. 7.

(20) Baxt. Gloss. p. 27.

(21) Cæs. Bel. Gal.



mission (22). This circumstance makes it probable that this colony of the Attrebatii had not been settled in Britain very long before that time. The Attrebatii were among those British tribes which submitted to Cæsar; nor do we hear of any remarkable resistance they made against the Romans at their next invasion under Claudius. It is indeed probable, that before the time of this second invasion they had been subdued by some of the neighbouring states, perhaps by the powerful nation of the Cattivellauni, which may be the reason they are so little mentioned in history. Calliva Attrebatum, mentioned in the seventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Itinera of Antoninus, and called by Ptolemy, Calcuæ, seems to have been the capital of the Attrebatii; though our antiquaries differ in their sentiments about the situation of this ancient city, some of them placing it at Wallingford, and others at Ilchester (23). It is not very certain, whether the country of the Bibroci and the Attrebatii was within the Roman province called Britannia Prima, or in that called Flavia Cæsariensis, though it seems most probable that it was in the last of these provinces.

6. Before we leave these parts and return to the sea-coast, it may be proper to observe, that the people called Ancalites were seated near the Attrebatii, and were probably a clan of that nation. Mr. Baxter thinks they were the Ceangi, or herdsmen and shepherds of the Attrebatii, and possessed those parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire which were most proper for pasturage (24). After they were subdued by the Romans, the government of them, with that of some other neighbouring states, was bestowed upon Cogidunus, the British king of the Dobuni, as a reward for his early submission and great fidelity to the Romans.

7. To the east of the Belgæ, and to the south of the Attrebatii, were seated the Regni, in the country now called Surrey and Suffex (25). As this people possessed so large a tract of the sea-coast in the south of this island,

(22) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 19.

(23) Camd. Brit. p. 164. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 366.

(24) Baxt. Gloss. p. 14.

(25) Camd. Brit. p. 179.

it is highly probable they had come from the continent and settled here not very long before the Roman invasion, perhaps at the same time with their neighbours the Belgæ. For the Belgæ and the Regni had been near neighbours on the continent; the one having come from the country of the Sueffiones, now Soissons; and the other from the country of the Rhemi, now Reims. The Regni, like all the other Belgic Britons, early submitted to the Roman power, and continued steady in their obedience, without engaging in any revolt. We know not who was sovereign of the Regni when they submitted to the Romans, but soon after their submission they were put under the government of Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni. For this prince, who was then very young, had got so much into the favour of the emperor Claudius and his ministers, that he was not only allowed to keep his own dominions, but he had several other neighbouring states put under his authority (26). It seems probable, from a famous inscription discovered at Chichester, that Cogidunus governed the Regni, in quality of the emperor's lieutenant, or legatus Augusti; for on that inscription he is so styled (27). He continued a faithful and useful friend and ally to the Romans, above sixty years, which so endeared him to that people, that, according to their custom in other countries, they permitted his posterity to succeed him, perhaps for several generations (28). Though the Regni, therefore, were very early and very obedient subjects of the Roman empire, yet as they were long after under the immediate government of British princes, few of the Romans seem to have settled amongst them. This is certainly the reason that we meet with so few vestiges of that great and active people in those countries, which were anciently inhabited by the Regni. Chichester was certainly a considerable place in the Roman times, and probably the capital of the ~~the~~ Regni, from whence it was called Regnum by the Romans (29). The Neomagus of Ptolemy, and the Noviomagus of the Itinera-

(26) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.

(27) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 332.

(28) Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 62, 63.

(29) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 441.



ry, was a city of the Regni, and most probably situated at or near Croydon (30). In the most perfect state of the Roman government in Britain, the country of the Regni made a part of the province called Flavia Cæsariensis, and was governed by the president of that province.

Next to the Regni eastward were seated the Cantii, Cantii. inhabiting that country which from them was anciently called Cantium, now Kent (31). The name of this country and of its inhabitants was most probably derived from the British word Cant, which signifies an angle or corner (32). It is highly probable, that this was the first district in Britain which received a colony from the continent; and that it had frequently changed its masters, by new colonies coming over from time to time, and driving the inhabitants further north. In the midst of all these revolutions it still retained its ancient name (which was so agreeable to its shape and situation), and gave the same name to all the successive tribes by which it was inhabited. Those who possessed it at the time of the first Roman invasion were evidently of Belgic origin, and had come over so lately, that they differed in nothing from their countrymen on the continent. “The inhabitants of Kent (says Cæsar) are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but very little in their manners from the Gauls (33).” This great resemblance between the people of Kent and their neighbours on the continent, might be partly owing to the situation of their country, which, being nearest to the continent, was most frequented by strangers from thence. It was this situation also which exposed them to the first assaults of the Romans. For Cæsar, in both his expeditions into this island, landed in Kent; and therefore we may conclude, that the Cantii had a great share in the vigorous opposition that was made to his landing, and in the several battles and skirmishes which were fought against him after his landing; particularly, they made a very bold but unsuccessful attempt upon his naval camp.

(30) Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 423.

(31) Cam d. Brit. p. 215.

(32) Baxt. Gloss. p. 66.

(33) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 10.

The Cantii did not make the same vigorous resistance to the Romans on their next invasion in the reign of Claudius. For Aulus Plautius, the Roman general in that expedition, traversed their country without seeing an enemy; and as they now submitted to the power of Rome without a struggle, so they continued in a state of quiet submission to it to the very last (34). The situation of Cantium occasioned its being much frequented by the Romans, who generally took their way through it in their marches to and from the continent. Few places in Britain are more frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, than Rutupium and Portus Rutupensis, most probably Richborough and Stonar (35). Rutupium was the same in those times, that Dover is in ours; the usual place of embarking for, and landing from, the continent. Before the final departure of the Romans out of Britain, Portus Dubris, now Dover, had become a considerable place, and a well-frequented harbour, where the third Iter of Antoninus ends, and from whence they often embarked for Gaul (36). Portus Lemanus, supposed to be Lime near West Hythe, was also a noted sea-port in these times, and the termination of the fourth Iter of Antoninus (37). Durobrivæ and Durovernum, now Rochester and Canterbury, were both Roman towns and stations, and are often mentioned in the Itinerary and other books (38). Besides these, there were several other Roman stations, towns, and ports in Cantium, which need not be particularly enumerated here (39). Cantium, in the most perfect state of the Roman government, made a part of the province which was called Flavia Cæsariensis.

Trino-  
bantes.

9. The Trinobantes, or Trinouantes, were seated next to the Cantii northward, and inhabited that country which now composes the counties of Essex and Middlesex, and some part of Surrey (40). The name of this British nation seems to be derived from the three following British words; Tri, Now, Hant, which signify the

(34) Dio. l. 69.

(35) Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 13. Lucan. l. 3. v. 67. Juven. Sat. 4. v. 140.

(36) Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 426.

(37) Id. ibid.

(38) Id. p. 424, 425.

(39) Id. p. 487. 485.

(40) Camd. Brit. p. 363. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 230.

inhabitants



inhabitants of the new city. This name was perhaps given them by their neighbours, on account of their having newly come from the continent into Britain, and having there founded a city called Tri-now, or the New City, the most ancient name of the renowned metropolis of Britain (41). The Trinobantes had come so lately from Belgium, that they seem hardly to have been firmly established in Britain, at the time of the first Roman invasion. For their new city, which soon after became so famous, was then so inconsiderable, that it is not mentioned by Cæsar, though he must have been within sight of the place where it was situated. They were then at war with their neighbours, the Cattivellauni, whose king, Cassibelanus, commanded the confederated Britons against the Romans; and, on this account, the Trinobantes were amongst the first of the British states who deserted that confederacy and submitted to Cæsar (42). They submitted again to the Romans, on their next invasion in the reign of Claudius, with the same facility, and almost for the same reason. For, in the interval between the invasion of Julius, and that of Claudius, the Cattivellauni had reduced them under their obedience; and, in order to emancipate themselves from this subjection to their neighbours, they put themselves under the protection of the Romans. But the Trinobantes soon became weary of their obedience to their new masters. For the Roman colony at Camulodunum, which was within their territories, depriving some of them of their estates, and oppressing them several other ways, they joined in the great revolt of the Britons under Boadicia, and shared very deeply in the miseries of that revolt (43). From that time, the Trinobantes remained in peaceable subjection to the Romans, as long as they continued in Britain. The country of the Trinobantes was greatly valued and much frequented by the Romans, on account of the excellence of its soil and climate, and the many advantages of its situation. That sagacious people soon fixed their eyes on the new town of the Trinobantes; and observing its admirable situation for health, for

(41) Cambd. Brit. p. 363. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 230.

(42) Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 16.

(43) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 155.

pleasure,

pleasure, and for trade, great numbers of them settled in it, and giving it the name of Londinium from its situation, and of Augusta from its grandeur, it became in a little time the largest and most opulent city in this island. In the reign of Nero, as Tacitus informs us, London was become a city highly famous for the great conflux of merchants, her extensive commerce, and plenty of all things (44). No fewer than seven of the fourteen journies of Antoninus begin or end at London; a plain proof, amongst many others, that this city was the capital of Britain in the Roman times, as it is at present the great and flourishing metropolis of the British empire (45). Camulodunum, now Malden, in Essex, was the seat of the first Roman colony in Britain, and a place of great beauty and magnificence in those times; though at present few or no vestiges of its ancient grandeur remain (46). Cæsaromagus, from its pompous name, was probably a place of some note in the Roman times; but it is now so entirely ruined, that it is difficult to discover the ground where it once stood; some of our antiquaries placing it at Chelmsford, and others at Dunmow (47). The Colonia of Antoninus was probably Colchester, and Durolitum, as some think, Leiton, but according to others Waltham (48). But though the county of Essex was certainly very much frequented by the Romans, who erected many noble works in it, yet time, cultivation, and various accidents, have made so great change in the face of that country, that very few vestiges of these works are now remaining (49). The territories of the Trinobantes were included in that Roman province which was called Britannia Prima.

10. To the north of the Trinobantes were seated the Cattivellauni, in the country which is now divided into the counties of Hertford, Bedford, and Bucks (50). The name of this ancient British people is written in several different ways by Greek and Roman authors, being sometimes called Catti, Cassii, Caticuelani, Cat-

Cattivellauni.

(44) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

(45) See Appendix.

(46) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 26. Camd. Brit. p. 415.

(47) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 427. Camd. Brit. p. 410.

(48) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 447. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. 116.

(49) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 331.

(50) Camd. Brit. p. 326, 335, 343.

tidudani,



tidudani, Catticladane, &c. That they were of Belgic origin cannot be doubted, and it is not improbable, that they derived their name of Catti from the Belgic word *Katten*, which signifies illustrious or noble, and that the addition of *Vellauni*, which means on the banks of rivers, might be given them after their arrival in Britain, as descriptive of the situation of their country (51). However this may be, the *Cattivellauni* formed one of the most brave and warlike of the ancient British nations when *Cæsar* invaded Britain, and long after. *Cassibelanus*, their prince, was made commander in chief of the confederated Britons, not only on account of his own personal qualities, but also because he was at the head of one of their bravest and most powerful tribes (52). In the interval between the departure of *Cæsar* and the next invasion under *Claudius*, the *Cattivellauni* had reduced several of the neighbouring states under their obedience; and they again took the lead in the opposition to the Romans at their second invasion, under their brave but unfortunate prince *Caractacus* (53). The country of the *Cattivellauni* was much frequented and improved by the Romans, after it came under their obedience. *Verulamium*, their capital, which stood near where *St. Albans* now stands, became a place of great consideration, was honoured with the name and privileges of a *municipium* or free city, and had magistrates after the model of the city of *Rome* (54). This place was taken and almost destroyed by the insurgents under *Boadicia*; but it was afterwards rebuilt, restored to its former splendor, and surrounded with a strong wall, some vestiges of which are still remaining (55). *Durocbrivæ* and *Magiovintum*, in the second *Iter* of *Antoninus*, were probably *Dunstable* and *Fenny-Stratford*, at which places there appear to have been Roman stations (56). The *Salenæ* of *Ptolemy*, a town in the country of the *Cattivellauni*, was perhaps situated at *Saludy*, in *Bedfordshire*, where several Roman anti-

(51) *Baxt. Gloss. Brit.*(52) *Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 9.*(53) *Dio. l. 6c. p. 678. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33.*(54) *Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. Camd. Brit. p. 351.*(55) *Stukeley It. cur. p. 110.*(56) *Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 422.*

quities have been found (57). There were, besides these, several other Roman forts, stations, and towns in the country, which it would be tedious to enumerate. The territories of the Cattivellauni made a part of the Roman province call Britannia Prima.

Dobuni.

II. Next to the Cattivellauni, westward, were seated the Dobuni, or as they are named by Dio, the Boduni, in the counties of Oxford and Gloucester (58). Both the names of this British nation seem to have been derived from the low situation of a great part of the country which they inhabited: for both Duvn and Bodun signify profound or low, in the ancient language of Gaul and Britain (59). The Dobuni are not mentioned among the British nations who resisted the Romans under Julius Cæsar, which was probably owing to the distance of their country from the scene of action; and before the next invasion under Claudius, they had been so much oppressed by their ambitious neighbours the Cattivellauni, that they submitted with pleasure to the Romans, in order to be delivered from that oppression. Cogidunus, who was at that time (as his name imports) prince of the Dobuni, recommended himself so effectually to the favour of the emperor Claudius, by his ready submission, and other means, that he was not only continued in the government of his own territories, but had some other states put under his authority (60). This prince lived so long, and remained so steady a friend and ally to the Romans, that his subjects, being habituated to their obedience in his time, never revolted, nor stood in need of many forts or forces to keep them in subjection. This is certainly the reason that we meet with so few Roman towns and stations in the country anciently inhabited by the Dobuni. The Durocornovium of Antoninus, and the Corinium of Ptolemy, are believed by antiquaries to have been the same place, the capital of the Dobuni, and situated at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, where there are many marks of a Roman station. (61). Clevum or Glevum, in the thirteenth Iter of Antoninus, stood

(57) Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 375. Camd. Brit. p. 339.

(58) Camd. Brit. d. 267. 291.

(59) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 42. 106.

(60) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.

(61) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 368. 468. Stukeley Iter. cur. p. 62.

where



where the city of Gloucester now stands: and Abone, in the fourteenth Iter, was probably situated at Avinton on the Severn (62). The country of the Dobuni was comprehended in the Roman province Britannia Prima.

12. That we may survey all the ancient inhabitants of <sup>Iceni.</sup> Wales at the same time, we shall proceed no further westward at present, but return again to the east coast of Britain. Here we meet with the Iceni, an ancient British people who were seated to the north of the Trinobantes, and inhabited that country which is now divided into the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon (63). This nation is called by several different names by the Greek and Roman writers, as Simeni by Ptolemy, Cenimagni by Cæsar, &c. They do not seem to have made any opposition to the Romans at their first invasion under Cæsar, but made their submission at the same time with several of the neighbouring states (64). At the next invasion in the reign of Claudius, the Iceni entered into a voluntary alliance with the Romans, but soon after joining with some other British tribes in a revolt, they were defeated in a great battle by Ostorius Scapula, the second Roman governor of Britain, A. D. 50, and reduced to a state of subjection (65). For some time after this they were treated with much favour and indulgence by the Romans, and even allowed to live under the immediate government of Prasutagus, their own native sovereign. But after the death of that prince, the Iceni were so much enraged at some grievous insults which were offered to his widow and daughters, by the lust and avarice of certain powerful Romans, that they broke out into a second revolt, much more violent than the first. In this revolt they were commanded by the celebrated Boadicia, the brave and injured widow of their late king; and being joined by several other British states, they did many cruel injuries to the Romans and their allies. But being at length intirely defeated in battle, with prodigious slaughter, by Suetonius Paulinus, A. D. 61, they were reduced to a state of total and final subjection to the Roman government; and the Romans

(62) Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 468. Camd. Brit. p. 270.

(63) Camd. Brit. p. 434. 455. 479. 502.

(64) Cæf. Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

(65) Tacit, Annal. l. 12. c. 31, 32.

took great pains to keep them in this state of subjection, by building many strong forts, stations, and towns in their country (65). The capital of the Iceni, which is called by the Roman writers *Venta Icenorum*, was situated at Caister, on the banks of the river Wintfar, about three miles from Norwich; where some vestiges of its walls are still discernible (66). Several of the Roman stations in the country of the Iceni, are mentioned in the fifth *Iter* of Antoninus; as *Villa Faustini*, *Iciani*, *Camboricum*, *Durolipons*, and *Durobrivæ*; *St. Edmundsbury*, *Ickborough*, *Chesterford*, *Waltham*, and *Caister on the Nen* (67). Some other places in the same country are mentioned in the ninth *Iter*, as *Venta Icenorum*, *Sitomagus*, and *Combretonium*; *Caister*, *Wulpit*, and *Stretford* (68). Two places on the sea-coast belonging to the Iceni are mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, *Branodunum* and *Garononum*, *Brancafter* and *Yarmouth*, in which strong garrisons were kept by the Romans to protect the country from the depredations of the Saxon pirates (69). The territories of the Iceni made a part of the Roman province *Britannia Prima*.

Coritani.

13. To the west and north of the Iceni were seated the *Coritani* or *Coriceni*, in the country which is now divided into the counties of Northampton, and Derby (70). The name of the *Cor-Iceni* plainly indicates that there was an affinity or connexion of some kind or other between them and their neighbours the Iceni. Some think they were two tribes of the same nation, and that *Cor-Iceni* means the lesser Iceni, from *Carr*, a dwarf, and *Iceni* (71). Others imagine that both these British tribes derived their names from the different kinds of animals in which their chief riches consisted, and the tending of which was their chief employment; the Iceni from *Ychen*, oxen, and the *Cor-Iceni* from *Cor*, a sheep (72). However this may be, it is very evident, that if these two tribes did not form one nation, they

(65) Tacit. *Annal.* l. 14. c. 40, 41, 42.

(66) *Camd. Brit.* p. 460. *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 443, 444.

(67) *Baxt. Gloss. Brit.* p. 250. 138. 63. 115. 111.

(68) *Horfley Brit. Rom.* p. 444.

(69) *Id.* p. 488.

(70) *Camd. Brit.* p. 511. 530. 543. 550. 575. 586.

(71) *Boxhorn. Lexicon Brit. Lat.* p. 17.

(72) *Carte*, v. 1. p. 108.



were at least in very strict alliance, and shared the same fate, having both been reduced to some degree of subjection to the Romans by Ostorius Scapula, and totally subdued by Suetonius Paulinus (73). The Romans made great changes in the country of the Cor-Iceni, by introducing agriculture, and by building many forts and stations in it, to keep them in subjection. Lindum, now Lincoln, the ancient capital of the Cor-Iceni, became the seat of a Roman colony, and one of the most considerable cities which that people had in Britain; and is mentioned both by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus in several of his journies (74). By following only the course of the sixth journey of Antoninus, from London to Lincoln, we meet with a considerable number of Roman towns and stations within the territories of the Cor-Iceni; as Venonæ, now Cleycester; Ratæ, now Leicester; Virometum, now Willoughby; Margidunum, now East-Bridgeford; Ad-Pontem, now Southwell; and Crocolana, now Brugh, near Collingham (75). The extensive country of the Cor-Iceni was also included in the Roman province called Britannia Prima.

14. To the west of the Cor-Iceni were seated the Cornavii. Cornavii, in that country which is now divided into Warwickshire, Worcesterhire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire (76). There were several British tribes of this name, in other parts of this island; and they seem all to have been called Cornavii, from the two British words Corn a horn, and Av, a river, descriptive of the form and situation of their respective countries (77). Besides the Cornavii, there was another British tribe or nation seated in the countries above mentioned, and seem to have possessed the best part of the two counties of Warwick and Worcester. This nation is called by Tacitus, the Jugantes, by a mistake (as it is thought) of his transcribers, for Wigantes, or Huicii, their real name (78). The Wigantes (which in the ancient language of Britain signifies brave men) seem to have been an independent nation under their own prince Venutius,

(73) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 29, 30. (74) See Appendix.

(75) Hors. Brit. p. 436, 437.

(76) Camd. Brit. p. 598. 618. 634. 646. 662.

(77) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 88, 89, 90, 91.

(78) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

who married the famous Cartesmandua, queen of the Brigantes (79). But both the Wigantes and Cornavii were in such strict alliance with the Iceni and Cor-Iceni, that they were reduced at the same time, and by the same generals, under the dominion of the Romans (80). That brave and industrious people built many forts, stations, and towns in the country of the Cornavii and Wigantes, to keep its inhabitants in subjection. As the second journey of Antoninus, from beyond the wall of Severus to Richborough, in Kent, passes through this country from north to south, it will conduct us to several of the Roman towns and stations (81). The most northerly of these towns was Condate, supposed to be Northwich, in Cheshire (82). We come next to Diva, now Chester, which was a city of great consideration in the Roman times, a colony, and the stated quarters of the twentieth legion (83). Pursuing the same route southward, we meet with the following towns in their order; Bovium, near Stretton; Mediolanum, near Draiton; Rutunium, near Wem; Uriconium, now Wroxeter, the ancient capital of the Cornavii; Uxacona, near Sheriff-Hales; Pennocrucium, near the river Penk; Etocetum, Wall near Litchfield; and Manduessedum, now Manchester in Lankwicksire (84). The precise boundaries of the several Roman provinces in Britain are so little known, that we cannot be certain whether the whole country of the Cornavii, and Wigantes, was within the limits of that which was called Britannia Prima, or some part of it belonged to Britannia Secunda (85).

It is now proper, before we proceed any further northward, to take a short view of that part of South Britain which is now called Wales, and of the several nations by which it was anciently inhabited. These nations were the Silures, the Demetæ, and the Ordovices: of each of which we shall speak in their order.

(79) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 38. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. 135.

(80) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 29, 30.

(81) See Appendix.

(82) Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 415.

(83) Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 416.

(84) Id. p. 408. See Appendix. (85) See Appendix.



15. The Silures, besides the two English counties of Hereford and Monmouth, possessed Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, and Glamorganshire, in South Wales (86). The name of this ancient British nation is derived, by some of our antiquaries, from Coil, a wood, and Ures, men, because they inhabited a woody country: and by others, from these British words, Es heuil uir, which signify brave or fierce men (87). There seems to be but little probability, not to say evidence, in the conjecture of Tacitus, that the Silures had come originally from Spain; as it is founded on a supposed, and perhaps imaginary resemblance between them and the ancient Spaniards, in their persons and complexions (88). It is much more probable, that they, as well as the other ancient inhabitants of Britain, had come from some part or other of the neighbouring continent of Gaul. But from whencesoever they derived their origin, they reflected no dishonour upon it, as their posterity have not degenerated from them. The Silures were unquestionably one of the bravest of the ancient British nations, and defended their country and their liberty against the Romans with the most heroic fortitude. For though they had received a dreadful defeat from Ostorius Scapula, and had lost their renowned commander Caractacus, they still continued undaunted and implacable; and by their bold and frequent attacks, they at length broke the heart of the brave Ostorius (89). But all their efforts were at last in vain. They were repulsed by Aulus Didius, further weakened by Petilius Cerealis, and at last totally subdued by Julius Frontinus, in the reign of Vespasian (90). As the Romans had found great difficulty in subduing the Silures, so they took great pains to keep them in subjection, by building strong forts, and planting strong garrisons in their country. One of the most considerable of these fortifications, and the capital of the whole country, was Isca Silurum, now Caerleon, on the river Wisk, in Monmouthshire (91). Here the

(86) *Camd. Brit.* p. 683.(87) *Carte Hist.* v. 1. p. 108. *Baxt, Gloss. Brit.* p. 217.(88) *Tacit. vita Agric.* c. 11.(89) *Tacit. Annal.* l. 12. c. 30 to 37.(90) *Id.* c. 31. *Id. vita Agric.* c. 18.(91) *Camd. Brit.* p. 717.

second legion of the Romans, which had contributed greatly to the reduction of the Silures, was placed in garrison (as some antiquaries have imagined) by Julius Frontinus, to keep that people in obedience (92). It is however certain, that this legion was very early, and very long stationed at this place (93). *Ifca Silurum* was, in the Roman times, a city not only of great strength, but also of great beauty and magnificence. This is evident from the description which is given us of its ruins by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, in his topography of Wales, several ages after it had been destroyed and abandoned. “ This (*Caer Leion*, or the city of the legion) was a  
 “ very ancient city, enjoying honourable privileges, and  
 “ was elegantly built by the Romans with brick-walls.  
 “ Many vestiges of its ancient splendor are yet remain-  
 “ ing : stately palaces, which formerly, with their gild-  
 “ ed tiles, displayed the Roman grandeur. For it was  
 “ first built by the Roman nobility, and adorned with  
 “ sumptuous edifices ; also an exceeding high tower,  
 “ remarkable hot-baths, ruins of ancient temples,  
 “ theatres encompassed with stately walls, partly yet  
 “ standing. Subterraneous edifices are frequently met  
 “ with, not only within the walls (which are about three  
 “ miles in circumference) but also in the suburbs ; as  
 “ aqueducts, vaults, hypocausts, stoves, &c. (94).” This description of *Caer-Leion* was composed in the twelfth century, and therefore we have no reason to be surprized that its very ruins are now so entirely destroyed, that they are hardly discernible. On the banks of the river *Wisk*, besides *Ifca Silurum*, there stood two other Roman towns ; *Burrium*, now *Urk*, and *Gobannium*, now *Abergavenny* (95). *Venta Silurum*, now *Caer-Guent*, near *Chepstow*, in *Monmouthshire*, was also a considerable Roman town, of which there are some faint vestiges still remaining (96). *Blestum*, in the thirteenth journey of *Antoninus*, is supposed to have been situated at *Monmouth* ; and *Magna*, in the twelfth journey, at *Kenchester*, or as others think, at *Lidbury*,

(92) *Philosoph. Transf. No. 359.*(93) See Appendix. *Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 78.*(94) *Girald. Cambren. Itinerar. Camb. p. 836.*(95) *Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 465. Cand. Brit. 715. 717.*(96) *Horf. Brit. Rom. p. 469.*



in Herefordshire (97). When the Roman territories in Britain were divided into five provinces, the greatest part of the country of the Silures was in that province which was called Britannia Secunda (98).

16. The Demetæ, according to Ptolemy, were seated next to the Silures, and possessed the remaining part of South Wales, which is now divided into Caermarthenshire, Pembrokehire, and Cardiganshire (99). This country is called, by some of the most ancient of our monkish writers, Demitia, from the name of its inhabitants; and it is not improbable, that both they and their country derived their name from Deveit, which signifies sheep; in which these parts very much abounded (100). As neither Pliny, Tacitus, nor indeed any ancient writer except Ptolemy, mentions any other nation in South Wales but the Silures, it seems probable that the Demetæ were generally considered as a part of that nation, and were perhaps their Cangî, or the keepers of their flocks and herds. If this conjecture is just, the Demetæ were perhaps that nation of Cangians who were subdued by Ostorius Scapula, after he had defeated the Icenî. For the country of these Cangians reached to the Irish sea, which agrees very well with the situation of Demetia (101). As the Demetæ did not resist the Romans with much obstinacy, and as their country lay in a remote corner, and was then, and long after, very wild and uncultivated, it seems to have been but little frequented by these conquerors, who had very few towns or stations within its bounds. As none of the journies of Antoninus lay through any part of the country of the Demetæ, so no place in that country is mentioned in the Itinerary. Ptolemy takes notice of the promontory Octapitarum, now St. David's Head; of the mouth of the river Tobius, now the river Towy, in Caermarthenshire; and of the towns Leuentium and Maridunum, now Lhan-Dewe-Brevi and Caermardin (102). The country of the Demetæ was situated in the Roman province called Britannia Secunda.

Demetæ.

(97) *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 465. 467. *Baxt. Gloss. Erit.* p. 165.

(98) See Appendix.

(99) *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 368. *Camd. Baxt.* p. 743. 754. 770.

(100) *Faxt. Gloss. Brit.* p. 102.

(101) *Tacit. Annal.* l. 12. c. 33.

(102) See Appendix.

**Ordovices.** 17. Next to the Demetæ were seated the Ordovices, in that country which is now called North Wales, and contains the counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint (101). These Ordovices, or (as they are called by Tacitus) Ordeuices, are supposed to have been originally of the same tribe or nation with the Huicii of Warwickshire, who were under some kind of subjection to the Cornavii; but the Huicii of North Wales, being a free and independent people were called Ordh-Huici, or the free Huici (102). When they were invaded by the Romans, they shewed a spirit worthy of their name, and fought with great bravery in defence of their freedom and independency. Though they received a great defeat from the Roman general Ostorius, in conjunction with the Silures, they maintained the war for a considerable time, until they were finally subdued, with great slaughter, by the renowned Agricola (103). It was probably owing to the nature of the country, and to the vicinity of Diva, now Chester, where a whole legion was quartered, that the Romans had so few towns or stations in the territories of the Ordovices. Mediolanium, which is mentioned by Ptolemy, was the capital of the nation, and was probably situated at Maywood, in Montgomeryshire (104). It was a place of some consideration in the Roman times, but was afterwards quite demolished by Edwin, king of Northumberland (105). Besides this, the Romans had a few other towns in the country; as Segontium, now Caernarvon, Conovium, now Conway, and Varæ, now Bodvay; which are all mentioned in the eleventh journey of Antoninus (106). The country of the Ordovices was comprehended in the Roman province which was called Britannia Secunda.

Before we leave this part of Britain, to return to the eastern coasts, it may not be improper to take some notice of two ancient British nations, the Cangi and Attacotti, which some of our antiquaries believe to have been seated

(101) Camd. Brit. p. 778. 783. 794. 814. 822.

(102) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 189.

(103) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. Vita Agric. c. 13.

(104) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 372. (105) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 173.

(106) See Appendix.



in these parts, though we cannot perhaps discover with certainty their real situation.

18. Our antiquaries have been much perplexed about <sup>Cangi.</sup> the situation of the Cangi, Ceangi, or Cangani, which are all the same people. Camden discovered some traces of them in many different and distant places, as in Somersetsshire, Wales, Derbyshire, and Cheshire; and he might have found as plain vestiges of them in Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Essex, Wiltshire, &c. (107).” Mr. Horsley and others are no less perplexed and undetermined in their opinions on this subject (108). But Mr. Baxter seems to have discovered the true cause of all this perplexity, by observing that the Cangi or Ceangi were not a distinct nation seated in one particular place, but such of the youth of many different nations as were employed in pasturage, in feeding the flocks and herds of their respective tribes. Almost all the ancient nations of Britain had their Ceangi, their pastoritia pubes, the keepers of their flocks and herds, who ranged about the country in great numbers, as they were invited by the season, and plenty of pasture for their cattle. This is the reason that vestiges of their name are to be found in so many different parts of Britain; but chiefly in those parts which are most fit for pasturage (109). These Ceangi of the different British nations, naturally brave, and rendered still more hardy by their way of life, were constantly armed for the protection of their flocks from wild beasts; and these arms they occasionally employed in the defence of their country and their liberty.

19. The Attacotti are mentioned by Ammianus Mar- <sup>Attacotti.</sup> cellinus and St. Jerome, as well as in the Notitia Imperii (120). They are supposed by some antiquaries to have inhabited Wales, and as a proof of this, they say that their name was derived from the British words At a coit, which signify Amongst woods (111). This derivation of their name is certainly but a very weak argument

(107) Camd. Brit. p. 83. 216. 436. Speim. Villare Anglican. v. Can.

(108) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 31. 34. 35.

(109) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 73, 74, 75, 76.

(110) Ammian. Marcell. l. 27. l. 8. Hieronym. l. 2, contra Jovianum.

(111) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 26, 27.

that they inhabited Wales; because several other regions in Britain, in these times, abounded as much in woods as that country. It seems probable that the Attacotti were seated somewhere further north than any part of Wales. For they are represented by Ammianus Marcellinus as allies and confederates of the Scots and Picts, and therefore probably their neighbours. "The Saxons and Franks (says the historian) ravaged those parts of Britain which lay nearest to Gaul. The Picts, Attacots, and Scots overran, plundered, and laid waste several other parts." But these Attacots were such horrid savages, as we shall have occasion to observe in another place, that it is needless to spend any more time in enquiring where they were seated (112).

Parisi.

20. It is now time to return to the eastern coasts of Britain, where we meet with the Parisi, who were seated to the north of the Coritani, and possessed that district which is called Holderness, or (as Mr. Camden imagines) the whole east-riding of Yorkshire (113). The Parisi are supposed to have derived their name from the two British words Paur Isa, which signify low pasture, and which are descriptive of the situation and use of their country (114). It is uncertain whether the Parisi in Britain were a colony of the Parisi in Gaul, or had only obtained a similar name, from a similarity of situation. However this may be, it is evident that our Parisi never attained to any great degree of power or consequence; but were always subject to the authority, and followed the fate of their more powerful neighbours, the Brigantes. For this reason, it is not necessary to be more particular in our description of them or their country.

Brigantes.

21. To the north of the Parisi and Cornavii were seated the Brigantes, the most numerous, powerful, and ancient of the British nations. Their territories reached from sea to sea quite cross the island, and comprehended that large tract of country which is now divided into Yorkshire and the county of Durham on the east coast, and Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland on the

(112) See Chap. vii. Dr. Macpherfon's Dissertations in the Preface.

(113) Camd. Brit. p. 885.

(114) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 191.



west (117). The Brigantes are thought to have been descended from the ancient Phrygians, who were the very first inhabitants of Europe, and to have come over into this island from the coast of Gaul, before the Belgæ arrived in that country. To confirm this conjecture, it is pretended that these tribes of Phrygians, who peopled the sea-coasts of so many countries, were known by many different names, which had all some affinity, and, amongst others, by this name of Brigantes, of which there are some traces still remaining in almost every country in Europe (118). However this may be, it is certain that they were seated in this island in very ancient times, and esteemed themselves the aborigines, or first inhabitants of it. The Brigantes were not in the least affected by the incursion of the Romans under Julius Cæsar. Seneca, in the verses quoted below (119), insinuates that they were subdued by the emperor Claudius. But in this, it is probable, there was more of poetical compliment than truth. It appears, however, that this state very soon contracted some alliance with, or made some kind of submission to the Romans. For when Ostorius, the Roman governor, had defeated the Iceni, and was marching his army into the west against the Cangi, he was called away by the news of an insurrection among the Brigantes, which he soon quieted (120). But it also appears, that this people were some time after this governed by their own princes, particularly by the famous Cartimandua, who was a faithful and useful ally to the Romans (121). The Brigantes having broken off their engagements with the Romans, of whatever kind they were, and commenced hostilities against them in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, A. D. 70, they were in part subdued by Petilius Cerialis, then governor of Britain, and soon after totally reduced by the renowned Agricola (122). The country of the Brigantes

(117) Camd. Brit. p. 842. 931. 962. 983. 1002.

(118) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. voce Brigantes. Carte Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 10. 18.

(119) . . . . . Ille Britannos  
 Ultro noti littora ponti, et cæruleos  
 Scuta Brigantes, dare Romulæis colla catenis  
 Jussit.

Seneca in Ludo.

(120) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.

(121) Id. l. 12. c. 36.

(122) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 17. 20.

composed almost the whole of the fourth Roman province in Britain, called *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and was governed by the consular president of that province. As this, for the greatest part of the Roman times, was a frontier province, it was much frequented, and carefully guarded by that illustrious people; so that to give the shortest possible account of the prodigious number of their castles, towns, cities, and of the other works executed by them in it, for use, ornament, and defence, would draw out this paragraph to a tedious and disproportionate length. It is necessary, therefore, to refer the reader for satisfaction in these particulars to the Appendix.

Otodini,

21. To the north-east of the Brigantes were seated the Otodini, in the countries now called Northumberland, Merse, and the Lothians (123). As the Otodini are not mentioned by any of the Roman historians, but only by Ptolemy, it is uncertain whether they formed a distinct, independent state, or were united with the Brigantes. They were, however, a considerable people, and possessed a long tract of the sea-coast, from the river Tine to the Firth of Forth (124). Their name is derived by Baxter from the old British words *Ot o dineu*, which signify a high and rocky shore; descriptive enough of their country (125). They were probably reduced by Agricola, at the same time with their more powerful neighbours the Brigantes; but as they lived without the wall of Severus, they were, like the rest of the *Maecatae*, engaged in frequent revolts. In the most perfect state of the Roman government in this island, the country of the Otodini made a part of the Roman province called *Valentia*; which comprehended all that large tract between the two walls. As this province was never long together in the peaceable possession of the Romans, they had but few stations in the country of the Otodini, except those on the line of the wall of Severus, which are described in the Appendix. Besides these, there were two or three Roman towns without the wall, situated on or near the military way which ran through their coun-

(123) *Camd. Brit.* p. 1066.

(124) *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 373.

(125) *East. Gloss. Antiq. Brit.* voce *Otodini*.



try into Caledonia; which are mentioned both in Ptolemy and the Itinerary of Antoninus. These towns were Bremenium, now Riechester, and Curia or Corstupitum, now Corbridge (126). Between these two towns, and at a little distance from the military way, at a place now called Rifingham, there are very conspicuous vestiges of a Roman station; which, from the inscription of an altar found there, appears to have been named Habitancum (127).

22. The Gadeni were seated to the north-west of the Gadeni. Otodini, and possessed the mountainous parts of Northumberland and Tiviotdale. Some imagine that the vestige of their name is still preserved in the names of the river Jed and of the town of Jedburgh, which are both in the country anciently inhabited by the Gadeni (128). The name of this small nation is supposed by Mr. Baxter to have been derived from the British word Gadau, which signifies to fly or wander: but another antiquary, who was no less skilled in the British language, derives it from Gadichin, which signifies thieves or robbers (129). As the country which this people inhabited was very wild and mountainous, it is probable, that they led a wandering kind of life, and made frequent predatory incursions into the territories of their more wealthy neighbours, who, in revenge, gave them the opprobrious names of thieves and vagabonds; names which would not have been ill applied to the people of these parts in much later periods. It appears, from an inscription found at Rifingham in Northumberland, that the national deity of the Gadeni was called Mogon, who might perhaps be the God of thieves among the Britons, as Mercury was among the Greeks and Romans (130). The Gadeni probably made some kind of submission to the Romans under Agricola, at the same time with their neighbours on all hands; but as their country was never much frequented by that victorious people, who seem to have had no towns or stations in it, their obedience to the Roman government was only oc-

(126) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 396, 397. (127) Id. ibid.

(128) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 126.

(129) Id. p. 126. Dr. Macpherson's Dissert. p. 113.

(130) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 234.

casional. The country of the Gadeni was included in the province called Valentia, after that province was erected.

Selgovæ.

23. The Selgovæ were seated to the west of the Gadeni, in the countries now called Eskdale, Annandale, and Nithsdale, lying along the shores of the Solway Firth, which is believed to have derived its name from that of this ancient British nation (131). Mr. Baxter supposes that the name of this people was compounded of the two British words Sel Giü, which signify salt waves, alluding to the Solway Firth, with which the coasts of their country were washed: but the modern antiquary quoted above, thinks it more probable, that the name was derived from the British word Sealg, which literally signifies hunting, and metaphorically theft (132). The Selgovæ became first acquainted with the Romans, when Agricola marched his army through their country into Caledonia, in the second or third year of his government in Britain; at which time they made their submissions to that victorious general (133). From that period they were alternately under the dominion of the Romans, or enjoyed freedom as that people extended or contracted the limits of their empire in this island. The Romans had several stations and camps in the country of the Selgovæ, of which some vestiges are still remaining (134).

Novantæ.

24. To the north-west of the Selgovæ were seated the Novantæ, in the countries which are now called Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham (135). The name of this ancient British nation is supposed by Mr. Baxter to be compounded of the two British words Now Hent, which, he says, signify New Inhabitants (136). This was one of those new and unknown nations, situated on the coast of Britain opposite to Ireland, and within sight of that island, which Agricola discovered and defeated in several battles in the fifth year of his government; and in whose country he built some forts,

(131) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 215.

(132) Id. *ibid.* Dr. Macpherson's *Dissert.* p. 113.

(133) Gordon's *Itin. Septent.* p. 15, &c.

(134) Id. *ibid.*—See Appendix.

(135) *Camd. Brit.* p. 1199.

(136) Baxt. *Gloss. Brit.* 184.



and left some forces, with a view to favour an expedition which he meditated against Ireland (137). But as this expedition never took place, these forces were soon withdrawn, and the forts abandoned, and this country, on account of its remote situation, was not much frequented by the Romans.

25. To the north of the Gadeni and Otodini were <sup>Damnii.</sup> seated the Damnii, in the countries now called Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lenox, and Stirlingshire. The name of this nation, which is sometimes written Dumnii, might perhaps be derived from the British word Dun, which signifies a hill or mountain, a great part of their country being hilly and mountainous (138). This was one of those British nations, formerly unknown to the Romans, which were discovered by Agricola in the third year of his government, when he penetrated to the river Tay (139). It was in the country of the Damnii, that Agricola built those forts into which he put his army in winter for the preservation of his conquests; as it was in the same country, and probably in the same tract, that the famous wall was built between the firths of Forth and Clyde, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, to protect the Roman territories from the incursions of the Caledonians (140). On account of this wall, and the many forts and castles upon it, this country was more frequented by the Romans, than any other to the north of Severus's wall; and more remains of that illustrious people have been discovered in it, than in any other part of Scotland.

These five last mentioned British nations, who possessed the country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, are sometimes called, in the Greek and Roman writers, by the general name of <sup>Maeatæ.</sup> Maeatæ (141). This name, which was probably not unknown to the Britons themselves, is believed by some to have been derived from two British words, *Moi*, a plain, and *Aitich*, inhabitants; by others (142), from these two, *Mæan*, middle, and *Aitich*; as being situated in

(137) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 24.

(138) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. 97.

(139) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22.

(140) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 22—See Appendix.

(141) Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.

(142) Ossian's Works, v. 2, p. 219. Dr. Macpherson's Dissert. p. 23.  
the

the middle between the provincial and unconquered Britons.

The Romans had but an imperfect knowledge of the country beyond Antoninus's wall.

We have sufficient evidence, that the Roman armies, under Julius Agricola and the emperor Severus, penetrated a considerable way into that part of Britain which lies to the north of the wall of Antoninus Pius, between the firths of Forth and Clyde. Tacitus gives a very distinct account of the first of these famous expeditions in Caledonia, and Dio Nicæus of the second (143). Many Roman coins have been found in several parts of that country, and there are still remaining in it very distinct vestiges of several Roman camps (144). But it is no less evident, that the Romans never formed any solid or lasting establishment beyond the wall of Antoninus, which was always considered as the utmost limit of the Roman empire in Britain (145). We have no reason, therefore, to be surprized, that they had but a very imperfect knowledge of the most northerly parts of this island, and of their inhabitants. That knowledge was indeed so imperfect, that they imagined the country beyond the wall of Antoninus extended about three times as far from west to east as it did from south to north, which is directly contrary to the truth (146). The reader must therefore rest contented with the following very brief and imperfect account of the British nations which dwelt beyond the Roman wall between Forth and Clyde.

Epidii.

26. The Epidii, or Pepidii, were the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula of Cantyr, and perhaps of some of the adjacent islands, and of part of Argyleshire and Lorn (147). Mr. Baxter imagines the Pepidii derived their name from the British word Pepidiauc, which signifies any thing shaped like a flute or pipe, as was the peninsula of Cantyr, the country of the Pepidii (148).

Cerones.

27. The Cerones, who were probably the same people with the Creones mentioned also by Ptolemy, were the

(143) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21. to 39. Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.

(144) Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 36, &c. Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 66.

(145) Horsf. Brit. Rom. p. 65.

(146) Id. p. 64.

(147) Id. p. 369. Camd. Brit. p. 1462.

(148) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 193.



most ancient inhabitants of Lochabar, and of part of Ross (149).

28. The Carnonacæ possessed that part of Ross which Carnonacæ is called Affenshire (150).

29. The Carini seem to have dwelt about Lochbey, on the north-west coast of Ross-shire. By Camden they are placed in Cathness (151).

30. The Cornavii were the ancient inhabitants of the most northerly point of Britain, called Strahnavern, which seems to retain some vestige of the name of its first possessors (152).

31. The Mertæ, if they are rightly placed by Ptolemy, must have been an inland people, inhabiting the north-west parts of Sutherland (153).

32. The Logi seem to have possessed the sea-coast of Sutherland (154).

33. The Cantæ, according to Ptolemy, must have been seated on the north side of Tayne Firth. Mr. Baxter placeth them in Buchan, which he derives from the British words Pow Chant, which he says signify the country of the Cantæ (155).

34. The Caledonii seem to have possessed a very extensive tract of country, reaching from Lochfenn on the west, to the firth of Teyne on the east coast, including Badenoch, Braidalbin, the inland parts of the shires of Murray, Bamf, Aberdeen, and Perth. The Greek and Roman historians and poets, who flourished in the first, second, and third centuries, when they have occasion to mention the affairs of Britain, give the general name of Caledonii to all the British nations without the limits of the Roman province, and that of Caledonia to their country (156). The reason of this might be, that the Caledonii were the most powerful and warlike of all these nations, and maintained some kind of superiority over the rest, who were contented to fight under their conduct against their common enemies, the Romans and provincial Britons. The name of the Caledonii, which, from being the proper name of one nation,

(149) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 368.

(150) Id. p. 366.

(151) Id. ibid.

(152) Camd. Brit. p. 1279.

(153) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 372.

(154) Id. p. 371.

(155) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. p. 65.

(156) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 10. 25. 27. Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.

on, became the common denomination of many, is evidently compounded of the two British words *Cael* and *Dun*, which signify the Gauls or Britons of the mountains (157). A name very proper for the real Caledonii of *Badenoch*, *Braidalbin*, and the adjacent tracts, which are the most mountainous parts of Scotland, and not very unsuitable to the other nations, to whom it was given by the Roman authors.

No towns among the nine preceding nations.

It may not be improper to take notice, that, according to *Ptolemy*, who flourished about the middle of the second century, there was not so much as one British town among all the nine nations above named, who were the ancient inhabitants of the Highlands, and most northerly parts of Scotland. This seems to be a proof, that these nations, or rather tribes, at that period, led a wandering unsettled life, strangers to agriculture, subsisting on their flocks and herds, on what they caught in hunting or got by plunder, and on the spontaneous productions of the earth; which is exactly agreeable to the description which is given of them by *Dio Nicæus*, in the beginning of the third century (158). The three following nations, as they possessed a better country, seem to have been more settled, and in a more advanced state of civilization.

Texali.

35. The *Texali* were the ancient inhabitants of the sea-coasts of *Aberdeenshire*; and had a town called *Devana*, at the mouth of the river *Deva* (*Dee*) where old *Aberdeen* now stands (159).

Vacomagi.

36. The *Vacomagi*, according to *Ptolemy*, seem to have possessed part of *Murry*, *Athol*, *Mearns*, and *Angus*. In this large and fine country they had these four towns, *Bonatia*, *Tamea*, *Alata Castra*, and *Tuesis*; about the situation of which antiquaries are so much divided in their opinions, that nothing certain can be determined.

Horesti.

37. It is not improbable, that the *Horesti* who are mentioned by *Tacitus*, and were in *Agricola's* time the inhabitants of *Angus*, had been incorporated with, or subdued by the *Vacomagi*, before *Ptolemy* wrote his geography (160).

(157) Preface to *Osian's Poems*, v. 2. p. 4.

(158) *Xiphilin. e Dione in Sever.* (159) *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 369.

(160) *Tacit. vita Agric. c. 38.*



38. The Venicones were the ancient inhabitants of Fife; and had a town named Orrea, which, some think, was situated where St. Andrew's now stands (161); while others imagine it was somewhere near the water of Ore, perhaps at Orrock (162).

It hath been already observed, that all the unconquered Britons, who dwelt without the limits of the Roman empire, were commonly called by the general name of Caledonii, by the Romans and provincial Britons, during the first, second, and third centuries. It is now necessary to take notice, that about the beginning of the fourth century, these Britons were divided into two considerable nations, which began to be known in the world by the new names of Scots and Picts; about the origin and meaning of which names many volumes have been written, and prodigious quantities of ink and paper wasted. That we may not fatigue the reader, we shall not so much as mention the various opinions which have been advanced on the subject, but content ourselves with a few brief remarks. There is not then the least reason to imagine, that the British nations in the north and unconquered parts of this island, who, about the beginning of the fourth century, began to be called Scots and Picts, were a different people from the Caledonians. For if any foreign nations had arrived in Britain at that time, and destroyed or conquered the Caledonians, and taken possession of their country, so great a revolution could not have escaped the notice of the Romans, who were very attentive to every thing that happened on their frontiers. It is almost equally certain, that these new names were not assumed by the Caledonians themselves; for to this day they are not adopted by their genuine posterity in the Highlands of Scotland (163). To advance one step further, it is highly probable, that these names of Scots and Picts were imposed upon the Caledonians by their neighbours and enemies, the Provincial Britons, out of revenge for the many injuries which they suffered, by their frequent depredations. What renders this conjecture almost a certainty is, that these names, in the vulgar language of Britain at that time, were really

Scots and  
Picts.

(162) Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 373.

(163) Dr. Macpherson's Dissert. p. 107.

names of reproach, expressive of the fierce, rapacious character of the Caledonians. For Scuite in the British tongue (which being latinized made Scoti) signifies the wandering nation, which was the real character of the inhabitants of the western coasts of North Britain at that time; and Pictich (latinized Picti) in the same language signifies thief or plunderer; which was no less characteristic of the Caledonians on the east coasts (164). For though they differed from their countrymen in the west in several particulars, they most cordially united with them in plundering the Provincial Britons. It may be thought a further proof that this was the real origin of the names of the Scots and Picts, that the most ancient Roman authors who mention these nations by these names, often subjoin the epithets vagantes, raptores, feræ, and the like, which are literal translations of the British words Scuite and Pictich (165).

Such seem to have been the political divisions of the territories of this famous island, and distributions of its inhabitants, in the period we are now considering. Such readers as are desirous of seeing a much more ancient survey of the political state of Great Britain in this period, may consult the work quoted below (166).

Populouf-  
ness of  
Britain.

It is impossible to discover the precise number of the people of Great Britain at the first Roman invasion. As both agriculture and commerce were then in their infancy in this island, and extensive tracts of it were covered with woods and marshes, we may be very certain it was far from being populous. If we allow twenty thousand persons of both sexes, and of all ages, to each of the thirty-eight British nations above mentioned, one with another, they will make in all 760,000. The learned author quoted by Mr. Anderson, in the introduction to his History of Commerce, makes only 360,000 persons to have been in England when Cæsar invaded it; which computation seems to be rather too low, when we consider what is said by Cæsar of the populousness of Britain, and by Tacitus and Dio of the numerous armies

(164) Dissertation before Ossian's poems, v. 2. p. 5. Dr. Macpherson's Dissertations, p. 110, 111.

(165) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 20. c. 1. p. 181. l. 27. c. 8. p. 383.

(166) Ricardi Monachi Westmonasteriensis de Situ Britanniae, Libri duo. Flavniæ 1757.



of the ancient British states (167): Upon the whole, it is not improbable, that there are nearly as many people at present in the metropolis of Great Britain, and its environs, as were in the whole island at the first Roman invasion.

It is now time to take a more attentive view of the constitution, government, and laws of these ancient British nations.

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## SECTION II.

*The constitution, government, and laws of the ancient British nations, before they were invaded and subdued by the Romans.*

**W**E have sufficient reason to believe, both from the natural course of things, and from the testimonies of the best Greek and Roman authors, that the government of the ancient British nations, before they were invaded by the Romans, was Govern-  
ment of the  
ancient Bri-  
tish states  
monarchi-  
cal. monarchical. This is the most obvious form of government; it bears the greatest resemblance to the patriarchal; and hath therefore immediately succeeded it in almost all parts of the world (1). That this was the case in Britain, we have the clearest evidence. Cæsar every where speaks of the British states as under the government of kings, and hath preserved the names, and part of the history of several of these petty monarchs (2). After the emperor Claudius returned from his British expedition, he entertained the people of Rome, in the Campus Martius, with

(167) Cæsar Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 34. Xiphilin. ex. Dione in Neron.

(1) See the Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. and the authors there quoted.

(2) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 30. l. 5. c. 19, 20. 22.

a magnificent representation of the surrender and submission of the kings of Britain, at which he appeared in his imperial robes (3). Diodorus Siculus and Pomponius Mela say expressly, that Britain contained many nations, which were all governed by kings. To these, if it were necessary, might be added the testimonies of Strabo and Solinus (4). Dio Cassius seems to think, that the great success of the Romans in this island, under the command of Aulus Plautius, the first Roman governor of Britain, was in some measure owing to this circumstance; "That the Britons were not then a free people, but under subjection to many different kings (5)." It is necessary to consider a little more attentively what is said on this subject by Tacitus and Dio Nicæus; because it seems, at first sight, to be inconsistent with the testimonies of these other authors. "The nations of Britain, says Tacitus, were formerly subject to kings, but now they are miserably divided by the factious cabals of their leading men." But here Tacitus is evidently speaking of the state of the British nations in the south in his own time; after their ancient government, which he confesses had been monarchical, was dissolved, and their kings were either killed, captivated, or subdued by the Romans. Dio Nicæus gives a very curious description of the British nations in the north, against whom the emperor Severus was engaged; and, amongst many other things, says, "That the people in these nations have a great share in the supreme power (6)." These words refer only to the Macatæ, who lived between the wall of Severus and that of Antoninus Pius, and to the Caledonians, who lived beyond the last of these walls; and they can mean no more than this, that the fierce and wandering tribes, which inhabited the woods and mountains of Caledonia, were very free, and impatient of the restraints of government.

Rules of  
succession  
to the  
throne in

2. The rules of succession to the royal authority, in these ancient British monarchies, were probably not very well understood, nor very firmly established. There is

(3) Sueton. vita Claud. c. 21. Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. 21. Pompon. Mela, l. 3. c. 6.

(4) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200. Solin. c. 31.

(5) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(6) Xiphilin. e Dione Nicæo in Sever.



no appearance, however, that they were purely elective; <sup>the ancient</sup> but that the succession proceeded in the royal family, <sup>British</sup> though not perhaps always in the direct line. When a <sup>states.</sup> prince, at his death, left a son of an age and capacity fit for government, he succeeded of course. This most obvious rule of succession seems to have been well known and much respected. Immanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, had been killed by his powerful and ambitious neighbour Cassibelanus, and his son Mandubratius had been obliged to fly out of the island to avoid the same fate. The young prince put himself under the protection of Cæsar, and came over with him into Britain in his second expedition. Though the Trinobantes had entered into the confederacy with the other British states, under Cassibelanus, yet when they heard that their prince was in the Roman camp, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of submission on this condition: "That he sent them Mandubratius to succeed his father in the government of their state, and that he promised to protect him against the violence of Cassibelanus (7)." This is a strong proof of their attachment to the family of their sovereign, and of their regard to this most natural rule of succession, that of a son to his father. When one of these ancient British monarchs left more than one son of mature age and suitable capacity, little or no regard seems to have been paid to the rights of primogeniture, but the dominions of the father were equally divided among his sons. In this manner the dominions of Cunobelinus were divided between his two sons, Caractacus and Togodunnus (8). In this last case, and perhaps in some others, the will of the father appears to have been much regarded in the division of his dominions. For Cunobelinus excluded Adminius, one of his sons who had offended him, from any share in his succession (9). When a British king left no sons, he was succeeded by his daughter or his widow. By this rule, Cartimandua became queen of the Brigantes, and Boadicia queen of the Iceni: and Tacitus acquaints us, "That in the succession to royal authority, the Britons made no distinction of sexes (10)." We hear of no

(7) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 20.

(8) Dio. Cass. l. 60.

(9) Sueton. vita Calig. c. 44.

(10) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16.

infant monarchs among the ancient Britons, and of regents governing in their name; of which it is probable they had no ideas. But it is improper to pursue this subject any further; for the truth is, that we are not furnished with a sufficient number of examples to enable us to discover what were the rules of succession in these ancient British kingdoms in many cases; nor can we be certain that those rules which we have already mentioned, were uniformly observed.

Law of  
Tanistry.

After states and kingdoms had been some time formed in any country, and men had enjoyed the advantages of law and government, they became sensible of the inconveniencies of an interregnum and disputed succession, and endeavoured to provide against them by various means. In Ireland, and in the northern parts of this island, the law or custom of Tanistry (as it is called) prevailed in very ancient times. By this law, one of the royal family, most commonly the eldest son of the reigning prince, or one of the nearest or most worthy of his relations, was appointed to be his successor, and was called the Tanist, which signifies the second in dignity (11). A similar custom also prevailed in Wales in the tenth century, and probably long before. The Edling, which is translated princeps designatus, or the prince elect, was the chief person in the court of the kings of Wales, next to the king and queen. He was commonly the son, the brother, or the nephew of the reigning king, was appointed his successor, and enjoyed several honours and privileges as such (12). But whether they derived this custom from their British ancestors, or from their Saxon neighbours, it is not easy to determine; though the former supposition seems to be most probable.

Prerogatives of the  
British monarchs.

3. It is no less difficult to discover with certainty and precision, the prerogatives of those ancient British princes; the various kinds and different degrees of authority with which they were invested. These, it is probable, were not very accurately defined, nor uniformly exercised; and the light which history affords us

(11) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 182. Sir James Ware's Antiq. and Hist. of Ireland, c. 8.

(12) Leges Wallice: Hoeli Dda. A Gul, Wottono edita, l. 1, c. 9. p. 12.



on this subject, it must be confessed, is very faint. In general, we may conclude with certainty, that the power of these ancient British monarchs was not unlimited, but rather that it was circumscribed within very narrow bounds. This, Tacitus assures, was the case with the petty kings of the Germans in this period (13; and as the manners, customs and laws of the Germans and Britons of these times, bore a great resemblance to one another in many particulars, there can be no doubt but they did so in this (14). A fierce people, powerful and martial chieftains, and ministers of religion who had so much influence as the Druids, were not likely to submit to the will of a sovereign as the supreme law. They were indeed so far from doing this, that they wholly engrossed some, and very much encroached upon other prerogatives, which have been since esteemed essential to royalty, even in limited monarchies.

One of the chief prerogatives of the British sovereigns was that of commanding the forces of their respective states in the time of war. This was acknowledged to be the undoubted right, and considered as the most important duty of sovereigns in these early ages; and whether these sovereigns were kings or queens, they always executed this office in person, and not by a substitute. This is not only agreeable to the observation of Aristotle, "That in the most ancient times, the same person who was the king of a nation in peace, was its general in war (15);" but naturally results from those views which induced several families to unite into one state, and to submit to one sovereign; which certainly were, that he might defend them from their enemies, by conducting their united forces with prudence and valour. This is also confirmed by every part of the British history of this period, in which we never hear of an army in the field but under the conduct of a king or queen. But even in the time of war, and at the head of their armies, the authority of these ancient British princes was not unlimited. They were obliged to pay no little deference to the opinions of the chieftains who

Commanded the forces of their states in war.

(13) Tacit. de moribus German. c. 7.

(14) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 157.

(15) Arist. Politic. l. 5. c. 5.

commanded

commanded the several tribes of which their armies were composed, and of the Druids who constantly attended these armies. In particular, the kings had no power to imprison or punish any of their soldiers. This was wholly in the hands of the Druids. "None but the priests can inflict confinement, stripes, or correction of any kind; and they do this not at the command of the general, but in obedience to their Gods, who, they pretend, are peculiarly present with their armies in war (16)." Nor could these princes give battle until the priests had performed their auguries, and declared that they were favourable (17). It would not be very difficult to prevail with a people so brave and martial as the ancient Britons were, to commence hostilities against their enemies on very slight provocation; and yet we have no reason to believe that the British kings took upon them to make a formal declaration of war without consulting at least with their nobles and Druids (18). Among the ancient Germans and Gauls, this of declaring war was one of those great national affairs which was referred to the determination of all the warriors in a state, in their general assemblies; and in these they sometimes came to resolutions directly contrary to the will of their princes (19). Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a people of Gaul, made this excuse to Cæsar for having assaulted his camp; "That it had been done contrary to his advice and inclination, by the commands of his subjects; for that by the constitution of his state, the

(16) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 7.

(17) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. I c. 50.

(18) These last, in particular, appear to have had a great deal of influence both in declaring war and making peace, "Kings (says one author) are not allowed to do any thing without the Druids; not so much as to consult about putting any design in execution without their participation. So that it is the Druids who reign in reality, and kings, though they sit on thrones, feast in splendor, and live in palaces, are no more than their instruments and ministers for executing their designs."---(Dio. Chrysostom. Orat. 43.) "They listen with great veneration (says another) to the Druids, not only in all the affairs of peace, but even in war itself. Sometimes they step between two hostile armies, who are on the point of engaging in battle, and prevail upon them, as it were by a magical incantation, to desist. Thus, even in the fiercest barbarians rage gives way to wisdom, and Mars submits to the Muses."---(Diod. Sicul. Amstelodam. 1746. l. 5. p. 354.)

(19) Tacit. de morib. German. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 56.

" people



“ people had as much authority over him, as he had over them (20).” Monarchy seems indeed to have been rather more universally established in Britain than in Gaul and Germany ; but we cannot suppose that the power of the British monarchs of these times, was much greater than that of their cotemporary princes on the continent, in those states in which that form of government was settled (21). In concluding peace, as well as in declaring war, the British kings were no doubt obliged to pay a regard to the advice and inclinations of their nobles and Druids. Several of those states which united under Cassibelanus in opposing the first invasions of the Romans, made their peace separately, very much against the will of that prince (22).

4. If the authority of these ancient kings of Britain was thus limited in the time of war, it was almost annihilated in the time of peace. As it was the dread of being overpowered by their hostile neighbours, which engaged several independent tribes to unite into one state, and submit to one sovereign ; so when that dread was at an end, the union of these tribes to one another, and their subjection to their common sovereign, became very weak, and they returned almost to their former independent patriarchal state. It required the experience of several ages to convince those wild untutored clans of the necessity of union, order, and submission to law and government, in peace as well as in war. In some of the nations of Germany the royal authority entirely ceased as soon as a peace was concluded, and was revived again as soon as a war broke out (23).

Authority of the British monarchs diminished in times of peace.

The British sovereigns of this period had not much authority either in the making or executing the laws, which are the principal acts of government in peaceful times. In that great relaxation of political union and civil government which prevailed in times of peace, their religion seems to have been the chief bond of union

Authority of executing the laws in the hands of the Druids.

(20) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 27.

(21) As a proof of this, we may observe, that the British princes made an excuse to Cæsar for having seized and imprisoned Comius, his ambassador, of the same kind with that of Ambiorix, viz. that it had been done by the multitude, without any command from them,— (Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 27.)

(22) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 20, 21.

(23) Id. l. 6. c. 23.

among

among the British tribes and nations; and the Druids, who were the ministers of that religion, appear to have possessed the sole authority of making, explaining, and executing the laws: an authority to which the clergy of the church of Rome long and eagerly aspired, but never fully obtained. One great reason of the superior success of the Druids in their ambitious schemes was this: the laws among the ancient Britons, and some other ancient nations, were not considered as the decrees of their princes, but as the commands of their Gods; and the Druids were supposed to be the only persons to whom the Gods communicated the knowledge of their commands, and consequently the only persons who could declare and explain them to the people (24). The violations of the laws were not considered as crimes against the prince or state, but as sins against Heaven; for which the Druids, as the ministers of Heaven, had alone the right of taking vengeance (25). All these important prerogatives of declaring, explaining, and executing the laws, the Druids enjoyed and exercised in their full extent. “All controversies (says Cæsar) both public and private, are determined by the Druids. If any crime is committed, or any murder perpetrated; if any disputes arise about the division of inheritances, or the boundaries of estates, they alone have the right to pronounce sentence; and they are the only dispensers both of rewards and punishments (26).” “All the people (says Strabo) entertain the highest opinion of the justice of the Druids. To them all judgment, in public and private, in civil and criminal cases, is committed (27).” To these two, if it were necessary, the testimonies of several other ancient authors might be added. So fully did the Druids possess the power of judging in all cases, that they were not under the necessity of calling in the assistance of the secular arm to execute their sentences, but performed this also by their own authority, inflicting with their own hands stripes and even death on

(24) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

(25) Agreeable to this idea, when criminals were put to death, they were sacrificed to their Gods, and not to the justice of their country.—(Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.)

(26) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(27) Strabo ab Isaaco Casaub. edit. Lutetiæ, 1620. p. 197.



those whom they had condemned (28). These ghostly judges had one engine which contributed much to procure submission to their decisions. This was the sentence of excommunication or interdict, which they pronounced against particular persons, or whole tribes, when they refused to submit to their decrees. The interdicts of the Druids were no less dreadful than those of the Popes, when their power was at its greatest height. The unhappy persons against whom they were fulminated, were not only excluded from all sacrifices and religious rites; but they were held in universal detestation, as impious and abominable; their company was avoided as dangerous and contaminating; they were declared incapable of any trust or honour, put out of the protection of the laws, and exposed to injuries of every kind (29). A condition which must have rendered life intolerable, and have brought the most refractory spirits to submission.

5. It is not possible to recover many particulars concerning the times, places, forms, and circumstances of the judicial proceedings of these awful judges. That they appropriated certain times and seasons for the discussion of such important causes as required deliberation, and could admit of delay, there can be no doubt. In settling these seasons or terms for judicial proceedings, they could hardly fail to attend to these two circumstances—That they did not interfere with the times devoted to religion, of which they were the ministers, nor with the seasons of the most necessary occupations of the people, to whom they were to administer justice. On this last account, seed-time and harvest would be vacations. Agreeable to these observations, we find that there were but two law-terms among the Welsh in very ancient times; the one in summer, from the ninth day of May to the ninth of August; the other in winter, from the ninth of November to the ninth of February (30): a custom which they probably derived from their British ancestors. Though the right of administering justice belonged to the order of Druids in ge-

Circumstances of the judicial proceedings of the Druids.

(28) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 7. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.

(29) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(30) Leges Wallicæ in Præfat. et in Legib. p. 122.

neral, yet there can be little doubt, that certain particular members of that order, in every country, were appointed to exercise that right, and execute the office of judges. How numerous these Druidical judges were, whether they were all of one rank, or some of them subordinate to others, what were the emoluments of their office, where, and with what forms and ceremonies they held their courts, with many other particulars which we might wish to know, cannot now be discovered with certainty. Their courts, it is probable, were held in the open air, for the conveniency of all who had occasion to attend them; and on an eminence, that all might see and hear their judges; and near their temples, to give the greater solemnity to their proceedings (31). There was at least one of these places of judicature in the territories of every state, perhaps in the lands of every clan or tribe. Whenever there was an Archdruid, he was the supreme judge in all causes, to whom appeals might be made from the tribunals of inferior judges, and from whose tribunal there was no appeal. To hear and determine all causes in the last resort, the Archdruid held a grand assize once in the year, at a fixed time and place; which was commonly at his ordinary or chief residence. The chief residence of the Archdruid of Gaul was at Dreux, in the Pais Chartrain; and at his place the grand assize for Gaul was held, which is thus described by Cæsar: “Once in the  
 “ year, at a certain appointed time, they assemble and  
 “ hold a great court, in a certain consecrated place, in the  
 “ country of the Cornutes, which is thought to be in  
 “ the very centre of Gaul. Hither those who have any  
 “ law-suits depending, flock from all parts to receive  
 “ their final determination, to which they implicitly sub-  
 “ mit (32).” The residence of the Archdruid of Britain, it is generally believed, was in the isle of Anglesey; where it is imagined the grand assize was also held, and the supreme tribunal fixed. In this island, Mr. Rowland

(31) By the ancient laws of Wales, the judge is directed to sit with his back to the sun or the storm, that they might not incommode him.—(*Leges Wallicæ*, l. 2, c. 10. f. 12, p. 153.)—*Speimanni Glossarium*, voce *Mallobergium*.

(32) Cæsar de *Bel. Gal.* l. 6, c. 13.



thinks he hath discovered some vestiges of that tribunal still remaining, which he thus describes: " In the  
 " other end of this township of Fre'r Dryw, wherein  
 " all these ruins already mentioned are, there first  
 " appears a large cirque or theatre, raised up of  
 " earth and stones to a great height, resembling a horse-  
 " shoe, opening directly to the west, upon an even fair  
 " spot of ground. This cirque or theatre is made of  
 " earth and stones, carried and heaped there to form the  
 " bank. It is within the circumvallation, about twenty  
 " paces over; and the banks, where whole and unbro-  
 " ken, above five yards perpendicular height. It is  
 " called Bryn-Gwyn, or Brein-Gwyn, i. e. the supreme  
 " or royal tribunal. And such the place must have  
 " been, wherever it was, in which a supreme judge gave  
 " laws to a whole nation (33)."

6. As the authority of the ancient British kings was very small, especially in times of peace, so their revenues could not be very great. Besides their family estates, which were commonly the most considerable of any in their respective nations, they had probably certain lands annexed to their crowns, to enable them to support their dignity, and maintain their numerous followers. It is also probable that the custom of making presents to their princes prevailed in Britain as well as in Germany, and was one considerable branch of their revenues. It is thus described by Tacitus: " The communities are wont  
 " of their own accord, and man by man, to give to  
 " their princes a certain number of beasts, or a certain  
 " portion of grain; a contribution which passes for a  
 " mark of respect and honour; but serves also to supply  
 " their necessities (34)." These things, which were at first given voluntarily, might perhaps be afterwards demanded as of right; and gave rise to those numerous prestations of different kinds, which were afterwards paid by the proprietors of land to their sovereigns in all the European kingdoms (35). Martial princes, who were at the head of powerful and warlike nations, frequently received valuable presents from other princes and states who courted their friendship and protection.

Revenues  
of the Bri-  
tish kings.

(33) Rowland's *Mona Antiqua*, p. 89, 90.

(34) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

(35) Historical Dissertation on the Antiquity of the English Constitution, p. 105, &c.

" They

“ They chiefly rejoice (says Tacitus) in the gifts which  
 “ come from the bordering countries, sent not only by  
 “ particular persons, but by whole states ; such as fine  
 “ horses, splendid armour, rich harness, with chains of  
 “ gold and silver (36).” The riches of a British king,  
 as they are described by Caractacus, in his famous speech  
 to the emperor Claudius, consisted of such things as  
 these, and many of them were, no doubt, obtained in  
 this manner (37). There was another source from which  
 some of these ancient British kings derived more ample  
 revenues than from any of those which have been men-  
 tioned. This was their share of the booty or plunder  
 which their subjects brought home by their predatory  
 incursions into neighbouring states. Among the ancient  
 Germans robbery was not in the least infamous or dis-  
 honourable, if committed without the territories of the  
 state to which the robbers belonged ; but was rather  
 esteemed a laudable enterprise, necessary to keep their  
 youth in exercise, and prevent them from sinking into  
 effeminacy (38). Their greatest princes often put them-  
 selves at the head of these predatory bands, and, by the  
 plunder which they obtained, supported their families  
 and rewarded their followers (39). These incursions  
 were indeed dignified with the name of wars ; but as  
 they were undertaken without any provocation, and  
 with no other view but to enrich themselves with the  
 spoils of their neighbours, they deserve no better title  
 than robberies. We have no reason to imagine that the  
 kings of Britain were more reserved or scrupulous in this  
 respect than their good brothers of Germany. When  
 Caractacus was conducted into Rome a prisoner, the fine  
 harness, the gold chains, and other valuable things which  
 he had taken from his neighbours in war, were carried  
 before him with great ostentation, as a spectacle not un-  
 worthy of the attention of the people of Rome, who  
 had been accustomed to view the spoils of the richest  
 monarchs (40). Long after this period, a very conside-  
 rable part of the revenues of the kings of Wales arose

(36) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

(37) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.

(38) Casar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

(39) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

(40) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.



from the plunder, especially the cattle, which their subjects brought home by their incursions, into the neighbouring states. By the laws of that country, a third part of all this booty belonged to the king; and it was one part of the office of the steward of the household to manage this branch of the royal revenue (41). When the British kings began to coin money, which was between the first invasion of the Romans under Julius Cæsar and the second under Claudius, they perhaps made some profit by that coinage, which was one of their prerogatives (42). From these, and probably from other sources to us unknown, the British princes of this early period derived such revenues that some of them were accounted rich for the times in which they flourished. Caractacus boasts much of his riches in his speech to Claudius; and Tacitus says, that Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, was a prince very much renowned for his great wealth (43).

7. It is highly probable that the constitution of all the British states in this period was not exactly the same; but that some of their princes enjoyed greater powers and prerogatives than others. This, as we learn from the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus, was the case both in Gaul and Germany at this time; but we have not the advantage of such faithful and intelligent guides to enable us to point out the peculiarities in the constitution of the several states of Britain. History hath indeed preserved the knowledge of one ancient British kingdom, whose constitution was very singular, and whose princes enjoyed prerogatives of an extraordinary nature. This was the kingdom of the Æbudæ, or western islands of Caledonia; of which Solinus gives us the following account: "Next to these are the Æbudæ, which, being only separated from each other by narrow firths, or arms

Constitution of all the British states not the same.

(41) *Leges Wallicæ*, l. 1. c. 14. p. 22.

(42) It is even probable that the ancient Britons were accustomed to pay certain taxes to their princes, as the Druids were exempted from the payment of these taxes by a special law.—(*Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 14.)—Tacitus also observes (*Vita Agric.* c. 13.), that the Britons paid their taxes, provided they were just and reasonable, with great cheerfulness; which seems to intimate, that they had not been altogether strangers to the payment of taxes to their own princes, though we know not what these taxes were.—*Camd. Brit.* v. 1. Introduction, p. 110.

(43) *Tacit. Annal.* l. 14. c. 31.

“ of the sea, constitute one kingdom. The sovereign  
 “ of this kingdom hath nothing which he can properly  
 “ call his own, but he hath the free and full use and  
 “ enjoyment of all the possessions of all his subjects.  
 “ The reason of this regulation is, that he may not be  
 “ tempted to acts of oppression and injustice, by the  
 “ desire or hope of increasing his possessions ; since he  
 “ knows that he can possess nothing. This prince is  
 “ not so much as allowed to have a wife of his own, but  
 “ he hath free access to the wives of all his subjects ;  
 “ that having no children which he knows to be his  
 “ own, he may not be prompted to encroach on the  
 “ privileges of his subjects, in order to aggrandize his  
 “ family (44).” This very singular scheme of govern-  
 ment (if there is any truth in the above narration) was  
 probably the invention of some artful Druids, in whom  
 these islands very much abounded, who thought them-  
 selves sufficiently happy in the enjoyment of all things,  
 without the anxiety and trouble with which the possession  
 of them is attended.

No univer-  
 sal monarch  
 in Britain.

8. There was no supreme monarch in Britain, in this  
 period, who had any paramount authority over the other  
 monarchs. Sometimes, perhaps, one of these princes,  
 by marriage, or by his superior valour and good fortune  
 in war, obtained the dominion of two or more of these  
 little kingdoms. But these kingdoms were soon after  
 divided among that monarch's sons, and returned to  
 their former independency. Nor were there so much as  
 any extensive alliances or ties of union among these  
 princes and states. They were not only independent,  
 but jealous of one another ; and even in times of com-  
 mon danger, they had not so much political temper and  
 wisdom, as to forget their animosity, and form one gen-  
 eral confederacy for their common safety. To this want  
 of union Tacitus ascribes the ruin of these states, and  
 their subjection to the Romans. “ There was one thing  
 “ which gave us a great advantage against these powerful  
 “ nations, that they never consulted together in one  
 “ body about the security of the whole. It was even  
 “ rare that two or three of these states united their forces  
 “ against the common enemy. By this means, while each

(44) Julii Solini Polihistoria. Basilicæ, sine anno, c. 35. p. 168.



“ of them fought separately, they were all successively  
 “ subdued (45).”

II. States and kingdoms, as well as particular persons, Progress of laws. have their birth and infancy. Kingdoms in their infant state are small and weak; they have few laws, and these few are rather the dictates of necessity than of deliberation, established more by tacit consent than by any formal decree. In that state of society neither princes nor people are well qualified for being legislators; and they are too much taken up with the more pressing cares of defending and providing for themselves, to have leisure for political speculations. But when they are well established, and have provided for their subsistence and security, they begin to think of making improvements in their government and laws. Crimes against the public and against individuals are prohibited and punished; the rights and duties of all the different ranks of men in the state are ascertained, property is secured, the rules of succession settled, a code of laws is gradually formed, and courts and judges appointed for putting them in execution. In their advances towards a state of political maturity, their laws are more or less complete, according to the stage of civilization at which they are arrived.

The British kingdoms, we have reason to believe, Antiquity of British laws. were in possession of a system of laws of considerable extent, before they were subdued by the Romans. Some of these kingdoms had subsisted several ages before that period. Almost a whole century had elapsed between the first invasion under Julius Cæsar and the second under Claudius, and yet we find no material difference in the political state of Britain in these two periods. In both it was divided into several little monarchies, each of which was governed by its own king; and it had, no doubt, been in this state long before the first of these invasions. In so long a course of time they must have acquired some skill in government and legislation, especially the Druids, who devoted their whole time to the study of learning, religion, and law, of which they were the great oracles and interpreters. This was certainly one important branch of that great system

(45) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

of learning, which required the constant application of twenty years; and as some of the Druids were designed and appointed judges in the several British kingdoms, these might perhaps apply more particularly to the study of law. But though it is thus highly probable, that the ancient Britons had a large system of laws, a minute detail of the particulars contained in that system cannot be expected from any writer in this age. The most that can be done on this subject, is to make a few general observations on the nature and spirit of these ancient British laws, and to collect a few particulars which are preserved in history to support and illustrate these observations.

Composed  
in verse.

The laws, as well as the other branches of learning among the ancient Britons, were couched in verse. Though this may appear a little extraordinary to us, it was far from being peculiar to the ancient Britons. "The first laws of all nations (says a learned writer on this subject) were composed in verse, and sung. We have certain proof, that the first laws of Greece were a kind of songs. The laws of the ancient inhabitants of Spain were verses which they sung. Twiston was regarded by the Germans as their first lawgiver. They said he put his laws into verses and songs. This ancient custom was long kept up by several nations (46)." This practice of composing their laws in verse, and forming them into songs, was owing to that surprising love which the nations of antiquity bore to poetry and music (47). This also rendered those laws more agreeable to a poetical people, made it easier for them to get them by heart and retain them in memory.

Never committed to  
writing.

It was one of the most inviolable laws of the ancient Britons, never to commit any of their laws to writing (48). This is not ascribed by Cæsar to their ignorance of letters, but to other reasons; for he expressly says in the same place, that they made use of letters both in public and private transactions (49). To the two reasons which are assigned for this law, by that very intelligent writer, this third one may perhaps be added;

(46) Origin of Laws, &c. by President de Goguet, v. 1. b. 2. p. 28, 29. atque auctor. ibi citat.

(47) See Chap. 1V.

(48) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

(49) Id. ibid.

that



that while the laws were unwritten, they were more entirely in the hands, and at the disposal of the Druids; who alone had leisure and opportunity to make themselves complete masters of them. But whatever were the reasons of this law, it was certainly the cause that we know so little of the laws of the ancient Britons. For as they were repositied in the breasts of the Druids, when they were destroyed their laws perished with them, except a few particulars which have been preserved by the Greek and Roman writers; and a few others, which had taken such deep root in the minds and manners of the Britons, that they were discernible in the laws and customs of their posterity many ages after.

It hath been already observed, that the laws of the ancient Britons were considered as the laws of their Gods rather than of their kings. Nor was this peculiar to the ancient Britons, it was the same in all other ancient nations. The first legislators were convinced, that their own authority was not sufficient to bridle the impetuous passions of those bold and fierce men to whom they gave laws. They called Heaven to their assistance; and declared, that they had received their institutions from some Divinity, who would take vengeance on those who dared to violate them. Thus Numa Pompilius, the great legislator of ancient Rome, gave out, that he received all his laws from the Goddess Egeria, "That the Barbarians (as Florus observes) might receive and obey them (50)." One consequence of this view of their laws we have already mentioned, viz. that the priests of their Gods were the oracles of their laws. Another consequence of it was, that the laws which related to their religion, the worship of the Gods, and the privileges of their ministers, obtained the first place in their system of jurisprudence; and were declared to be of the most sacred and inviolable obligation. That the Gods are to be worshipped, was probably the very first law in the Druidical system (51). To this all the other prescriptions relating to the rites, times, places, and other circumstances of that worship would naturally follow, with proper sanctions to secure obedience. The

Considered  
as the com-  
mands of  
their Gods.

(50) Florus, l. 1. c. 2.

(51) Diogen. Laert in proem. laws.

laws ascertaining the honours, rights, and privileges of the Druids; those declaring their persons inviolable, and providing for their immunity from taxes and military services, were not forgotten (52).

Law of marriage.

In the state of nature the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes was productive of the most shocking disorders and grievous calamities (53). It was one of the first cares, therefore, of all legislators, to regulate that intercourse, and secure the rights of marriage, on which the order, peace, and happiness of society so much depend. Accordingly the institution of marriage is ascribed by all nations to their most ancient legislators (54). That great law, the marriage of one man and one woman, which is so clearly pointed out by nature, was fully and firmly established among the ancient Britons. This is evident from their whole history, in which we never meet with the least hint, that any one man was allowed more than one wife, or any woman more than one husband. If such an indulgence had been allowed to any, it would have been to those who were invested with royal authority, as it was among the Germans at this period (55). But kings and queens in Britain were subject to this great law, as well as their meanest subjects; and when they presumed to violate it, they were hated and abandoned by all the world. This appears from the story of Cartismandua, who was queen of the Brigantes in her own right, which is thus related by Tacitus: “ Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was descended from a long race of royal ancestors, and famous for her power and wealth, to which she received a great accession for betraying Caractacus to the emperor Claudius, to adorn his triumph. Corrupted by her great prosperity, she abandoned herself to luxury; and despising her husband Venutius, she advanced her armour-bearer Vellocatius to his place in her throne and bed. This flagitious action proved the ruin of herself and family. For her subjects, the Bri-

(52) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

(53) Quos venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum,  
Viribus editior, cædebat ut in grege taurus.

Hor. lib. 1. sat. 3. v. 109.

(54) Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 22.

(55) Tacit. de morib, Germ. c. 18.

“ gantes



“ gantes, espousing the cause of her injured husband, she  
 “ was reduced to the greatest distress, and implored the  
 “ protection of the Romans. We sent an army to her  
 “ relief, which rescued her person, and fought several  
 “ battles in her cause, but she was at last obliged to  
 “ leave her kingdom in the possession of Venutius (56).”  
 Where this great law was thus firmly established, we may  
 be almost certain that all the circumstances of marriage  
 were regulated, and the rights of parents, husbands,  
 wives, and children were ascertained. In Gaul, and  
 perhaps in Britain, husbands and fathers had a very  
 great authority over their wives and children, even so  
 great as to put them to death (57); but this authority  
 was undoubtedly regulated by certain laws. In the an-  
 cient laws of Wales (which, in this and several other par-  
 ticulars, were very probably derived from those of the  
 ancient Britons) all the cases in which a husband was al-  
 lowed to beat his wife are enumerated (58). The ma-  
 trimonial tie among the ancient Britons was far from  
 being indissoluble. They were too little accustomed to  
 moral discipline, and the government of their passions,  
 to submit to a restraint which was to end only with life.  
 The laws of Hoel Dda, king of Wales, who was a  
 Christian prince, and flourished in the tenth century,  
 allow of a divorce for so trifling a cause as an unfavoury  
 or disagreeable breath (59). This law is so contrary to  
 the precepts of Christianity, which had been long es-  
 tablished in Wales, that we may be almost certain that  
 it was one of the laws of their Heathen ancestors (60).  
 The ancient Britons are accused by several authors of some  
 practices which are very inconsistent with conjugal fi-

(56) Tacit. Histor. l. 3. c. 45.

(57) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.

(58) Leges Wallicæ, l. 4. five Triades Forenses, Triad. 5. p. 300.  
 Triad. 155. p. 352.

(59) Ibid. Triad. 1. p. 298.

(60) But though marriage among the Britons (and indeed among all  
 the nations of antiquity) was too easily and too frequently dissolved,  
 yet the laws provided with great care for the maintenance of the  
 children, and the equitable division of the effects of the family accord-  
 ing to the circumstances of every case. The ancient laws of Wales  
 descend to very long and particular details on this subject, and make  
 provision for every possible case with the most minute exactness.—  
 (Leges Wallicæ, l. 2. De mulieribus, c. 1. p. 73. &c.)

delity (61). But as these practices are such as we can hardly suppose were established by law, they will fall more properly under our consideration in another place (62).

Penal laws  
respecting  
men's per-  
sons.

The desire of procuring protection to their lives, persons, and properties, was one of the chief things which induced families to unite together, to form states and kingdoms, and to submit to the restraints of law and government. In their independent state they enjoyed unlimited liberty, but little safety; and therefore they thought it prudent to resign a part of their liberty to obtain a greater degree of security against all acts of violence, and injuries of every kind. This security was obtained in society, and under regular government, by particular laws against all acts of violence, oppression, and injustice, enforced by proper penalties, and therefore called penal laws. By these laws the whole power of the state was armed with vengeance against every particular member of it, who dared to injure any other member, or to disturb the public peace and good order. The penal laws of almost all governments at or near their first establishment, were remarkably severe; it being no easy matter to deter men from those acts of violence to which they had been accustomed in their independent state (63). Such were the most ancient penal laws of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, which abounded very much in capital punishments, and those of the most dreadful kind. By the laws of Gaul and Britain, a wife who was suspected of having occasioned the death of her husband, was tortured as cruelly as the vilest slave, and if convicted, was burnt to death in the most excruciating manner (64). By these laws also, not only murderers, but robbers, thieves, and some other criminals (perhaps adulterers), were punished with the same cruel kind of death (65). In Germany, those who betrayed or deserted the cause of their country, were hanged on trees; and cowards, sluggards, debauchees, and prostitutes were suffocated in mires and bogs (66). As there was fo

(61) *Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.*

(62) See Chap. VII. Of Manners.

(63) *Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 20.*

(64) *Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.*

(66) *Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 12.*

(65) *Ibid. c. 16.*



very striking a resemblance between the Germans and Britons in this period, it is not improbable, that these useless members and pests of human society, were punished in the same manner in this island (67). But besides these greater crimes against the state in general, or against particular members of it, which were capitally punished, there were many smaller injuries, such as maiming, wounding, striking, &c. which required to be discouraged, but did not deserve to be so severely punished. With regard to these, the most natural and obvious idea of punishment was that of retaliation. Accordingly we find that this law of retaliation, or an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, &c. was established, not only among the Israelites, but also among the Greeks and Romans, and very probably among the Germans, Gauls, and Britons, in the most ancient periods of their several states (68). But this law, so equitable in speculation, was every where found to be very inconvenient in practice; and when rigorously executed, it was often destructive to the criminal, and afforded no reparation to the injured party. For this reason, this law had many exceptions and abatements made to it in every country, and in many it went quite into disuse. In many cases it was found to be for the good of the public, and for the interest of the injured party, to accept of a certain compensation from the criminal in lieu of his corporal punishment (69). “In lighter transgressions, among the ancient Germans, the punishment was proportioned to the crime; and the criminal, upon conviction, was condemned to pay a certain number of horses and cattle, which were divided between the king or state, and the person who had received the injury or his family (70).” Though we cannot produce so express a testimony, that this practice of making compensation for corporal injuries prevailed in Britain before the Roman invasion, yet it seems probable that it did, and that the Druids, who had the administration of justice entirely in their hands, would encourage it for their own

(67) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissert. xii.---Is not the ducking-stool a relic of this last kind of punishment?

(68) Exod. c. 21. v. 23, 24, 25. Pausan. l. 1. c. 28. Aul. Gel. l. 20.

s. 1. (69) Exod. c. 21. v. 22. 30.

(70) Tacit de morib. Germ. c. 12.

interest. After this law of compensations for bodily injuries was introduced, it gradually prevailed more and more, until it put an almost total period to all corporal and capital punishments. Revenge, which is the prevailing passion in savage life, yielded to avarice, which is apt to prevail too much in the social state, when possessions become secure, and the family of a murdered person began to thirst more after the goods than after the blood of the murderer; thinking the former a much better compensation for the loss of their friend than the latter. But as this great revolution in the spirit of penal laws did not take place in this island in the ancient British times, it doth not fall so properly under our present consideration.

Respecting  
their  
properties.

As mankind in the social state, even after the rights of property were established, were exposed to injuries in their possessions, as well as in their persons, it became necessary to secure the former, as well as the latter, by penal laws. Their flocks and herds were the most valuable possessions of almost all nations in the most early period of their history. Several of the British nations, when they were first invaded by the Romans, had no other possessions, or means of subsistence, but their cattle; and therefore we may be certain, that by their laws, the stealing or killing of any of these precious animals would be very penal, probably capital (72). Even when the severity of penal law was mitigated by admitting compensations, the compensations required for stealing, killing, or maiming horses, oxen, cows, sheep, swine, &c. were so high as made it very imprudent and dangerous to be guilty of these crimes. The ancient laws of Wales discover the most extreme solicitude and anxiety about the safety and preservation of animals of all kinds. A high price is set, not only upon the life, but upon every limb of every useful animal (73). The reader who hath no opportunity of seeing these laws, may form some judgment of their great minuteness from this circumstance: it is declared by a special law, that there are only three things appertaining either to field or domestic animals, for which no compensation shall be

(72) *Cæf. de Bel. Gal.* l. 5. c. 14. l. 6. c. 16.

(73) *Leges Wallicæ.* l. 3. c. 3. p. 207---260.

demand,



demand'd, viz. the milk of a mare, the milk of a bitch, and the milk of a cat (74). In those British states where agriculture was practis'd, a greater number and variety of penal laws were necessary, to protect the cattle and implements employ'd in husbandry; to prevent land-marks from being removed; and to preserve the precious fruits of the earth from being destroyed or injur'd. The labouring ox was the peculiar care of the wisest legislators, and to kill one of these useful animals, even for food, was declared to be an impious deed, and made capital by the laws of many ancient nations, and very probably by those of Britain (75). By the ancient laws of Wales it was forbidden, under certain penalties, to throw a stone at an ox in the plough, to tie the yoke too tight about his neck, or to urge him on to too great an effort in drawing (76). These laws discover great attention to the preservation of that valuable animal. Ploughs, and all other implements of husbandry, which were left in the fields, were guarded by particular penal laws, from being stolen or destroyed. The removing of land-marks hath been declared highly criminal, and severely punished by the laws of all nations (77). This is one of those crimes of which the Druids of Gaul and Britain took particular cognizance (78). Great care was also taken by ancient legislators to preserve the fruits of the earth from all injuries, and to procure full compensation for any damage they had sustained, that the industrious husbandman might not be robbed of the rewards of his toil (79). The most ancient laws of Britain appear to have been remarkably severe on this head, and to have allowed very high damages to the husbandman; for by them he was authoris'd to seize and keep to himself one out of every three hogs, sheep, goats, geese, and hens,

(74) *Leges Wallicæ*, l. 4. *Triad. Forens. Triad.* 209. p. 374.

(75) *Ælian. Hist. Animal.* l. 12. c. 34. *Varro de Re Rust.* l. 2. c. 5. *Plin.* l. 8. c. 45.

Ante etiam sceptrum Dictæi reges, et ante

Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata juvenis,

Aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat.

*Virg. Georg.* l. 2. v. 536.

(76) *Leges Wallicæ*, l. 3. c. 9. p. 281.

(77) *Deut.* c. 19. v. 14. *Job*, c. 24. v. 2.

(78) *Cæs. de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 13.

(79) *Exod.* c. 22. v. 5, 6.

that

that he found among his corn; and he was even permitted to choose the second-best of the three (80). But this law could only subsist in the infancy of agriculture, when corn was very scarce and precious, and these animals very plentiful and of little value. Accordingly, it was afterwards very much mitigated, and the husbandman was only allowed to take one out of fifteen hogs, and one out of thirty sheep, goats, geese, and hens; and if there was not so great a number, he was to have a compensation in money, according to that proportion (81). The great disproportion between hogs and the other creatures mentioned in this first law is very remarkable, and might perhaps be owing, either to the greater plenty of these animals, or to their being esteemed more destructive to the corn. In those British states which were frequented by foreign merchants, and where commerce was carried on, there would be occasion for another class of penal laws, to protect the goods of the adventurous merchant and mariner from being seized or stolen, especially in case of shipwreck, when they are most exposed to such injuries. What the particulars of these marine and mercantile laws were, cannot now be discovered; but we have some reason to think, that they were more just and generous than those of the middle ages, which gave the spoils of the unfortunate mariner either wholly to the king, or divided them between the king and the lord of the manor, where they were cast on shore (82). For it will be made appear, that foreign merchants enjoyed very great security for themselves and their effects in this island, in the ancient British times (83). There were probably no penal laws among the ancient Britons to prevent or punish verbal injuries, which are so sensibly felt, and so fiercely resented in modern times. In almost all the nations of antiquity the coarsest language was given and returned without ceremony, and was not considered as an object worthy of the attention of legislators.

(80) *Leges Wallicæ*, l. 3. c. 10. § 6. 8. p. 285.

(81) *Id. Ibid.*

(82) *Ibid.* l. 2. c. 17. p. 151, 152. *Speelman Gloss.* voce *Wrecnm*  
*maris.*

(83) See Chap. VI.

But



But security to their persons and properties from acts of violence, was not the only benefit which mankind derived from laws and government. By these, deceit and falsehood, as well as violence, were banished from society, or at least an attempt was made to banish them: by these, mutual trust and confidence were established among mankind; truth and fidelity were made to reign in their dealings, covenants, and engagements; or, when they were violated, an easy method of redress was provided. In civilized nations, which have arrived at great knowledge in government and legislation, these desirable ends are obtained by a great number of positive statutes, or by established forms and rules of proceeding, which have acquired the force of statutes by immemorial custom. But in nations which have not attained to so great maturity, only certain general maxims of justice and equity are established, and the application of these maxims to particular cases, is left to the wisdom and integrity of the judges. This was certainly the state of what may be called the common law among the ancient Britons. Those principles of truth, fidelity, justice, and equity, in which the Druids instructed the people in their discourses, they made the rules of their decisions when they acted as judges. An eminent sage of the law hath indeed affirmed, that the ancient Britons, before they were subdued by the Romans, were in possession of that admirable system of jurisprudence, the present common law of England; and that no material changes have been made in that system, either by the Romans, the Saxons, Danes, or Normans. His words are these: "The realm of England was first inhabited by the Britons: next after them it was ruled by the Romans; then again by the Britons: after whom the Saxons possessed it, and changed its name from Britain to England: then the Danes for some time had the dominion of it; then again the Saxons: last of all the Normans, whose posterity govern it at present. Yet, in the times of all these different nations and kings, this kingdom hath always been governed by the same customs by which it is governed at present. If these ancient British customs had not been most excellent, reason, justice, and the love of their country would have induced some of these kings to change

British  
common  
law.

“ change or abolish them ; especially the Romans who, “ ruled all the rest of the world by the Roman laws (84).” But these words of this great lawyer are rather to be considered as a panegyric declamation, designed to inspire the young prince to whom they were addressed with veneration for the laws of England, than an historical narration dictated by strict truth. There might however be a considerable resemblance between the judicial decisions of the British Druids, and the regulations of the common law of England. For as right reason, equity, and justice are eternally and universally the same ; if the decisions of the Druids were regulated by these, they would in similar cases, materially, though perhaps not formally, coincide with those of the common law, which is regulated by reason, equity, and justice. The design, for example, of the Druidical interdict described by Cæsar, was to procure submission to the laws, by depriving those of all benefit from them who refused to submit to them (85) : this is also the design of an outlawry in the common law of England, and therefore there must be a material coincidence between these two legal operations (86). But that all the modes and forms of the common law of England were known to and observed by the ancient Britons before they were subdued by the Romans ; and that they have not been changed by that conquest, nor by any of the succeeding revolutions, is quite incredible. What Jeffrey of Monmouth says of the laws of king Molmutius and queen Martia, merits no attention (87).

Laws of  
evidence.

It is impossible for us to discover many particulars of the laws of evidence among the ancient Britons. That they made use of oaths or solemn appeals to their Gods, to oblige witnesses to declare the truth, we have not the least reason to doubt, when we consider that they were a very religious, or rather a very superstitious people, and that their judges were priests. We learn from Tacitus, that the forms of their vows and oaths were different in the different British nations ; and that the

(84) Sir John Fortescue *de laudibus legum Angliæ*, published with notes by Mr. Selden, c. 17. p. 38, 39.

(85) Cæsar *de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.*

(86) Bracton. l. 3. c. 13.

(87) Gaultfrid. *Monumut. l. 11. c. 17. l. 111. c. 13.*



members of each state observed that form of swearing which was established in their own country (88). For as there is hardly any thing in which all the nations of the world have more universally agreed, that in making use of oaths, as the most effectual way of obliging witnesses to declare the truth in judgment; so there are few things in which they have differed more than in the forms of these oaths. The ancient Welsh had some very singular forms of giving evidence, which are too indelicate to be quoted even in a dead language, and which it is highly probable they derived, in part at least, from their British ancestors.

It is impossible to discover whether the laws of compurgation were known to the ancient Britons or not. By these laws, which obtained in very early times among the Welsh, when a person accused denied the accusation upon oath, he was obliged to bring a certain number of compurgators to swear to the truth or credibility of what he had sworn. The number of compurgators required by these laws was proportioned to the nature of the crime; and if the compurgators were such in number and quality as the laws required in that case, and swore with sufficient unanimity to the innocence of the person accused, he was acquitted; if not, he was condemned (89).

When sufficient evidence was not given against a person accused, by the depositions of witnesses, both the Gauls of Britons, in some cases, employed the cruel method of torture to force unhappy persons to confess their guilt. "When a wife (says Cæsar) is accused of having had any hand in the death of her husband, she is put to the same kind of torture with the meanest slave (90)."

The great object which many nations of antiquity seem to have had in view in their criminal trials, was not so much to preserve the innocent from being condemned, as to prevent the guilty from escaping condemnation. Therefore, when they could neither prove their guilt by witnesses, nor extort a confession by tortures, they ap-

(88) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

(89) Leges Wallicæ, l. 11. c. 9 l. 111. c. 3. p. 108, 109.

(90) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 19.

plied to Heaven for evidence against them, and interrogated Omniscience by many different rites. It would be easy to demonstrate that the practice of applying to Heaven for a discovery of the guilt of criminals by various ordeals (which constituted so great a part of the jurisprudence of all the nations of Europe in the middle ages) was known to the Greeks, Romans, and several other nations, in very early times (91). It appears from a remarkable passage in Velleius Paterculus, that the judicial combat was the most common way of determining all kinds of controversies among the Germans in the Augustan age. For that historian acquaints us, that the Germans betrayed Quinctilius Varus, the Roman commander, in their country, into a profound security, which proved fatal to himself and his whole army, by bringing many of their disputes before his tribunal, and by pretending that they were much better pleased with that rational method of ending them, than with their own barbarous custom of deciding them by the sword (92). When all this is considered, we can hardly entertain a doubt, that the Druidical judges of Gaul and Britain pretended to interrogate their Gods, by various ordeals, about the guilt of those persons who were brought before their tribunals, when little evidence of it could be found amongst men. For they were great pretenders to divination, and were believed by the people to have the most effectual arts of discovering the will of their Gods on all occasions; and they could not but perceive that this kind of evidence might be made to prove whatever they pleased, and put the lives and fortunes of all men into their hands. It is not improbable that those questions or tortures to which wives suspected of the murder of their husbands were put, might be fire and water ordeals, or something of that kind. However this may be, it is very certain, that when this celestial evidence (as it may be called) was once introduced into the trial of criminals, human testimony came to be very little regarded; and the fate of all who were accused depended almost intirely upon the pretended depositions of these invisible witnesses. This will appear in a very strong and sur-

(91) Spelmanni Glossarium, voc. Judicium Dei, p. 324. Stiernhook de Jure Saxonum, c. 8. p. 83.

(92) C. Vell. Paterc. Hist. l. 11. c. 11<sup>o</sup>,



prising light in our history of the laws of evidence, in the next period.

To be protected in their lives, persons, and properties, and in the enjoyment of all their rights, are inestimable blessings which mankind derive from equitable laws and regular government; but even these are not all the benefits which they derive from them. For though men cannot enjoy their possessions any longer than they live, yet they are very far from being indifferent to whom they shall devolve at their death. The care and labour which they have bestowed upon them, the comforts and enjoyments which they have received from them, make them earnestly desire that they may be possessed by those persons who are naturally the objects of their affection; and the assurance that they will be so, gives them no little satisfaction. But this satisfaction can only be enjoyed in the social state, and under the influence of laws regulating the order of succession. These laws of succession have been different in different countries; and even in the same country, in different periods of society. In those ancient British states, where the whole riches of the people consisted in their flocks and herds, the laws of succession were few and simple: and a man's cattle, at his death, were divided equally among his sons; or, if he left no sons, among his daughters; or, if he left no children, among his nearest relations. This was the rule of succession among the ancient Germans as well as Britons (93). These nations seem to have had no idea of the rights of primogeniture, or that the eldest son had any title to a larger share of his father's effects than the youngest. This rule of an equal division was so inviolably observed by the Germans, and probably by the Britons, that the father could make no other distribution of his goods by will or testament (94). The laws of succession seem to have been much the same in those British states where the lands were divided and cultivated. A man's lands at his death did not descend to his eldest son, but were equally divided among all his sons; and when any dispute arose in the division of them, it was

Laws of  
succession.

(93) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20.

(94) Id. ibid.  
determined

determined by the Druids (95). This law or custom (which in England was afterwards known by the name of Gavelkind) was observed very long among the posterity of the ancient Britons. It appears plainly in the laws of Hoel Dda, king of Wales, in the tenth century. By that time, indeed, the clergy were labouring hard to introduce the observation of the canon-law, which favoured the right of primogeniture; but the municipal laws of Wales were still in favour of the ancient custom of an equal division. "By the ecclesiastical law, none shall succeed to the father in his estate, but his eldest son, lawfully begotten. By the laws of Hoel Dda, it is decreed, that the youngest son shall have an equal share of the estate with the eldest (96)." Nay, in some other places of these laws, which settle the manner in which the estate was to be divided among the sons, it appears that the youngest was more favoured in the division than the eldest, or any of his brothers. "When the brothers have divided their father's estate amongst them, the youngest brother shall have the best house, with all the office-houses; the implements of husbandry, his father's kettle, his ax for cutting wood, and his knife. These three last things the father cannot give away by gift, nor leave by his last will to any but his youngest son; and if they are pledged, they shall be redeemed (97)." The reason of this extraordinary law might perhaps be this: The elder brothers of a family were supposed to have left their father's house before his death, and to have obtained houses and necessaries of their own; but the youngest, by reason of his tender age, and by continuing in his father's family to the last, was considered as more helpless and worse provided.

Some particulars referred to chap. 7.

This account of the constitution, government, and laws of the ancient Britons before they were invaded by the Romans, will perhaps appear to some readers too minute and tedious, and to others very imperfect and defective. To give as little disgust as we can to the former, and as much satisfaction as we can to the latter,

(95) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(96) Leges Wallicæ, l. 11. c. 17. p. 149.

(97) Id. l. 11. c. 12. p. 139.



several particulars relating to the polity of the Britons of this period, are referred to the chapter on manners and customs, where they may be introduced with equal propriety (98).

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### SECTION III.

*The civil and military government of the Romans in Britain.*

**T**HE Romans are better entitled to the admiration of mankind, for their policy in preserving and governing, than for their valour in making their conquests. Their valour was sanguinary and destructive; but their policy, though selfish and interested, was salutary and beneficial. By the former they spread desolation and the horrors of war through all the countries of Europe, and through several provinces of Asia and Africa: by the latter they introduced civility, order, wise laws, and regular government into all these countries. For there was nothing at which that extraordinary people laboured with greater earnestness, than to establish their own laws and government in every country which they conquered. This they accomplished in Britain, though one of the most distant provinces of their empire, as will appear from the following very brief detail of their civil and military arrangements in those parts of this island which were reduced to their obedience.

Romans excelled in the arts of government.

(98) See Chap. VII.

The

Cæsar made  
no change  
in govern-  
ment in  
Britain.

The two expeditions of Julius Cæsar were so short and transient, that they made no important or lasting change in the political state of Britain. After his departure, all things returned into their former course, and so continued, with little variation, for more than ninety years (1).

Some  
changes  
made by  
Claudius.

The next invasion, under the emperor Claudius, was more serious, and produced more important consequences. As soon as some of the British nations in the south-east corner of this island had submitted to that emperor, the Romans began to practise here their usual arts for securing, improving, and enlarging their acquisitions. With this view, they formed alliances with the Icenii, the Dobuni, the Brigantes, and perhaps with some other British nations (2). From these alliances the Romans derived many advantages (3). They prevented these powerful nations from forming a confederacy with the other British states, in defence of their common liberty, and for expelling the ambitious invaders of their country, before they had obtained a firm footing: they also gained a plausible pretence of obtruding their commands upon them on all occasions, under the appearance of friendly advices; and if these were not observed, of quarrelling with them, and reducing them to subjection. This was, sooner or later, the fate of all the allies of that ambitious and artful people, as well as of those in Britain.

Policy of  
the Ro-  
mans.

It was with the same interested views that the emperor Claudius and his successors heaped such uncommon favours on Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni; who had early and warmly embraced their cause against that of his country. This prince was not only permitted to retain his own dominions, but some other states were put under his government; to make the world believe that the Romans were as generous to their friends as they were terrible to their enemies. "For (as Tacitus honestly  
" confesseth) it was a custom which had been long re-  
" ceived and practised by the Romans, to make use of  
" kings as their instruments in establishing the bondage

(1) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13.

(2) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. See sect. 1. of this Chap. ¶ 11, 12, 21.

(3) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 32.



“ of nations, and subjecting them to their authority (4).” The honours and favours which they bestowed on Cogidunus and other kings who embraced their cause, were dangerous and deceitful; much greater in appearance than in reality. They had no longer any authority of their own, but were wholly subservient to and dependent upon the Roman emperors, whose lieutenants they were, and by whom they might be degraded at pleasure. This was the case of Cogidunus, as appears from the inscription quoted below (5). This very remarkable inscription, which was found at Chichester, A. D. 1723, shews, among many other curious particulars, that Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, had assumed the name of Tiberius Claudius, in compliment to the emperor Claudius; and that he had been appointed imperial legate, in which capacity he governed that part of Britain which was subjected to his authority.

In order still further to secure their conquests, the Romans, as soon as it was possible, planted a colony of their veteran soldiers and others at Camulodunum, which had been the capital of Cunobelinus; agreeable to their constant practice of colonising wherever they conquered. From this practice the Romans derived many great advantages. The soldiers were thereby rendered more eager to make conquests of which they hoped to enjoy a share: their veterans were at once rewarded for their past services, at a very small expence; and engaged to perform new services in defence of the state, in order to preserve their own properties: the city of Rome, and other cities of Italy, were relieved from time to time of their superfluous inhabitants, who were dangerous at home, but useful in the colonies: the Roman language, laws, manners, and arts were introduced into the conquered countries, which were thereby improved and adorned, as well as secured and defended. For the capital of every Roman colony was Rome in miniature, and governed by similar laws and magistrates, and adorned

(4) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 14.

(5) Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro salute domus divinæ, ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii, Cogiduni regis, legati augusti in Britannia, collegium fabrorum, et qui in eo a sacris sunt de suo dedicaverunt donante arcem Pudentini filio.

Horf. Brit. Rom, No. 76. p. 192. 332.

with temples, courts, theatres, statues, &c. in imitation of that great capital of the world. The sight of this magnificence charmed the conquered nations, and reconciled them to the dominion of a people by whom their several countries were so much improved and beautified. This further contributed to accustom these nations to the Roman yoke, by engaging them to imitate the magnificence and elegance, the pleasures and vices of the Romans; which rivetted their chains, and made them fond of servitude (6). As the Romans enlarged their conquests in Britain, they planted new colonies in the most convenient places for preserving and improving these conquests; as at Caerleon, at Lincoln, at York, and at Chester (7).

Free cities.

Still further to secure their conquest, and to gain the affections of those Britons who had submitted to their authority, the Romans, according to their usual policy in other countries, made London and Verulamium municipia, or free cities; bestowing on their inhabitants all the valuable privileges of Roman citizens (8). By this means these two places were, in a few years, crowded with inhabitants, who were all zealous partizans of the Roman government. Both these facts are demonstrated by what happened to these two cities in the great revolt under Boadicia. The revolted Britons poured like a torrent upon London and Verulamium, on account of their attachment to the Romans, and destroyed no fewer than seventy thousand of their inhabitants, which is a sufficient proof of their populousness (9).

Presidents of the Roman province.

By these arts, and by others of a military nature, which shall be hereafter mentioned, the Romans preserved, and by degrees enlarged that small province which they formed in the south-east parts of Britain in the reign of Claudius. The government of this province was committed, according to custom, to a president or imperial legate. The authority of these presidents of provinces, under the first Roman emperors, was very great. They had not only the chief command of the forts, garrisons, and

(6) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

(7) Vide Lipsium de magnitudine Romana, l. 1. c. 6.

(8) Aul. Gell. l. 16. c. 13. Spanheim. Orbis Roman. p. 37, 38. apud Gravium, tom 2.

(9) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.



armies within their provinces, but they had also the administration of justice, and the direction of all civil affairs in their hands. For by the Roman laws, all the powers of all the different magistrates of the city of Rome were bestowed upon every president of a province, within his own province: and, which was still more extraordinary, he was not obliged to exercise these powers according to the laws of Rome, but according to the general principles of equity, and in that manner which seemed to him most conducive to the good of his province (10). The presidents of provinces had also a power to appoint commissioners, to hear and determine such causes as they had not leisure to judge of and determine in person (11). These extraordinary powers with which the presidents of provinces were invested, were no doubt frequently abused, to the great oppression of the provincials. This appears to have been very much the case in Britain before Julius Agricola was advanced to the government of this province. For that excellent person employed his first winter in redressing the grievances of the provincial Britons, which had been so great, that they had occasioned frequent revolts, and had rendered a state of peace more terrible to them than a state of war (12). The emperor Hadrian abridged this exorbitant power of the presidents of provinces, by an edict which he promulgated, A. D. 131 (13). This was called the perpetual edict, and contained a system of rules by which the provincial presidents were to regulate their conduct in their judicial capacity, in order to render the administration of justice uniform in all the provinces of the empire.

The only officer who was in any degree independent of the president of the province was the imperial procurator, who had the chief direction in the collection and management of the imperial revenues (14). This officer often acted as a spy upon the governor of the province, and informed the emperor of any thing that he had observed wrong in his conduct (15). At other times,

(10) Digest. l. 1. tit. 18. § 10, 11, 12.

(11) Id. § 8, 9.

(12) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19, 20.

(13) Histoire des Empereurs par Tillemont, tom. 2. p. 244.

(14) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 60.

(15) See chap. 1.

these officers agreed too well in deceiving the emperor, and in plundering and oppressing the provincials. “Formerly (said the discontented Britons before their great revolt) we were subject only to one king, but now we are under the dominion of two tyrants; the imperial president, who insults our persons; and the imperial procurator, who plunders our goods: and the agreement of these two tyrants is no less pernicious to us than their discord (16).” Though this was the language of violent discontent, and therefore probably too strong, yet we have reason to believe, that when a perfectly good understanding subsisted between these two officers, they sometimes agreed to enrich themselves at the expence of the subjects; especially in those provinces that were at a great distance from the seat of empire.

Roman  
law.

From the promulgation of the perpetual edict of the emperor Hadrian, A. D. 131, to the final departure of the Romans out of this island, was about three hundred years; and during that long period the laws of Rome were firmly established in all the Roman dominions in Britain. To lay before the reader only a catalogue of the titles or subjects of these laws, could give him little satisfaction, and would swell this section beyond all proportion, and therefore must not be attempted. All these laws were collected into one body, digested into regular order, and published by the emperor Justinian, under the title of his digests or pandects. This admirable system of laws is still extant, and constitutes the greatest and most valuable part of the *corpus juris civilis*, or body of civil law (17). It is one of the noblest monuments of the good sense of that illustrious people, and of their great talents for government and legislation. The introduction and establishment of these wise, just, and equitable laws, were among the chief advantages which mankind derived from the empire of the Romans: the destruction of the authority, and loss of the knowledge of these laws, were among the most fatal consequences of the fall of that empire: and it may be added, that the happy discovery of a copy of the pandects of Justi-

(16) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25.

(17) Vide *Corpus Juris civilis*.



nian at Amalphi, A. D. 1137, by which the knowledge of these laws was recovered, was one of the great means of raising the European nations from that deplorable barbarism into which they had long been plunged (18).

The Roman territories in Britain, for more than one hundred and fifty years, made only one province; but about the beginning of the third century, they were divided into two provinces, by the emperor Severus (19). At length, when the authority of the Romans extended over all that part of this island which lies to the south of the wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, that whole country was divided into five provinces; of whose names, situations, limits, and inhabitants, it may be proper to give the following brief account.

1. Beginning at the south end of the island, the first province we meet with in this most perfect state of the Roman government in Britain, was called Flavia Cæsariensis. This province extended over the whole breadth of the island where it is broadest, from the Land's-end in Cornwall, to the South-Foreland in Kent; and was bounded on the south by the English Channel, on the north by the Bristol Channel, the Severn, and the Thames. It comprehended the countries of the Damonii, Durotriges, Belgæ, Atrebatii, Regni, and Cantii; which are now Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Suffex, and Kent (20). Though this province, on account of its situation, is named first, it was not first established, but the countries comprehended in it made a part of the one Roman province in Britain, from the time when they were subdued to the reign of the emperor Severus. When that emperor divided the Roman territories in Britain into two provinces, these countries made a part of the southern one, and so continued until Constantine the Great formed them into a distinct province, which was called Flavia Cæsariensis, from Flavius, one of the names of that emperor (21).

(18) See Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 65, &c. p. 316, &c.

(19) Herodian, l. 3. c. 24.

(20) See the Map of Britain, according to the Notitia.

(21) Hist. Brit. Rom. p. 480.

Britannia  
Prima.

2. Britannia Prima was probably so named because it contained some of the countries which first submitted to the Romans in this island. This province was bounded on the south by the Thames, on the east by the British Ocean, on the north by the Humber, and on the west by the Severn; and comprehended the countries of the Dobuni, Cattivellauni, Trinobantes, Iceni, and Coritani; which are now Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire (22).

Britannia  
Secunda.

3. Britannia Secunda perhaps received that name when Severus divided the Roman dominions in Britain into two provinces, of which this was the second. It was bounded on the south by the Bristol Channel and the Severn, on the west by St. George's Channel, on the north by the Irish Sea, and on the east by Britannia Prima (23). This province contained the countries of the Cornavii, Silures, Demetæ, and Orduices; which are now Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire, Caermarthenshire, Pembrokehire, Cardiganhire, Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbighshire, and Flintshire.

Maxima  
Cæsariensis.

4. The fourth province was called Maxima Cæsariensis; but neither the reason of this name, nor the time when this province was erected, are certainly known. It was bounded on the south by the Humber, on the east by the German Ocean, on the west by the Irish Sea, and on the north by the wall of Severus; and contained the countries of the Parisi and Brigantes; which are now the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, Cumberland, and Northumberland (24).

Valentia.

5. Valentia was the fifth and most northerly province of the Romans in Britain. It was erected, A. D. 369, by the victorious general Theodosius, and called Valentia in honour of the emperor Valens. This province con-

(22) See the Map of Britain according to the Notitia.

(23) See the Map.

(24) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 28, c. 3. See the Map.



tained all that extensive tract of country which lay between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius; and was inhabited by several British nations, which, besides their particular names, were called by the general name of *Maeatae*.

The Roman emperors, from time to time, created <sup>Vicar of</sup> new officers to assist them in the management of their <sup>Britain.</sup> prodigious empire; and made frequent changes in the distribution of the civil power: It would be very improper to enter upon a minute detail of all these changes; but that one which was made by Constantine the Great was so considerable in itself, and so much affected the political state of Britain, that it merits a place in this section. That renowned emperor having obtained the dominion of the whole Roman empire, by a series of glorious victories over all his rivals, divided it into the four prefectures of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaul; over each of which he established a prefect, who had the chief authority in the civil government of his own prefecture. Each of these prefectures were subdivided into a certain number of dioceses, according to its extent and other circumstances; and each of these dioceses was governed under the prefect, by an officer who was called the vicar of that diocese (26). The prefecture of Gaul comprehended the three dioceses of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; which last was governed under the prefect of Gaul, by an officer called the vicar of Britain, whose authority extended over all the provinces in this island. The vicar of Britain resided chiefly at London, and lived in great pomp. His court was composed of the following officers for transacting the business of his government; a principal officer of the agents, a principal secretary, two chief auditors of accounts, a master of the prisons, a notary, a secretary for dispatches, an assistant, under-assistants, clerks for appeals, serjeants, and inferior officers (27). Appeals might be made to him from the governors of the provinces, and from him to the prefect of Gaul. The title of the vicar of Britain was *Spectabilis* (his excellence), and the ensigns of his office were a book of instructions in a green cover,

(26) Zosim. l. 2. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. l. 8. p. 450.

(27) Notitia Imperii, c. 49.

and

and five castles on the triangular form of the island, representing the five provinces under his jurisdiction (28). Each of the five provinces in Britain had a particular governor, who resided within the province, and had a court composed of a competent number of officers for dispatching the several branches of business. The governors of the two most northerly provinces, Valentia and Maxima Caesariensis, which were most exposed to danger, were of consular dignity; but those of the other three were only styled presidents. By the vicar of Britain and these five governors of provinces, with their respective officers, all civil affairs were regulated, justice was administered, and the taxes and public revenues of all kinds were collected (29).

Roman  
taxes.

Though ambition was long the reigning passion of the Romans, they were far from being inattentive to their interests, but studied how to gain wealth, as well as glory, by their conquests. When nations first submitted to their authority, they often obliged them to pay a certain stipulated sum of money, or quantity of corn, annually, by way of tribute; leaving them for some time in the possession of their other privileges; and these nations were called tributaries (30). Thus Julius Caesar imposed a certain annual tribute on the British states which made their submissions to him, though he hath not mentioned either the nature or quantity of that tribute (31). But the Romans did not commonly continue long to treat those nations which had submitted to them with this indulgence, but on one pretence or other they soon reduced them into provinces, and subjected them to a great variety of taxations, which were levied with much severity. To this state were the British nations reduced by the emperor Claudius and his successors, which makes it necessary to give a very brief account of some of the chief taxes which the Romans imposed upon their provinces, and particularly on this island.

Land-tax.

One of the chief taxes which the Romans imposed on their provincial subjects, was a certain proportion of

(28) See the Map. Appendix.

(29) Notitia Imperii, c. 49. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. tom. 4. p. 258.

(30) Heineccius Antiq. Rom. l. i. Append. 114.

(31) Caf. de Bel. Gal.



the produce of all their arable lands, which may not improperly be called a land-tax. This proportion varied at different times, and in different places, from the fifth part to the twentieth, though the most common proportion was the tenth (32). This tax was imposed upon the people of Britain, with this additional hardship, that the farmers were obliged by the publicans to carry their tithe-corn to a great distance, or to pay them some bribe, to be excused from that trouble. This great abuse was rectified by Agricola, though the tax itself was still exacted, and even augmented (33). When the Romans had occasion for corn to supply the city of Rome or their armies, this tax was levied in kind; but when they had not, it was paid in money according to a certain fixed rate (34). They exacted a still higher proportion, commonly a fifth part of the produce of orchards, perhaps because less labour was required in their cultivation (35). The produce of this land-tax became so great in Britain, by the improvements that were made in agriculture, that it not only supplied all the Roman troops in this island with corn, but afforded a considerable surplus for exportation (36).

The Romans also imposed a tax, in all the provinces of their empire, on pasture-grounds, or rather on the cattle that grazed in them. This tax was called *Scriptura* (the writing) because the collectors of it visited all the pastures, and took an exact list of all the cattle of different kinds, in writing, and demanded a certain sum for each beast, according to an established rate (37). This tax proved very oppressive to the Britons when it was first imposed by the emperor Claudius, and for some time after. For as they abounded in cattle, it amounted to a great sum; and being destitute of money to pay the tax, they were obliged either to sell some of their cattle at a disadvantage, or to borrow money from the wealthy Romans at an exorbitant interest. The famous Seneca

Tax called  
*Scriptura*.

(32) Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1. Heineccius Antiq. Rom. l. 1. Appendix, 115.

(33) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19.

(34) Spartian. in Sever. c. 8.

(35) Appian. apud Lips. de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1.

(36) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 18. c. 2.

(37) Lips. de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 1. Heinecc. Ant. Rom. l. 1. Append. 116.

alone is said to have lent the distressed Britons on this occasion, the prodigious sum of three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and that his demanding it with rigour, at a time when they were not able to pay, pushed them on, among other things, to the great revolt under Boadicia (38). This tax was sometimes taken in kind, when they needed cattle for their armies (39). Nor were meadows exempted from taxation; for a certain proportion of their produce (most probably the tenth) was exacted, in order to provide forage for the cavalry (40).

Tax on  
mines.

The Romans, not contented with these impositions on lands of different kinds, extracted taxes from the very bowels of the earth, and obliged the proprietors of mines of all kinds of metal to pay a certain proportion of their profits to the state. Gold mines were commonly seized by the emperors, wrought at their expence and for their profit; but the proprietors of mines of silver, copper, iron, lead, &c. were permitted to work them for their own benefit, upon paying the tax which was imposed upon them; which seems to have been the tenth part of what they produced (41). The revenue arising from the mines in some provinces was prodigious. The silver mines near New Carthage in Spain are said to have employed forty thousand men, and to have yielded a revenue of twenty-five thousand drachmæ, or 600*l.* of our money a day, to the Romans (42). This industrious people had not been long in Britain before they discovered and wrought mines of gold, silver, and other metals to so much advantage, that they yielded them an ample reward for their toils and victories, though we know not the particular sum (43).

(38) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(39) Pet. Burmannus de Vestigal. Pop. Rom. p. 49.

(40) Id. *ibid.* p. 48.

(41) Pet. Burmannus de Vestigal. Pop. Rom. p. 80.—If this was the tenth part of the produce of these mines, as it probably was, they yielded 6000*l.* of our money a day, which was three shillings a day for every person employed in working them. The drachma is computed at eight in the ounce of silver, which is the lowest computation.

(42) Strabo, l. 3. p. 147, 148.

(43) Tacit. *vita Agric.* c. 12.



The expences of the Roman empire were divided into two classes, which may not improperly be called their civil and military lists; to each of which certain taxes were appropriated (44). One of the chief branches of revenue that was allotted to the support of the military establishment, was the twentieth part of all estates and legacies that were left by will, to such persons as were without a certain degree of consanguinity, or would not have been entitled to them by right of blood without that will. This tax was collected in Britain, and in all the other provinces of the empire, and yielded a very great revenue. It was generally paid with pleasure; as those who had gotten estates and legacies to which they had no natural right, were in such good-humour, that they did not grudge to pay a moderate proportion of them to the state (45). Another branch of revenue which was appropriated to the military list, was the twenty-fifth part of the price of all the slaves that were sold in all the provinces of the Roman empire; and considering the great number of these slaves, and the high prices at which some of them were sold, this tax must have produced a very great sum (46). To this list also was allotted the money which arose from the tax upon all kinds of goods that were sold by auction, or in the public markets, above a certain value. This tax was sometimes the two hundredth, sometimes the one hundredth part, and sometimes a greater proportion of the price (47).

There is sufficient evidence that the Roman emperors, sometimes at least, imposed a capitation, or poll-tax, on all their provincial subjects; though the quantity and proportion of this tax, the manner in which it was levied, and some other circumstances of it, are not very well known (48). It appears that this tax, with another upon the bodies of the dead before they were allowed to be buried, were levied in Britain, and occasioned great discontent. The famous Boadicia complained bitterly of these two taxes, in her harangue to the

(44) Sueton. in Augustum, c. 99.

(45) Petrus Burmannus de Vestigal. Pop. Rom. c. 11.

(46) Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 1. c. 4.

(47) Burman. p. 68. Lips. l. 1. c. 4. Clarke on Coins, p. 188. Note.

(48) Luke, chap. ii. v. 1, 2, 3, Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 1. c. 3.

British army, before the battle with the Romans under Suetonius. “ Have we not been deprived of our most valuable possessions, and do we not pay many heavy taxes for what remains? Besides all the various impositions on our lands and goods, are not our bodies taxed, and do we not pay for the very heads on our shoulders? But why do I dwell on their impositions upon the living, when even the dead are not exempted from their exactions? Do you not all know how much we are obliged to pay for the bodies of our departed friends? Those who are subject to other nations are subject only for life, but such is the exquisite tyranny and insatiable avarice of the Romans, that they extort taxes even from the dead (49).”

Various taxes.

The Romans imposed a great variety of taxes on particular things, as on houses, pillars, hearths, on several kinds of animals; on urine, dung, &c. and (if we can believe some authors) even on the air itself, in all the provinces of their empire (50). Artists of all kinds paid a certain tax for the liberty of exercising their several arts; those who administered to luxury, and made the greatest profits, paying the greatest sums: nor did the mighty monarchs of Rome disdain to claim a share in the dishonourable gains of female prostitution (51). In this enumeration of taxes, no notice hath been taken of the portoria of the Romans, which corresponded to our customs on all goods exported and imported, though they constituted one of the chief branches of their revenues in some provinces, and were not inconsiderable in Britain, because they will fall more naturally under our consideration in the history of commerce (52).

Caution.

It is not to be imagined, that all these taxes were imposed on the provincial Britons immediately after they submitted to the Roman government. It was the wise policy of the Romans to treat their new subjects with great lenity, and to accustom them to the yoke by degrees; imposing one tax after another, as their improvements in arts and opulence enabled them to pay them. Nor is it to be supposed, that all these taxes were

(49) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Nerone.

(50) Petrus Burmanus de Vectigal. Pop. Rom. c. 12.

(51) Id. ibid.

(52) See Chap. VI.

invariably



invariably and constantly exacted, even after they had been imposed. For it appears from the clearest evidence, that there were great changes made by the Romans, both in the nature and measure of their taxes, according to the circumstances of the state, and the dispositions of the emperors. Alexander Severus in particular, who filled the imperial throne from A. D. 223 to A. D. 236, prompted by the goodness of his heart, made a very great and imprudent reduction of the provincial taxes, which proved his ruin (53). But it is improper to enter into any further detail of these changes and variations.

Though it is impossible to discover the exact value of the Roman revenues in Britain, we have reason to believe, that these revenues were very considerable. They were sufficient, not only to defray all the expences of the civil government, and to support a very large military establishment, but also to afford valuable remittances to the imperial treasury. For the Romans were too wise a people to preserve an unprofitable conquest for so long a time, and with so much anxiety and labour. The British revenues were even so great, that they encouraged several generals to assume the imperial purple, and enabled them to support that high dignity without any other income (54). If the calculations of Lipsius, concerning the Roman revenues of Gaul, be just, those of Britain could not be less than two millions sterling annually (55). This is one proof, among many others, that this island did not recover the damage which it sustained, by the departure of the Romans, and the devastations which succeeded that event, for more than a thousand years.

Such was the regular plan of the civil government of the Romans in Britain: it is now time to take a short view of their military arrangements in this island, which were no less prudent and regular.

One of the first steps the Romans took, after they had subdued some of the British nations, was to disarm them; in order to put it out of their power to shake off

Amount of  
the Roman  
revenues in  
Britain.

Military  
govern-  
ment.

Disarmed  
the con-  
quered Bri-  
tons.

(53) Lampridius in vita Alexandri, c. 39. p. 965.

(54) See Chap. I.

(55) Lipsius de Magnitud. Rom. l. 2. c. 3.  
the

the yoke, and recover their freedom. But as there is nothing a brave and martial people resign with so much reluctance as their arms, the Britons struggled hard to retain them, and opposed this measure with great vigour, in frequent revolts and insurrections (55). At length however the Romans prevailed, and entirely disarmed all the provincial Britons, who soon after lost all their martial spirit, and became an abject and dastardly people, without either inclination or ability to resist the will of their lordly masters.

Impressed  
the British  
youth.

Still further to secure their conquests in this island, and to make these conquests the means of establishing their power in other places, the Romans pressed into their service great numbers of the bravest and most robust of the British youth, trained them to the use of arms, and sent them into different and distant provinces of their empire (56).

Built forts.

As the Romans advanced in their conquests in Britain, they built chains of forts in the most proper situations, with a view of keeping those nations who had submitted in subjection, and of repelling the incursions of those who were still unconquered (57).

Standing  
army.

But the chief engine employed by the Romans, both in making and securing their conquests here, as well as in other countries, was their standing army, which was constituted and regulated in the wisest manner for answering both these purposes. Though this is certainly not the proper place to give a minute delineation of the constitution of a Roman army, it may not be improper to take notice, that the troops which were stationed in this island, were collected from many distinct and remote provinces of the empire; and differed from each other, and from the Britons, in their manners, customs, and languages (58). By this contrivance they were prevented from forming conspiracies among themselves, or with the native Britons, in order to cast off the Roman yoke. After the provincial Britons were so entirely subdued and disarmed, that no further insurrections were to

(55) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31.

(56) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 13. to 31.

(57) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 31. Vita Agric. c. 23.

(58) Notitia Imperii, § 52. 63.



be apprehended from them, the Roman troops were, for the most part, withdrawn from the internal parts of the provinces, and stationed on the frontiers for their protection.

About the same time that the new arrangements, which have been above described, were made in the civil government of the empire, a similar change was made in the government of its military forces. Change in the military government. Constantine the Great, thinking the pretorian prefects, who had the chief direction both of civil and military affairs, were too powerful, he divested them of their military authority, and appointed in their room two new officers, called *Magistri militum* (masters of the soldiers); one of which had the chief command of the cavalry, and the other of the infantry (59). Neither of these generals had their ordinary residence in Britain, which was too remote from the center of the empire; but the Roman troops in this island were commanded under them, by the three following officers: 1. *Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, the count of the Saxon shore in Britain. 2. *Comes Britanniarum*, the count of Britain. 3. *Dux Britanniarum*, the duke of Britain (60). Of these three officers, and the forces under their command, the following short account will be sufficient.

In the third century, the south and east coasts of Britain began to be much infested by Saxon pirates, and from thence got the name of *Littus Saxonicum*, the Saxon shore. Count of the Saxon shore. To protect the country from the depredations of these pirates, the Romans not only kept a fleet on these coasts, but also built a chain of forts in the most convenient places, into which they put garrisons: and the officer who commanded in chief all these forts and garrisons, was called *Comes littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, the count of the Saxon shore in Britain. The number of these forts was nine; and they were situated at the following places; beginning at the most northerly, and advancing southwards. 1. *Branodunum*, *Brancafter*: 2. *Garionnonum*, *Burghcastle*, near *Yarmouth*; both on the *Norfolk* coast: 3. *Othona*, *Ithanchefer*, not far from *Malden*, in *Essex*, now over-

(59) *Zōsim.* l. 2. *Notit. Imper.* § 83.(60) *Ibid.* § 52, 53. 63.  
flowed

flowed by the sea : 4. Regulbium, Reculver : 5. Rutupæ, Richborough : 6. Dubris, Dover : 7. Lemana, Lime ; these four last on the coast of Kent : 8. Anderida, Hastings, or East-Bourn, in Suffex : and 9. Portus Adurnus, Portsmouth, in Hampshire (61). These nine forts were garrisoned by about 2200 foot, and 200 horse. The ensigns of the count of the Saxon shore in Britain were, a book of instructions, and the figures of nine castles, representing the nine forts under his command. The court of this count was composed of the following officers : A principal officer from the court of the master of the foot : two auditors from the abovementioned court : a master of the prisons, from the same court : a secretary : an assistant : an under-assistant : a register : clerks of appeals : serjeants, and other under-officers (62).

Counts of  
Britain.

In the courts of the Roman emperors, from Augustus downwards, there were certain counsellors who attended the emperor, both at home and abroad, to assist him with their advice on all occasions. These counsellors were stiled *Comites Augustales*, or *Comites Augusti*, companions of the emperor, from their constant attendance on his person. They were divided into three orders or degrees, and those of each order had certain privileges and appointments, while they attended the imperial court. As these *comites* or companions had frequent access to the emperors, they often stood high in their favour, and obtained from them the government of provinces, towns, forts, and castles, and other offices of profit and honour. When these *comites* left the imperial court, to take upon them the government of a province, town, or castle, or the exercise of any office, they were no longer called *Comites Augustales*, companions of the emperor, but *Comites* of such a province, town, castle, or office (63). Such were the *Comites littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, the counts of the Saxon shore in Britain : and such also were the *Comites Britanniarum*, or counts of Britain. These last counts commanded the Roman forces in the interior parts of Bri-

(61) Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 472. See Appendix.

(62) *Notitia*, § 52. See Appendix.

(63) Seiden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 241, &c. Du Cange *Gloss. v. Comites*.

tain,



tain, distributed into the towns, forts, and castles in these parts. The forces under the counts of Britain are supposed to have been originally about 3000 foot and 600 horse; but after the internal tranquillity of the country was fully secured, these forces seem to have been removed out of the island, or to have been stationed on the frontiers; for in the fifty-third section of the *Notitia Imperii*, where the count of this count is described, no notice is taken of any forces under his command (64).

The word *Dux* (which originally signified the commander or leader of an army in general) under the lower empire became the title of a particular military officer, who commanded the Roman forces in a certain district, most commonly on the frontiers (65). Such was the *Dux Britanniarum*, or duke of Britain, who commanded on the northern frontiers, over thirty-seven fortified places, and the troops stationed in them. Twenty-three of these forts under the government of the duke of Britain, were situated on the line of Severus's wall; and the other fourteen at no great distance from it (66). In these thirty-seven forts or stations, about 14,000 foot and 900 horse were placed in garrisons (67). The court of the duke of Britain was exactly similar to that of the count of the Saxon shore above described.

Duke of  
Britain.

From this short account of the military establishment of the Romans in Britain, it appears that the ordinary standing army in this island consisted of about 19,200 foot, and 1700 horse. It is not indeed to be imagined that the several corps of which it was composed were always complete, especially when it is considered that many of them received their recruits from very distant countries. It is rather probable, that the effective men in the ordinary standing army here, were several thousands short of the above number: especially after the troops under the command of the count of Britain were withdrawn. This army, besides performing the three important services of guarding the coasts against the Saxon pirates, securing the internal tranquillity of the country, and protecting the northern frontiers from the incursions of

Number of  
the Roman  
troops.

(64) *Notitia Imperii*, § 40. 53. Brady Hist. v. 1. p. 41.

(65) Zosim. l. 2. Du Cange Gloss. v. *Dux*.

(66) *Notitia Imperii*, § 63. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 477.

(67) Brady Hist. v. 1. p. 47.

the Scots and Picts, executed many noble works of utility and ornament.

From this very brief and imperfect delineation of the civil and military government of the Romans in this island, it will appear, that they were not altogether unworthy of the high compliment which is paid them on this subject by the most illustrious of their own poets :

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra :  
 Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus :  
 Orabunt causas melius, cœlique meatus  
 Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent.  
 Tu regere imperio populos, Romane : memento,  
 (Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,  
 Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

*Æneid. lib. vi. v. 849.*

Effect of the  
 departure of  
 the Ro-  
 mans.

The final departure of the Romans out of Britain seems to have been attended with an almost total dissolution of all order, law, and government. The wretched Britons, instead of recovering their liberty by that event, beheld themselves plunged into a state of anarchy and confusion, more deplorable than their former servitude. The families of the ancient British princes had been either extinguished or blended with the common people ; so that few or none could produce any title to seize the reins of government. The Romans had so entirely excluded the native Britons from all concerns in the administration of civil and military affairs, that few of them had any skill or capacity in the conduct of such affairs. Nothing can be more shocking than the picture which is drawn by our most ancient historian Gildas, of the political condition of the provincial Britons, after the departure of those who had been so long their governors and guardians. It represents them as a lawless, disorderly, abandoned rabble ; slaughtered by the Scots and Picts, almost without resistance ; and slaughtering one another, as soon as these common enemies retired (68).

British go-  
 vernment.

In a little time, the miseries of this state of anarchy became so intolerable, that the Britons, in order to preserve themselves from total destruction, found it necessary to restore monarchical government, in imitation of that

(68) Gildas Hist. c. 15, 16.



under which they had formerly lived in great security. But they seem to have been very unfortunate in the choice of their first monarchs. "They set up kings" (says Gildas) but not in God, and these kings were, "in a little time, cut off by those who had advanced them, and others elected in their room, still more cruel and unworthy (69)." History hath not preserved so much as the names of these unfortunate momentary monarchs. We are only told, that when a report prevailed that the Scots and Picts were meditating a more formidable invasion than any of the former ones, with a design to conquer the whole country, and settle in it, a general convention was called of all who possessed any authority among the Britons. In this assembly Vortigern (who is called by Gildas duke of the Britons, probably in imitation of the Roman officers who bore that title) had the chief sway. By his influence the Saxons were invited into Britain, who brought about another revolution in the constitution, government, and laws of the greatest part of this island (70); which will be the subject of the third chapter of the second book of this work.

(69) Gildas Hist. c. 19.

(70) Id. *ibid.* c. 22, 23.





THE  
 HISTORY  
 OF  
 GREAT BRITAIN.

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B O O K I.

C H A P. IV.

*The history of learning, learned men, and seminaries of learning in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

**N**ATIONS, as well as particular persons, have Original their infancy, in which they are not only small ignorance and weak, but also rude and ignorant. Even those of nations. nations which have arrived at the highest pitch of power and greatness, and have been most renowned for wisdom, learning, and politeness, when they are traced up to their infant state, are found to have been equally weak and ignorant. It would be easy to give a great many examples of the truth of this observation, but very difficult to produce one exception to it, either from ancient or modern history. We need not, therefore, be surpris'd to find, nor ashamed to own, that there was a time,

time, when the inhabitants of this island were divided into a great many petty states or tribes, each of them consisting of a small number of rude unlettered savages.

Historians have neglected to trace the rise and progress of learning.

The historians of all those nations which have become great and eminent, have taken much pains in discovering and describing the progress of their arms, the enlargement of their territories, and increase of their power and greatness; but unhappily they have not taken the same pains in tracing and delineating the cultivation of their intellectual faculties, and their gradual improvements in learning and useful knowledge. While the exploits of every victorious prince and general who had contributed to the aggrandizement of his nation, have been recorded with the greatest care, and extolled with the highest praises; the very names of those peaceful sages, who had enlarged the empire of reason, had improved the minds, and polished the manners of their fellow-citizens, have hardly found a place in the annals of their country. To supply this defect, at least in some measure, in the History of Britain, the fourth chapter of each book of this work is allotted to the investigation of the state of learning, and the grateful commemoration of those who have been most distinguished for their genius and erudition in the period which is the subject of that book.

Improper to begin the history of learning sooner than the Roman invasion.

The want of sufficient and authentic materials prevented our beginning the civil and military history of this island at a more ancient period than the first Roman invasion. The same thing forbids us to attempt deducing the history of learning from a more distant æra. The first dawn of science, like the dawn of day, is so faint and languid, that it is hardly possible to discover the precise period of its appearance in any country. Even in the savage state, ingenious and active spirits may now and then arise, who have a taste for study and speculation; but they are little regarded by their rude and roaming countrymen, and both their names and opinions are soon forgotten. It is not until states have arrived at some good degree of order, stability, and strength, and a competent number of their members enjoy leisure and encouragement for study, that learning becomes an object of importance, and a proper subject of history.

There



There is sufficient evidence, that several of the British states had arrived at this period when they were first invaded by the Romans. In these states a very numerous body of men was supported in honour and affluence, at the public expence, for the study of learning and religion. These were the Druids, who were the philosophers, as well as the priests, of the Britons, Gauls, and all the other Celtic nations. "They pay the highest honours (1) of the Gauls) to their divines and philosophers, which are called Druids. It is their custom never to perform any sacred rite without one of these philosophers; for as they believe them to be well acquainted with the will of the Gods, they think them the most proper persons to present both their thanksgivings and their prayers (2)." "There are three classes of men (says Strabo) which are highly and universally esteemed. These are the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards are poets and musicians, the Vates are priests and physiologists, and the Druids add the study of moral philosophy to that of physiology (3)." The civilization of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul, and the introduction of learning amongst them, is ascribed by Ammianus Marcellinus to the Druids. "The inhabitants of Gaul having been by degrees a little polished, the study of some branches of useful learning was introduced among them by the Bards, the Eubates, and the Druids. The Eubates made researches into the order of things, and endeavoured to lay open the most hidden secrets of nature. The Druids were men of a still more sublime and penetrating spirit, and acquired the highest renown by their speculations, which were at once subtle and lofty (4). If it were necessary, the testimonies of several other authors (5) of antiquity might be produced, to prove that the Druids applied with great assiduity to the study of the sciences.

When we reflect on the great antiquity and prodigious numbers of the Druids, the many immunities which they enjoyed, the leisure and tranquillity in which they lived,

A great body of men applied to study at that period;  
and had made considerable progress before

(1) L. 5. § 31.

(2) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31.

(3) Strabo, l. 4, p. 197.

(4) Ammian. Marcell. l. 15. c. 9.

(5) Pomponius Mela, l. 3. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. l. 1. § 3.

and

they were  
destroyed.

and on the opportunities and encouragements which they had to study; we must be inclined to believe that they had made considerable progress in several branches of learning before they were destroyed by the Romans. We shall be confirmed in this opinion, by observing the respectful terms in which the best Greek and Roman writers speak of their learning. Diogenes Laertius places them in the same rank, in point of learning and philosophy, with the Chaldeans of Assyria, the Magi of Persia, and the Gymnosophists and Brachmans of India (6). Both Cæsar and Mela observe, that they had formed very large systems of astronomy and natural philosophy; and that these systems, together with their observations on other parts of learning, were so voluminous, that their scholars spent no less than twenty years in making themselves masters of them (7). It is acknowledged by all the writers of antiquity who mention the Druids, that they were greatly admired and respected by their countrymen, who not only listened with reverence and submission to their religious instructions, but also committed the two most important charges, the administration of justice, and the education of their most noble youth, entirely to their management. This is a demonstration that they entertained a very high opinion of their wisdom and learning, as well as their probity. The British Druids in particular, were so famous, both at home and abroad, for their learning, that they were generally believed to have been the inventors of their systems of religion and philosophy, and universally acknowledged to be the best teachers of them; so that such of the noble youth of Gaul as were desirous of becoming perfect masters of these systems, found it necessary to make a voyage into this island for that purpose (8).

From  
whence the  
British Druids  
derived  
their learning.

It hath been disputed, whether the Druids were themselves the inventors of their opinions and systems of religion and philosophy, or received them from others. Some have imagined, that the colony of Phocians,

(6) Diog. Laert. in proem.

(7) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 15, 14. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2.

(8) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

which



which left Greece and built Marfeilles in Gaul about the 57th Olympiad, imported the first principles of learning and philosophy, and communicated them to the Gauls and other nations in the west of Europe (8). It appears, indeed, that this famous colony contributed not a little to the improvement of that part of Gaul where it settled, and to the civilization of its inhabitants (9). “The Greek colony of Marfeilles (says Justin) civilized the Gauls, and taught them to live under laws, to build cities and inclose them with walls, to raise corn, to cultivate the vine and olive, and, in a word, made so great a change, both in the face of the country and the manners of its inhabitants, that Gaul seemed to be translated into Greece, rather than a few Greeks transplanted into Gaul (10).” But though we may allow that the Druids of Gaul and Britain borrowed some hints and embellishments of their philosophy from this Greek colony, and perhaps from other quarters, we have reason to believe that the substance of it was their own. Others have suggested that the Druids derived their philosophy from Pythagoras, who published his doctrines at Crotona in Italy, where he lived in the highest reputation for his virtue, wisdom, and learning, above twenty years (11). This conjecture is very much confirmed by this remarkable expression of Ammianus Marcellinus, “That the Druids were formed into fraternities, as the authority of Pythagoras decreed (12).” It hath been also observed, that the philosophy of the Druids bore a much greater resemblance to that of Pythagoras, than to that of any of the other sages of antiquity. But it seems probable, that Ammianus meant no more by the above expression, than to illustrate the nature of the Druidical fraternities, by comparing them to those of the Pythagoreans, which were well known to the Romans; and the resemblance between the Pythagorean and Druidical philosophy may perhaps be best accounted for by supposing, that Pythagoras learned and adopted some of the opinions of the Druids,

(8) Vide notas Gronov. in Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

(9) Strabo, l. 4. p. 181, Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

(10) Justin. l. 43. c. 4.

(11) Seldeni Metamorphosis Anglorum, c. 4.

(12) Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

as well as he imparted to them some of his discoveries (13). It is well known, that this philosopher, animated by the most ardent love of knowledge, travelled into many countries in pursuit of it, and got himself admitted into every society that was famous for its learning (14). It is therefore highly probable in itself, as well as directly asserted by several authors, that Pythagoras heard the Druids of Gaul, and was initiated into their philosophy.

Difficult to give a particular account of the learning of the Druids.

But though it is not difficult to prove, by probable arguments and good authorities, that the Druids were philosophers, yet it is certainly very difficult, or rather impossible, to discover many of the tenets of their philosophy. The fame of their learning hath indeed survived them; but the particulars of it have, for the most part, perished with them. This was chiefly owing to the two following causes: First, to that impenetrable secrecy with which they concealed their principles and opinions from all the world but the members of their own society. This prevented the Greeks and Romans from obtaining a perfect and certain knowledge of the Druidical systems of religion and philosophy; which is the reason that we meet with so few particulars of these systems in their writings, and that some of these few have rather the air of conjectures and vague reports, than of certainties (15). Secondly, to their strict observation of that law which forbid them to commit any of their doctrines to writing (16). By this means, when the living repositories of these doctrines were destroyed, they were irrecoverably lost, not being preserved in any written monuments. The candid reader, therefore, will not expect a full and particular detail of the learning and philosophy of the British Druids. Though that was once perhaps a regular and magnificent fabric, yet it hath been so entirely and so long ago demolished, that it is with difficulty a few scattered fragments of it can be collected. The small remains of their theology, moral philosophy, and jurisprudence, have been already thrown together

(13) Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 74.

(14) Clem. Alex. Strom. I, p. 304. Burnet Archeologiæ Philosophicæ, p. 11.

(15) Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philosophiæ, tom. I, p. 314, 315.

(16) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6, c. 13.



in their proper places (17); and we shall here endeavour to collect some other sciences.

It seems to be natural for mankind, when they begin <sup>Physiology</sup> to turn their thoughts to study and speculation, to en-<sup>of the</sup>quire into the origin, nature, laws, and properties of <sup>Druids.</sup> those material objects with which they are surrounded. Agreeable to this observation, we find, from the concurring testimonies of several authors, that physiology, or natural philosophy, was the favourite study of the Druids of Gaul and Britain (18). According to these authors, they entered into many disquisitions and disputations in their schools, concerning the form and magnitude of the universe in general, and of this earth in particular, and even concerning the most sublime and hidden secrets of nature. On these and the like subjects they formed a variety of systems and hypotheses, which they delivered to their disciples in verse, that they might the more easily retain them in their memories, since they were not allowed to commit them to writing. Strabo hath preserved one of the physiological opinions of the Druids concerning the universe, viz. that it was never to be entirely destroyed or annihilated, but was to undergo a succession of great changes and revolutions, which were to be produced sometimes by the power and predominancy of water, and sometimes by that of fire (19). This opinion, he intimates, was not peculiar to them, but was entertained also by the philosophers of other nations; and Cicero speaks of it as a truth universally acknowledged and undeniable. “It is impossible for  
“ us (says he) to attain a glory that is eternal, or even  
“ of very long duration, on account of those deluges  
“ and conflagrations of the earth, which must necessa-  
“ rily happen at certain periods (20).” This opinion, which was entertained by the most ancient philosophers

(17) See Chap. II. Chap. III.

(18) Cicero tells us (*de Divinatione*, l. 1.), that he was personally acquainted with one of the Gaulish Druids, Divitiacus the Æduan, a man of quality in his country, who professed to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of nature, or that science which the Greeks call physiology.—*Diod. Sicul.* l. 5. c. 31. *Strabo.* l. 4. p. 197. *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 13. *Mela.* l. 3. c. 12. *Ammian. Marcel.* l. 15. c. 9.

(19) *Strabo.* l. p. 4 197.

(20) Cicero in *Sonn. Scipion.*

of many different and very distant nations (21), was probably neither the result of rational enquiry in all these nations, nor communicated from one of them to others, but descended to them all from their common ancestors of the family of Noah, by tradition, but corrupted and misunderstood through length of time. The agreement of the Druids with the philosophers of so many other nations in this opinion of its origin from two distinct principles, the one intelligent and omnipotent, which was God, the other inanimate and unactive, which was matter. We are told by Cæsar, that they had many disquisitions about the power of God, and, no doubt, amongst other particulars, about his creating power (22). But whether they believed with some, that matter was eternal, or with others, that it was created; and in what manner they endeavoured to account for the disposition of it into the present form of the universe, we are entirely ignorant, though they certainly had their speculations on these subjects. We are only informed, that they did not express their sentiments on these and the like heads in a plain and natural, but in a dark, figurative, and enigmatical manner (23). This might incline us to suspect, that Pythagoras had borrowed from them his doctrine about numbers, to whose mystical energy he ascribes the formation of all things; for nothing can be more dark and enigmatical than that doctrine (24). The Druids disputed likewise about the magnitude and form of the world in general, and of the earth in particular, of which things they pretended to have a perfect knowledge (25). We know not what their opinions were about the dimensions of the universe or of the earth, but we have several reasons to make us imagine that they believed both to be of a spherical form. This is visibly the shape and form of the sun, moon, and stars, the most conspicuous parts of the universe; from whence it was natural and easy to infer that this was the form of the world and of the earth. Accordingly this seems to have been the opinion of the

(21) Ancient Universal Hist. v. I. p. 51. 64. 67. 8vo.

(22) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

(23) Diogen. Laert. l. 1. § 6.

(24) Burnet Archeologia Philosoph. c. 11. p. 210, &c.

(25) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

philosophers



philosophers of all nations; and the circle was the favourite figure of the Druids, as appears from the form both of their houses and places of worship (26). Besides these general speculations about the origin, dissolution, magnitude, and form of the world and of the earth, the Druids engaged in particular enquiries into the natures and properties of the different kinds of substances (27). But all their discoveries in this most useful and extensive branch of natural philosophy, whatever they were, are entirely lost.

The appearance of the heavenly bodies is so striking and illustrious, and their influences are so agreeable and beneficial to mankind, that they were certainly among the first and chief objects of the philosophic enquiries and attention of all nations. The truth of this observation is confirmed by the ancient history of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and every other country where the sciences have been cultivated. In all these countries, the most ancient and eminent philosophers were astronomers; and applied themselves with unwearied diligence to discover the aspects, magnitudes, distances, motions, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies (28). This was also one of the chief studies of the Druids of Gaul and Britain. "The Druids (says Cæsar) have many disquisitions concerning the heavenly bodies and their motions, in which they instruct their disciples (29)." Mela, speaking of the same philosophers, observes, "That they profess to have great knowledge of the motions of the heavens and of the stars (30)." The last author seems to intimate that the Druids were likewise pretenders to the knowledge of astrology, or the art of discovering future events, and the secrets of providence, from the motions and aspects of the heavenly bodies; for he immediately subjoins, "That they pretended to discover the counsels and designs of the Gods (31)." The truth is, that the vain hope of

Astronomy  
of the  
Druids.

(26) Diogen. Laert, in proem. De Ægyptis. Strabo, l. 15. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 2.

(27) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

(28) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 225. to 251. v. 2. p. 249. to 257. v. 3. p. 95. to 126.

(29) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

(30) Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(31) Id. ibid.

reading the fates of men, and the success of their designs, in the face of Heaven, appears to have been one of the first and strongest motives in all countries, to the attentive observation of the motions of the heavenly bodies; and astrology, though ridiculous and delusive in itself, hath been the best friend of the excellent and useful science of astronomy (32). But besides this, the Druids had some other powerful motives to the study of astronomy, and their circumstances were not unfavourable for that study; which may incline us to give credit to the above testimonies. Some knowledge of this science was not only necessary for measuring time in general, marking the duration of the different seasons, regulating the operations of the husbandman, directing the course of the mariner, and for many other purposes in civil life; but it was especially necessary for fixing the times and regular returns of their religious solemnities, of which the Druids had the sole direction. Some of these solemnities were monthly, and others annual (33). It was therefore necessary for them to know, with some tolerable degree of exactness, the number of days in which the sun and moon performed their revolutions, that these solemnities might be observed at their proper seasons. This was the more necessary, as some of these solemnities were attended by persons from different and very distant countries, who were all to meet at one place, on one day; who must have had some rule to discover the annual return of that day (34). Among the circumstances of the Druids that were favourable to the study of astronomy, we may justly reckon three;—that the sun and moon, and perhaps the planets, were the great objects of their adoration; and on that account they must have had their eyes frequently and earnestly fixed upon them—that their places of worship, in which they spent much of their time, both by day and night; were all uncovered, and situated on eminences, from whence they had a full and inviting view of the heavenly bodies. To these probable arguments and testimonies of ancient writers, the observations which have been made by some moderns may be added, to prove that the

(32) Kepler. *Prefat. ad Tabul. Rodolphin.* p. 4.

(33) See Chap. II. § 1.

(34) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.*



British Druids applied to the study of astronomy (35). In the account which Mr. Rowland gives of the vestiges of the Druids, which still remain in the isle of Anglesey, he takes notice; "As the ancients deciphered astronomy by the name of Edris; a name attributed to Enoch, whom they took to be the founder of astronomy, so there is just by a summit of a hill called Caer Edris, or Idris; and not far off, another place called Cerrig-Brndyn, i. e. the astronomers stones or circle (36)." The former of these places may perhaps have been the residence, and the latter the observatory of those Druids in the isle of Anglesey, who applied particularly to the study of astronomy.

But though there is no want of evidence that the Druids of Britain were astronomers, yet it must be confessed that, for the reasons already mentioned, we know very little of their discoveries, opinions, and proficiency in that science. The few following particulars are all that we can collect, with any tolerable degree of certainty, on these heads. Others may have been more fortunate and successful in their researches.

The sun and moon, according to the most ancient and venerable of all historians, were designed by their Creator "for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years (37)," i. e. to measure the different portions and divisions of time, and to mark the returns and duration of the various seasons. To discover the measures, proportions, and revolutions of these, was certainly one of the first and most important purposes, for which the Druids and the philosophers of all countries fixed their attention on these two great luminaries. The most perceptible division of time by these luminaries is into day and night; the former occasioned by the presence of the sun above the horizon, the latter by his absence, which is in some measure supplied by the moon and stars; according to the original appointment of the Creator. The Druids computed their time by nights and not by days; a custom which they had received from their most remote ancestors by tradition, and in which they were

Druids  
computed  
their time  
by nights,  
months,  
years, and  
ages.

(35) Theophil. Galium, de generali Philosoph. p. 12.

(36) Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 84.

(37) Genesis, c. 1. v. 16.

confirmed

confirmed by their measuring their time very much by the moon, the mistress and queen of night (38). As the changes in the aspect of that luminary are most conspicuous, they engaged the attention of the most ancient astronomers of all countries, and particularly of the Druids, who regulated all their great solemnities, both sacred and civil, by the age and aspect of the moon (39). "When no unexpected accident prevents it, they assemble upon stated days, either at the time of the new or full moon; for they believe these to be the most auspicious times for transacting all affairs of importance (40)." Their most august ceremony of cutting the mistletoe from the oak by the Archdruid, was always performed on the sixth day of the moon (41). Nay, they even regulated their military, and avoided, as much as possible, to engage in battle while the moon was on the wane (42). As the attention of the Druids was so much fixed on this planet, it could not be very long before they discovered that she passed through all her various aspects in about thirty days; and by degrees, and more accurate observations, they would find, that the real time of her performing an entire revolution was very nearly twenty-nine days and a half. This furnished them with the division of their time into months, or revolutions of the moon; of which we know with certainty they were possessed. But this period, though of great use, was evidently too short for many purposes, and particularly for measuring the seasons; which they could not fail to perceive depended on the influences of the sun. By continued observation they discovered, that about twelve revolutions of the moon included all the variety of seasons, which begun again, and revolved every twelve months. This suggested to them that larger division of time called a year, consisting of twelve lunations, or 354 days, which was the most ancient measure of the year in almost all nations (43). That this was for some time at least the form of the Druidical year, is

(38) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 10. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

(39) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 231. and authors there quoted.

(40) Tacit. de mor. German. c. 10. (41) Plin. l. 16. c. 44.

(42) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 50.

(43) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 232.



both probable in itself, and from the following expression of Pliny: "That they begun both their months and years, not from the change, but from the sixth day of the moon (44)." This is even a demonstration that their years consisted of a certain number of lunar revolutions, as they always commenced on the same day of the moon. But as this year of twelve lunar months falls eleven days and nearly one-fourth of a day short of a real revolution of the sun, this error would soon be perceived, and call for reformation; though we are not informed of the particular manner in which it was rectified. Various arguments might be collected to make it very probable that the Britons were acquainted with a year exact enough for every purpose of life, when they were first invaded by the Romans; but it will be sufficient to mention one, which is taken from the time and circumstances of that invasion. The learned Dr. Halley hath demonstrated that Cæsar arrived in Britain, in his first year's expedition, on the 26th day of August: and Cæsar himself informs us, that at his arrival the harvest was finished, except in one field, which by some means or other was more backward than the rest of the country (45). This is a proof that the British husbandmen knew and used the most proper seasons for ploughing, sowing, and reaping. The Druids, as we are told by Pliny, had also a cycle or period of thirty years, which they called an age, and which commenced likewise on the sixth day of the moon; but that author hath not acquainted us on what principles this cycle was formed, nor to what purposes it was applied (46). We can hardly suppose that this was the cycle of the sun, which consists of twenty-eight years, and regulates the dominical letters. It is more probable, that while the Druids made use of the year of twelve lunar months, and had not invented a method of adjusting it to the real revolution of the sun, they observed that the beginning of this year had passed through all the seasons, and returned to the point from whence it set out, in a course of about thirty-three years; which they might therefore call an

(44) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

(45) Philosoph. Transact. No. 193. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4.

(46) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

age (47). Others may perhaps be of opinion, that this thirty years cycle of the Druids is the same with the great year of the Pythagoreans, or a revolution of Saturn. Some have imagined that the Druids were also acquainted with the cycle of nineteen years, which is commonly called the cycle of the moon. But the evidence of this depends entirely on the truth of that supposition, that the Hyperborean island, which is described by Diodorus Siculus, was Britain, or some of the British isles (48). Among many other surprising things, that author says, concerning the Hyperborean island, "That its inhabitants believed that Apollo descended into their island at the end of every nineteen years; in which period of time the sun and moon, having performed their various revolutions, return to the same point, and begin to repeat the same revolutions. This is called by the Greeks the great year, or the cycle of Meton (49)."

Other particulars of the Druidical astronomy.

When the Druids and other ancient philosophers had fixed their eyes with long and eager attention upon the sun and moon, they could not fail to make some other observations on these great luminaries, besides those which immediately related to the mensuration of time. With regard to the moon in particular, they could not but observe, that the rays of light which she emitted were in many respects very different from those of the sun. This would soon lead them to discover, that the moon was not the original fountain of her own light, but that she shone with rays borrowed from the sun. Accordingly we find this to have been the opinion of the most ancient philosophers of every country (50). The dark places in the orb of the moon, even when she appears in her greatest splendour, are so remarkable, that they engaged the attention of the very first astronomers, and made them conjecture that her surface was like that of our earth, unequal, consisting of seas, vallies, and mountains. From thence they came to be generally of

(47) Stanley's Hist. Philosoph. p. 537.

(48) Carte's Hist. Eng. v. I. p. 52, 53.

(49) Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 47. p. 159. l. 12. c. 36. p. 501.

(50) Plutarchus de Placit. Philosoph. l. 2. c. 28. Burnet's Ar-  
cheolog. Philos. p. 207. Dutens Recherches, &c. c. 12. p. 219.

opinion



opinion that she was also inhabited (51). As these were in particular the doctrines of Pythagoras, we have not the least reason to doubt but they were entertained by the Druids of Gaul and Britain. But the eclipses of the sun and moon, as they excited the greatest astonishment in the common people, so they awakened the most earnest attention in the ancient philosophers of all countries. It was not very difficult to discover the immediate causes of these surprising appearances; and therefore it is probable that the astronomers of all countries, after some time, found out that these extraordinary obscurations of the sun were occasioned by the interposition of the moon between the earth and that great fountain of light; and those of the moon, by the intervention of the earth between her and the sun. However this might be, it is certain that they observed them with the most anxious care, and recorded them with the greatest diligence and fidelity, as the most remarkable events in the history of the heavens (52). These mutual obscurations of the heavenly bodies were generally believed, for many ages, to proceed from the extraordinary interposition of the Deity; and to be portentous of some great calamity or revolutions (53). It was even long before the philosophers themselves were fully convinced that eclipses proceeded from the established laws and regular course of nature; and still longer, before they imagined that it was possible to foretell them a considerable time before they happened. Thales is universally acknowledged to have been the first of the Grecian philosophers who attempted to foretell an eclipse of the sun; and, from the account which Herodotus gives of that matter, he seems rather to have guessed at the year in which it was to happen, than to have discovered the precise time of it by calculation (54). Thales is supposed by some writers to have formed this conjecture by the help of the Chaldean cycle, called Saros (55). This cycle consisted of  $6585\frac{1}{3}$  days, or 223 lunations, or 18 years 15 days eight hours;

(51) Burnet. p. 180. 198. 226. Dutens, p. 223, &c.

(52) Porphy. apud. Simplic. v. 2.

(53) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 2. c. 12. Valer. Maxim. l. 8. c. 11.

(54) Herodot. l. 1. p. 29.

(55) Flamsteed Hist. Cœlest. Brit. l. 3. p. 7. Letters to Martin Folke, Esq; on the Astronomy of the Ancients. p. 93.

after which they imagined, from a long series of observations, that the eclipses of the sun and moon returned again in the same order and quantity as before (56). It is possible that the Druids of Gaul and Britain may have been acquainted with this or some such cycle, collected from their own observations, or communicated to them by Pythagoras or some of his disciples; and by this means they may have predicted eclipses, in a vague and uncertain manner, as modern astronomers predict the return of comets.

Their astronomy of the stars.

Though the sun and moon, the illustrious rulers of the day and night, were certainly the chief objects both of the religious worship and philosophic enquiries of the British Druids, yet we have no reason to imagine that they wholly neglected and disregarded those lesser lights which make so glorious an appearance in the canopy of Heaven. We are told both by Cæsar and Mela, that they studied the stars as well as the sun and moon; and that they professed to know, and taught their disciples many things concerning the motions of these heavenly bodies (57). From these testimonies we may conclude that the Druids were acquainted with the planets, distinguished them from the fixed stars, and carefully observed their motions and revolutions. If this discovery was the result of their own observations, it would be gradual, and it would be a long time before they found out all the planets (58). They might perhaps have received some assistance and information from Pythagoras, or from some other quarter. But whether this discovery of the planets was their own, or communicated to them by others, it is highly probable that they were acquainted with the precise number of these wandering stars. Dio Cassius says, that the custom of giving the name of one of the planets to each of the seven days of the week, was an invention of the Egyptians, and from them was gradually communicated to all the other nations of the world; and that in his time this custom was so firmly established, not only among the Romans, but

(56) Letters to Martin Folkes, Esq: on the Astronomy of the Ancients, l. 2. p. 13.

(57) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(58) Origin of Laws, &c, v. 1. p. 249.



among all the rest of mankind, that in every country it appeared to be a native institution (59). The knowledge of the planets, and perhaps the custom of giving their names to the days of the week, was brought out of Egypt into Italy by Pythagoras, more than five hundred years before the beginning of the Christian æra; and from thence it could not be very long before it reached Gaul and Britain. But though we have little or no reason to doubt that the Druids knew the number, and observed the motion of the planets, yet it may be questioned whether they had discovered the times in which they performed their several revolutions. Some of these stars, as Jupiter and Saturn, take so great a number of years in revolving, that it required a very extraordinary degree of patience and attention to discover the precise periods of their revolutions. If we could be certain that the island in which the ancients imagined Saturn lay asleep, was one of the British isles, as Plutarch intimates it was, we might be inclined to think that the British Druids were not ignorant of the length of the period in which the planet Saturn performs a revolution. For that same author, in another treatise, tells us, "That the inhabitants of that island kept every thirtieth year a solemn festival in honour of Saturn, when his star entered into the sign of Taurus (60)." Every reader is at full liberty to judge for himself, what degree of credit is due to such testimonies, which in some of their circumstances are evidently fabulous, though in others they may perhaps be true.

If we could depend upon the above testimony of Plutarch, we should have one positive proof that the Druids of the British isles were acquainted with the constellations, and even with the signs of the zodiac; and that they measured the revolutions of the sun and planets, by observing the length of time between their departure from and return to one of these signs. But though we had no direct evidence of this remaining in history, yet it is certainly very probable, on several accounts. At first sight, the fixed stars appear to be scattered over the

(59) Dio Cass. l. 37.

(60) Plutarch. de Defectu Oraculorum, Id. de Facie in Orbe Lunæ. vault

vault of Heaven in the greatest confusion and disorder. But upon a more attentive view, we are apt to be struck with the remarkable figures of some clusters of them, and to fancy that they resemble certain animals, and other things with which we are well acquainted. As these stars always present the same figures to our view, by degrees they make a deep impression on our imaginations, and the idea of them recurs every time we see them. Agreeable to this, we find that the practice of dividing the fixed stars into clusters or constellations, and giving each of these a particular name, was very ancient, in every country where they applied to the study and contemplation of the heavenly bodies. A writer of great erudition hath endeavoured to prove, that several of the constellations, and even the signs of the zodiac, were known both in Egypt and Chaldea, above sixteen hundred years before J. C. (61). It appears, from the writings of Hesiod and Homer, that some of the constellations, at least, were known to the Greeks in very ancient times (62). Pythagoras, who flourished in Italy more than five hundred years before the birth of Christ, was well acquainted with the constellations and the zodiac (63). It seems to be almost certain, therefore, that the Druids of Gaul and Britain had obtained some knowledge of these inventions, either by their own observations, or from the communications of others. But it must be confessed, that history hath not preserved any account of the particulars, and extent of their knowledge, in this part of astronomy.

The mundane system of the Druids.

The Druids of Gaul and Britain, as well as the ancient philosophers of other countries, had a general plan or system of the universe, and of the disposition and arrangement of its various parts, in which they instructed their disciples. This is both probable in itself, and is plainly intimated by several authors of the greatest authority (64). But we cannot be certain whether this Druidical system of the world was of their own inven-

(61) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. I. p. 244, 245.

(62) Letter to Martin Folkes, Esq; on Astronomy, p. 20, &c.

(63) Ibid. p. 119.

(64) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2. Ammian Marcellin. l. 15. c. 9. Cluverius, l. 1. c. 38.

tion,



tion, or was borrowed from others. If it was borrowed, it was most probably from the Pythagoreans, to whom they were the nearest neighbours, and with whom they had the greatest intercourse. The mundane system of the Pythagoreans is thus delineated, by the learned Mr. Stanley, from the writings of these philosophers: "The sun is settled in the midst of the world, immovable; the sphere of the fixed stars in the extremity or outside of the world, immoveable also; betwixt these are disposed the planets, and amongst them the earth as one of them: the earth moves both about the sun and about his proper axis. Its diurnal motion by one revolution makes a night and day, its annual motion about the sun by one revolution makes a year; so as by reason of his diurnal motion to the east, the sun and other stars seem to move to the west; and by reason of its annual motion through the zodiac, the earth itself is in one sign, and the sun seems to be in the sign opposite to it. Betwixt the sun and the earth they place Mercury and Venus; betwixt the earth and the fixed stars, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. The moon being next the earth, is continually moved within the great orb betwixt Venus and Mars, round about the earth as its centre; its revolution about the earth is completed in a month, about the sun (together with the earth) in a year (65)." A late learned writer is of opinion, that the above account of the Pythagorean system cannot be fairly collected from the writings of these philosophers (66). It would be very improper to enter into any discussion of this question in this place; especially as we cannot be certain that the Druidical system of the world was the same with the Pythagorean.

It hath been imagined, that the Druids had instruments of some kind or other, which answered the same purposes with our telescopes, in making observations on the heavenly bodies (67). The only foundation of this very improbable conjecture is an expression of Diodorus Siculus, in his description of the famous Hyperborean

Astronomical instruments,

(65) Stanley's Hist. of Philosophy. p. 573.

(66) Clarke on Coins, p. 114.

(67) Carte's Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 53.

island. They say further, that the moon is seen from that island, as if she was but at a little distance from the earth, and having hills or mountains like ours on her surface (68). But no such inference can be reasonably drawn from this expression, which in reality merits little more regard than what Strabo reports was said of some of the inhabitants of Spain: "That they heard the hissing noise of the Sun every evening when he fell into the Western Ocean (69)."

The application of the Druids to the study of philosophy and astronomy amounts almost to a demonstration that they applied also to the study of arithmetic and geometry. For some knowledge of both these sciences is indispensably necessary to the physiologist and astronomer, as well as of great and daily use in the common affairs of life.

Arithmetic  
of the  
Druids.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country are formed into civil society, and are possessed of property, they begin to need and to acquire some skill in the use of numbers for the management of their affairs. Even while they are still a nation of shepherds, and have no other wealth but their flocks and herds, they learn to count the number of their cattle of different kinds, to discover in what proportion they increase or decrease, to judge how great a number of one kind of animals is equivalent to a given number of another kind, and the like. When some of the people of this nation begin to cultivate the earth, and others to engage in commerce, their affairs become more complicated; they stand in need of, and by degrees obtain, a more extensive knowledge in arithmetical operations. But when a considerable number of the people of this nation, like the Druids of Britain, have been long employed in physiological and astronomical researches, in discovering the natures and properties of bodies; the form and magnitude of the world; the order, motions, and revolutions of the heavenly orbs; we may conclude, that they have made considerable progress in the science of numbers, and the arts of calculation. The truth of these observations is confirmed by the history of all nations both ancient and modern; in which we constantly find that the

(68) Diod. Sic. l. 2. § 47.

(69) Strabo, l. 2. p. 138.



skill of every people in arithmetic was proportioned to their way of life, and to their progress in the other sciences, and especially in astronomy (70). On this foundation we may reasonably presume, that the British Druids were no contemptible arithmeticians. If we were certain that Abaris, the famous Hyperborean philosopher, the friend and scholar of Pythagoras, was really a British Druid, as some have imagined, we should be able to produce direct historical evidence of what is here presumed (71). For Iamblicus, in the life of Pythagoras, says, "That he taught Abaris to find out all truth by the science of arithmetic (72)." It may perhaps be thought improbable that the Druids had made any considerable progress in arithmetic, as this may seem to be impossible by the mere strength of memory without the assistance of figures and of written rules. But it is very difficult to ascertain what may be done by memory alone, when it hath been long exercised in this way. We have had an example in our own age, of a person who could perform some of the most tedious and difficult operations in arithmetic, by the mere strength of his memory (73). The want of written rules could be no great disadvantage to the Druids, as the precepts of this, as well as of the other sciences, were couched in verse, which would be easily got by heart and long remembered. Though the Druids were unacquainted with the Arabic characters which are now in use, we have no reason to suppose that they were destitute of marks or characters of some other kind, which, in some measure, answered the same purposes, both in making and recording their calculations. In particular, we have reason to think that they made use of the letters of the Greek alphabet for both these purposes. This seems to be plainly intimated by Cæsar in the following expression concerning the Druids of Gaul: "In almost all other public transactions, and private accounts or computations, they make use of the Greek letters (74)." This is further confirmed by what the same author says of the Helvetii; a people of the same origin, language, and manners with

(70) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. I. p. 211, 212, 213.

(71) Carte's Hist. Eng. p. 52. 68.

(72) Iamblic. vita Pythag. c. 19.

(73) Jedediah Euxton.

(74) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

the Gauls and Britons. “ Tables were found in the  
 “ camp of the Helvetii written in Greek letters, con-  
 “ taining an account of all the men capable of bearing  
 “ arms, who had left their native country, and also  
 “ separate accounts of the boys, old men, and wo-  
 “ men (75).”

Geometry  
 of the  
 Druids.

When the people of any country come to be engaged in agriculture, architecture, commerce, and the study of the sciences, they have daily occasion to measure some things, as well as to number others. This obliges them to study the science of mensuration, in which they will by degrees obtain, partly from the information of others, and partly from their own invention, that knowledge which is necessary to their exigencies. From hence we may very reasonably conclude, that some of the Britons, and particularly the Druids, had made considerable progress in geometry, or the science of mensuration, as well as in arithmetic, before they were subdued by the Romans. This conclusion is confirmed by the best historical evidence; that the Druids were all acquainted with that part of this science which is properly called geometry, or the measuring of land. “ When any disputes arise  
 “ (says Cæsar) about their inheritances, or any contro-  
 “ versies about the limits of their fields, they are en-  
 “ tirely referred to the decision of their Druids (76).” Now, we must be convinced that it was impossible for the Druids to determine these disputes about inheritances without the knowledge of geometry, when we consider that it was the law and custom of the ancient Britons to divide the estate of every father equally among all his sons. In order to do this, it was necessary for these judges to be able to divide an estate into four, five, six, or more equal parts, according to the number of sons in a family. Nay, both Cæsar and Mela plainly intimate that the Druids were conversant in the most sublime speculations of geometry; “ in measuring the magnitude of  
 “ the earth, and even of the world (77).”

Geography  
 of the  
 Druids.

We have reason to believe that the Britons, especially the British Druids, were very well acquainted with the geography at least of their own island. Mankind, even

(75) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1.

(76) Ibid. l. 6. c. 13.

(77) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.



in the most rude and imperfect state of society, gradually acquire a knowledge of the country in which they dwell, of the distance and relative situations of its mountains, woods, rivers, and other remarkable places, by pursuing their game and tending their flocks. But when they are formed into regular states and kingdoms, their knowledge of their country becomes more exact and particular, by the dispositions which are necessary in settling the boundaries of these several states. Sovereigns are at great pains to gain an exact knowledge of the situation and extent of their own dominions, and of those of their neighbours. When wars arise, and armies are marched, by the allies of both contending parties, from all the different, and most distant corners of a country, the geography of the whole, and of every part of it, becomes more and more known. When merchants carry the superfluities of one part to supply the wants of another, they acquire a still more exact acquaintance with the situations and distances of places. But besides all these, the British Druids had peculiar opportunities of obtaining a perfect knowledge of the geography of their country. They were a very numerous body of men, who had societies settled in all parts of Britain and the surrounding isles, maintaining a constant correspondence with each other, and with their common head, the Archdruid. By collecting and comparing the accounts of these different societies, a complete system of British geography would easily be formed. For it is certainly not to be imagined, that an order of men who were engaged in deep researches into the form and magnitude of the universe, would neglect to enquire into the form and dimensions of their own island. We have indeed no reason to suppose, that the geographical knowledge of the British Druids was confined to this island. It is more probable, that it extended much farther, though we cannot now discover how far it did extend.

The inhabitants of all countries, when they are once formed into regular societies, soon begin to employ their reason in contriving means to assist their natural weakness, and enable them to execute designs which they could not accomplish by mere bodily strength. This is evidently one of the valuable purposes for which reason was bestowed on men, and in this they have been more

Mechanics  
of the  
Druids.

or

or less successful according to the exigencies of their various ways of life, the degrees of their natural ingenuity, and of their acquired knowledge. As long indeed as the people of any country live wholly by hunting and pasturage, their natural strength and swiftness may be nearly sufficient to answer all their purposes; but when they engage in agriculture, architecture, navigation, and other arts, they soon find that the utmost exertion of their bodily strength is often insufficient to accomplish their designs. This obliges them to exercise their reason in finding out the means of surmounting these difficulties, and executing the works in which they are engaged. In this mankind have been remarkably successful; and, by the discovery and application of the mechanical powers, as they are called, they have been enabled to execute many great and useful works, which were naturally impossible to such feeble creatures, without the assistance of these powers. As several of the British nations were not unacquainted with agriculture, architecture, navigation, and other arts, when they were invaded by the Romans, we may conclude, that these nations were not altogether strangers to the nature and application of at least some of the mechanical powers. Nay, there are still many monuments remaining in Britain and the adjacent isles, which cannot so reasonably be ascribed to any as to the ancient Britons, and which give us cause to think, that they had made great progress in this useful part of learning, and could apply the mechanical powers, so as to produce very astonishing effects. As these monuments appear to have been designed for religious purposes, we may be certain that they were erected under the direction of the Druids. How many obelisks or pillars, of one rough, unpolished stone each, are still to be seen in Britain and its isles? Some of these pillars are both very thick and lofty, erected on the summits of barrows and of mountains; and some of them (as at Stonehenge) have ponderous blocks of stone raised aloft, and resting on the tops of the upright pillars (78). We can hardly suppose that it was possible to cut these prodigious masses of stone (some of them above forty tons in weight) without wedges, or to raise them out of the quarry without levers. But it certainly required

(78) Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, l. 3, c. 2.



still greater knowledge of the mechanic powers, and of the methods of applying them, to transport those huge stones from the quarry to the places of their destination; to erect the perpendicular pillars, and to elevate the impost to the tops of these pillars. If that prodigious stone in the parish of Constantine, Cornwall, was really removed by art from its original place, and fixed where it now stands (as one of our most learned and diligent antiquaries thinks it was), it is a demonstration, that the Druids could perform the most astonishing feats by their skill in mechanics. It is thus described by that author: "It is one vast egg-like stone, placed on the  
 " points of two natural rocks, so that one may creep  
 " under the great one, and between its supporters,  
 " through a passage about three feet wide, and as much  
 " high. The longest diameter of this stone is 33 feet,  
 " pointing due north and south; it is 14 feet 6 inches  
 " deep; and the breadth in the middle of the surface,  
 " where widest, was 18 feet 6 inches wide from east to  
 " west. I measured one half of the circumference, and  
 " found it, according to my computation, 48 feet and a  
 " half; so that this stone is 97 feet in circumference,  
 " about 60 feet cross the middle, and, by the best in-  
 " formations I can get, contains at least 750 ton of  
 " stone. This stone is no less wonderful for its position  
 " than for its size; for although the under part is nearly  
 " semicircular, yet it rests on two large rocks, and so  
 " light and detached does it stand, that it touches the  
 " two under stones but as it were on their points, and  
 " all the sky appears. The two Tolmens (so these  
 " stones are called) at Scilly, are monuments evidently  
 " of the same kind with this, and of the same name;  
 " and these, with all of like structure, may, with great  
 " probability, I think, though of such stupendous  
 " weight, be asserted to be works of art; the under  
 " stones, in some instances, appearing to have been  
 " fitted to receive and support the upper one. It is also  
 " plain, from their works at Stonehenge, and some of  
 " their other monument, that the Druids had skill  
 " enough in the mechanical powers to lift vast weights,"  
 &c. (79). That the British Druids were acquainted with

(79) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 174, 175.

the principles and use of the balance we have good reason to believe, not only from the great antiquity of that discovery in other parts of the world, but also from some Druidical monuments which are still remaining in this island. These monuments are called Lagan Stones, or rocking stones; and each of them consists of one prodigious block of stone, resting upon an upright stone or rock, and so equally balanced, that a very small force, sometimes even a child, can move it up and down, though hardly any force is sufficient to remove it from its station. Some of these stones may have fallen into this position by accident, but others of them evidently appear to have been placed in it by art (80). That the ancient Britons understood the constitution and use of wheels, the great number of their war-chariots and other wheel-carriages is a sufficient proof; and that they knew how to combine them together and with the other mechanical powers, so as to form machines capable of raising and transporting very heavy weights, we have good reason to believe. In a word, if the British Druids were wholly ignorant of the principles and use of any of the mechanical powers, it was most probably of the screw, though even of this we cannot be certain.

The medicine of the Druids.

As the love of life is a very strong and universal passion, mankind in all ages and in all countries have endeavoured to discover the most effectual means of preserving it, and of curing those diseases which threatened its destruction. It is needless therefore to enquire when medicine or the healing art first began to be studied in this or any other country. As soon as there were men in this island who desired to prolong life and enjoy health this art was studied. But it was long, probably many ages, after this before the study and practice of physic became the peculiar province of one particular class or order of men. In the savage, roaming state every man was his own physician, and was at the same time ready to impart to all others who needed his assistance, all his skill, without the most distant prospect of reward (81). But when a

(80) Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 130, &c.

(81) *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, v. 1. p. 194. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 29. c. 5.

regular



regular form of government, and a proper subordination and distinction of ranks came to be established in any country, then the care of health, and the study of the art of healing wounds and diseases, began to be devolved on such members of the society as were believed to have the greatest genius and the best opportunities for that study. In Germany, and in the northern nations of Europe, this important charge was chiefly committed to the old women of every state (82); but in Gaul and Britain it was intrusted to the Druids, who were the physicians, as well as the priests, of these countries. Pliny says expressly, "That Tiberius Cæsar destroyed the Druids of the Gauls, who were the poets and physicians of that nation (83);" and he might have added of the Britons. The people of Gaul and Britain were probably induced to devolve the care of their health on the Druids, and to apply to these priests for the cure of their diseases, not only by the high esteem they had of their wisdom and learning, but also by the opinion which they entertained, that a very intimate connection subsisted between the arts of healing and the rites of religion, and that the former were most effectual when they were accompanied by the latter. It appears indeed to have been the prevailing opinion of all the nations of antiquity, that all internal diseases proceeded immediately from the anger of the Gods; and that the only way of obtaining relief from these diseases was by applying to their priests to appease their anger, by religious rites and sacrifices (84). This was evidently the opinion and practice of the Gauls and Britons, who, in some dangerous cases, sacrificed one man, as the most effectual means of curing another. "They are much addicted  
 " (says Cæsar) to superstition; and for this cause, those  
 " who are afflicted with a dangerous disease sacrifice a  
 " man, or promise that they will sacrifice one, for their  
 " recovery. For this purpose they make use of the mi-  
 " nistry of the Druids; because they have declared, that  
 " the anger of the immortal Gods cannot be appeased,  
 " so as to spare the life of one man, but by the life of

(82) Keyfler *Antiq. Septent.* p. 374, &c.

(83) *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 30. c. 1,

(84) *Celsus*, l. 1, in præfat.

" another.

“ another (85).” This way of thinking gave rise also to that great number of magical rites and incantations with which (as we shall see by and by) the medical practices of the Druids, and indeed of all the physicians of antiquity, were attended (80). “ No body doubts (says Pliny) that “ magic derived its origin from medicine, and that “ by its flattering but delusive promises, it came to be “ esteemed the most sublime and sacred part of the art “ of healing (87).”

Anatomy of  
the Druids.

As some knowledge of the structure of the human body, and of the disposition of its several parts, both external and internal, is so evidently necessary to the successful practice of every part of medicine, we may reasonably presume that the Druids applied to the study of anatomy; though we cannot discover, with certainty, what progress they had made in that science. Their way of life, particularly their frequent and earnest inspection of the entrails both of beasts and human victims, made the acquisition of some degree of anatomical knowledge easy to them, and almost unavoidable. What a very learned writer of the history of physic says of the Asclepiadæ, the descendants and successors of Esculapius, may not improperly be applied to our Druids: “ I would “ not be supposed to affirm, that the Asclepiadæ had “ no manner of knowledge of the parts of bodies. It “ would be a great absurdity to maintain it; for without “ this knowledge, they could neither practise physic in “ general nor chirurgery in particular. Without doubt “ they knew very well; as for instance, the bones, their “ situation, figure, articulation, and all that depends “ upon them; for otherwise they could not have set “ them when they were broken or dislocated. Neither “ could they be ignorant of the situation of the most “ considerable vessels. It is likewise necessary that they “ should understand where the veins and arteries lie— “ besides, it was highly requisite that they should very “ well know the places where the profoundest vessels “ meet, to avoid the loss of blood when they made any “ incisions, or when they cut off any of the members.

(85) Cas. de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

(86) Le Clerc's History of Physic, l. 1, c. 13.

(87) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.



“ In fhort, they were obliged to know feveral places  
 “ where there were tendons and ligaments, and fome  
 “ confiderable nerves.---Besides this, they knew fome-  
 “ thing in general of the chief inteftines; as the ftomach,  
 “ the guts, the liver, the fpleen, the kidneys, the  
 “ bladder, the matrix, the diaphragm, the heart, the  
 “ lungs, and the brain (88).” All this knowledge, that  
 writer fupposes, thefe ancient practitioners might have  
 obtained by their obfervations on animals flain for food  
 and for facrifice, and by various other ways; without  
 diffefting human bodies, with a direct view to learn the  
 ftructure and fituation of their different parts (89). If  
 we could depend upon the truth of what we find in fome  
 authors, concerning the prodigious number of human  
 fubjects diffefted by the Druids, we fhould be led to  
 think that they muft have attained to fomething more  
 than the general knowledge of anatomy above defcribed.  
 “ They encouraged the fcience of anatomy to fuch an  
 “ excefs, and fo much beyond all reafon and humanity,  
 “ that one of their doctors, called Herophilus, is faid to  
 “ have read lectures on the bodies of more than 700  
 “ living men, to fhew therein the fecrets and wonders  
 “ of the human fabric (90).”

Surgery was certainly the moft ancient part of medi-  
 cine in every country; and the firft practitioners in the  
 art of healing were more properly furgeons than phy-  
 ficians (91). The violent pain which was felt by thofe  
 who had received wounds, bruifes, fractures, and dif-  
 locations, made them cry earneftly for immediate affift-  
 ance. The caufes of thefe injuries being well known,  
 and the feats of them being vifible to the eyes and ac-  
 ceffible to the hands, and to external applications,  
 various means were no doubt ufed to give them relief.  
 Some of thefe means were found to be effectual in cer-  
 tain cafes, which were therefore carefully preferved in  
 memory, communicated from one to another, and at  
 length became the eftablifhed rules of practice in all fimi-

Surgery of  
the Druids.

(88) Le Clerc's *History of Phyfic*, tranflated by Dr. Drake, b. 2.  
c. 5. p. 115.

(89) *Id. ibid.* p. 116.

(90) Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 96. from Galtruch. *Poet. Hift.* l. 3. c. 4.

(91) Celfus in *Præfat. Le Clerc Hift. Phyfic*, b. 1. c. 16. p. 48.

lar cases, The British Druids enjoyed great advantages for making and preserving discoveries of this kind. They had extensive practice, were a numerous body of men, ever ready to communicate their discoveries to each other, and to their disciples. By this means they must have collected, in a long tract of time, a great number of successful experiments in the art of healing wounds, setting bones, reducing dislocations, curing ulcers, &c. Finding that the cures which they performed contributed not a little to the advancement both of their fame and wealth, they were at great pains to conceal the real means by which they performed them, from all but the initiated: and in order to this, they disguised and blended all their applications with a multitude of insignificant charms. This is the reason that so few particulars of the chyrurgical operations and medical applications of the British Druids have been preserved, though we have several long details of their charms and magical practices. For their useful knowledge being kept secret, perished with them; while their charms and incantations, being visible to all, have been preserved.

Botany of  
the Druids.

The materia medica of the most ancient physicians of all countries was very scanty, and consisted only of a few herbs, which were believed to have certain salutary and healing virtues (92). For this reason the study of botany, or of the nature and virtues of herbs and plants, was very ancient and universal. That the Druids of Gaul and Britain applied to this study, and made great use of herbs for medicinal purposes, we have sufficient evidence (93). They not only had a most superstitious veneration for the mistletoe of the oak, on a religious account, but they also entertained a very high opinion of its medical virtues, and esteemed it a kind of panacea, or remedy for all diseases. "They call it, (says Pliny) by a name which in their language signifies Allheal, because they have an opinion that it cureth all diseases (94)." They believed it to be in particular a specific against barrenness, and a sovereign antidote against the fatal effects of poisons of all kinds (95). It was esteemed also an excellent

(92) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. c. 1.

(93) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. I. p. 205.

(94) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.

(95) Id *ibid.*  
emollient



emollient and discutient for softening and discuffing hard tumours; good for drying up scrophulous fores; for curing ulcers and wounds; and (provided it was not suffered to touch the earth after it was cut) it was thought to be a very efficacious medicine in the epilepsy or falling-sickness (96). It hath been thought useful in this last calamitous disease by some modern physicians (97). The pompous ceremonies with which the mistletoe was gathered by the Druids have been already described (98). The Selago, a kind of hedge hyffop, resembling favin, was another plant much admired by the Druids of Gaul and Britain, for its supposed medicinal virtues, particularly in all diseases of the eyes. But its efficacy, according to them, depended very much upon its being gathered exactly in the following manner: The person who gathered it was to be clothed in a white robe, to have his feet bare, and washed in pure water; to offer a sacrifice of bread and wine before he proceeded to cut it; which he was to do with his right hand covered with the skirt of his garment, and with a hook of some more precious metal than iron. When it was cut, it was to be received into, and kept in a new and very clean cloth. When it was gathered exactly according to this whimsical ritual, they affirmed that it was not only an excellent medicine, but also a powerful charm, and preservative from misfortunes and unhappy accidents of all kinds (99). They entertained a high opinion also of the herb Samolus, or marshwort, for its fanative qualities; and gave many directions for the gathering it, no less fanciful than those above-mentioned. The person who was to perform that office was to do it fasting, and with his left hand; he was on no account to look behind him, nor to turn his face from the herbs he was gathering (100). It would be tedious to relate the extravagant notions they entertained of the many virtues of the vervaine, and to recount the ridiculous mummeries which they practised in gathering and preparing it, both

(96) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 4. Vide Keyfler. Dissert. de Visco Druidum, 304.

(97) Dissertation by Sir John Colbatch. London, 1719.

(98) See Chap. II.

(99) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 11.

(100) Id. ibid.

for the purposes of divination and physic. These things may be seen in the author quoted below, from whence we have received all these anecdotes of the botany of the Druids (101). It is easy to see that his information was very imperfect; and that, like many of the other Greek and Roman writers, he designedly represents the philosophers of Gaul and Britain in an unfavourable light. The herb which was called Britannica by the ancients, which some think was the great water-dock, and others the cochlearea or scurvy-grass, was probably much used in this island for medical purposes; as it derived its name from hence, and was from hence exported to Rome and other parts (102). Though these few imperfect hints are all that we can now collect of the botany of the British Druids, yet we have some reason to think that they were not contemptible botanists. Their circumstances were peculiarly favourable for the acquisition of this kind of knowledge. For as they spent most of their time in the recesses of mountains, groves, and woods, the spontaneous vegetable productions of the earth constantly presented themselves to their view, and courted their attention.

The Anguinum of the Druids.

The opinions which, it is said, the Druids of Gaul and Britain entertained of their Anguinum or serpents egg, both as a charm and as a medicine, are romantic and extravagant in a very high degree. This extraordinary egg was formed, as they pretended, by a great number of serpents interwoven and twined together; and when it was formed, it was raised up in the air by the hissing of these serpents, and was to be caught in a clean white cloth, before it fell to the ground. The person who caught it was obliged to mount a swift horse, and to ride away at full speed to escape from the serpents, who pursued him with great rage, until they were stopped by some river. The way of making trial of the genuineness of this egg was no less extraordinary. It was to be encased in gold, and thrown into a river, and if it was genuine it would swim against the stream. "I have seen (says Pliny) that egg; it is about the bigness of a moderate apple, its shell is a cartilaginous incrustation,

(101) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. c. 9.

(102) Id. l. 29. c. 3. l. 26. in proem.



“ full of little cavities, such as are on the legs of the polypus; it is the insignia or badge of distinction of the Druids (103).” The virtues which they ascribed to this egg were many and wonderful. It was particularly efficacious to render those who carried it about with them superior to their adversaries in all disputes, and to procure them the favour and friendship of great men (104). Some have thought that this whole affair of the serpents egg was a mere fraud, contrived by the Druids, to excite the admiration and pick the pockets of the credulous people, who purchased these wonder-working eggs from them at a high price (105). Others have imagined that this story of the Anguinum (of which there is an ancient monument in the cathedral at Paris) was an emblematical representation of the doctrine of the Druids concerning the creation of the world. The serpents, (say they) represent the Divine Wisdom forming the universe, and the egg is the emblem of the world formed by that Wisdom (106). It may be added, that the virtue ascribed to the Anguinum, of giving those who possessed it a superiority over others, and endearing them to great men, may perhaps be intended to represent the natural effects of learning and philosophy. But in so doubtful a matter every one is at full liberty to form what judgment he thinks proper.

If we know little of the materia medica of the British Druids, we know still less of their pharmacy, or their methods of preparing their medicines. We have good reason however to believe that they had made the preparation and composition of medicines their study; for many things which in their natural state are useless, and even noxious, become salutary and medicinal when properly prepared; and therefore, without some knowledge of pharmacy, it is impossible to practise physic to any purpose. We learn, from scattered hints in Pliny's Natural History, that the Druids sometimes extracted the juices of herbs and plants, by bruising and steeping them in cold water; and sometimes by infusing them in wine; that they made potions and decoctions by boiling

Pharmacy  
of the  
Druids.

(103) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29, c. 3.

(104) Id. *ibid.*

(105) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 142

(106) Universal History, v. 18. p. 590, octavo.

them

them in water, and perhaps in other liquors: that they sometimes administered them in the way of fumigation: that on some occasions they dried the leaves, stalks, and roots of plants, and afterwards infused them (107): and finally, that they were not ignorant of the art of making salves and ointments of vegetables (108). But as these hints are few, and merely incidental, we may reasonably suppose that the Druids had many other ways of preparing and compounding their medicines, which are now unknown.

Rhetoric of  
the Druids.

As the influence and authority of the Druids in their country depended very much upon the reputation of their superior wisdom and learning, they wisely applied to the study of those sciences which most directly contributed to the support and advancement of that reputation. In this number, besides those already mentioned, we may justly reckon rhetoric, or the art of speaking in a clear, elegant, persuasive, and affecting manner. This noble art was diligently studied and taught by the Druids of Gaul and Britain; and to the charms of their eloquence they were indebted for much of the admiration and authority which they enjoyed. Mela says in express terms, that the Druids were great masters and teachers of eloquence (109). Among their deities they had one who was named Ogmios, which in their language signifies the power of eloquence (110). He was esteemed and worshipped by them, with great devotion, as the patron of orators, and the god of eloquence. They painted him as an old man, surrounded by a great multitude of people, with slender chains reaching from his tongue to their ears. The people seemed to be pleased with their captivity, and discovered no inclination to break their chains. Lucian (from whom we have this account) expressing his surprise at this picture, it was thus explained to him by a Druid: "You will cease to be surprised, when I tell you, that we make Hercules (whom we call Ogmios) the god of eloquence, contrary to the Greeks, who give that honour to Mercury, who is so

(107) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 24. c. 11. l. 25. c. 9. l. 16. c. 44. l. 24. c. 11. l. 25. c. 9.

(108) Id. *ibid.*

(109) Mela de Situ Orbis, l. 3. c. 2.

(110) Kcyßer Antiq. Septent. p. 38.



“ far inferior to him in strength. We represent him as  
 “ an old man ; because eloquence never shows itself so  
 “ lively and strong as in the mouths of old people. The  
 “ relation which the ear hath to the tongue justifies the  
 “ picture of the old man who holds so many people fast  
 “ by the tongue. Neither do we think it any affront to  
 “ Hercules to have his tongue bored ; since, to tell you  
 “ all in one word, it was that which made him succeed  
 “ in every thing ; and that it was by his eloquence that  
 “ he subdued the hearts of all men (111).” The Druids  
 of Britain had many calls and opportunities to display  
 their eloquence, and discover its great power and effi-  
 cacy—as, when they were teaching their pupils in their  
 schools—when they discoursed in public to the people on  
 religious and moral subjects—when they pleaded causes  
 in the courts of justice—and when they harangued in the  
 great councils of the nation, and at the heads of armies  
 ready to engage in battle ; sometimes with a view to in-  
 flame their courage, and at other times with a design to  
 allay their fury, and dispose them to make peace.  
 Though this last was certainly a very difficult task among  
 fierce and warlike nations, yet such was the authority  
 and eloquence of the Druids that they frequently suc-  
 ceeded in it. “ They pay a great regard (says Diodorus  
 “ Siculus) to their exhortations, not only in the affairs  
 “ of peace, but even of war, and these are respected  
 “ both by their friends and enemies. They sometimes  
 “ step in between two hostile armies, who are standing  
 “ with their swords drawn and their spears extended,  
 “ ready to engage ; and by their eloquence, as by an  
 “ irresistible enchantment, they prevent the effusion of  
 “ blood, and prevail upon them to sheath their swords.  
 “ So great are the charms of eloquence and the power  
 “ of wisdom, even among the most fierce barbari-  
 “ ans (112).” The British kings and chieftains, who  
 were educated by the Druids, were famous for their elo-  
 quence. This is evident from the many noble speeches  
 which are ascribed to them by the Greek and Roman  
 writers (113). For though these speeches may not be

(111) Lucian in *Hercule Gallico*.

(112) *Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 8. ¶ 1. p. 354.*

(113) *Vide Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. 37. l. 14. c. 33. Vita Agric.*  
*c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in vita Neronis.*

genuine,

genuine, yet they are a proof that it was a well known fact that these princes were accustomed to make harangues on these and the like occasions. This we are expressly told by Tacitus: "The British chieftains, before a battle, fly from rank to rank, and address their men with animating speeches, tending to inflame their courage, increase their hopes, and dispel their fears (114)." These harangues were called, in the ancient language of Britain, *Brosnichiy Kah*, which is literally translated by Tacitus, *Incitamenta Belli*, incentives to war (115). The genuine posterity of the ancient Britons long retained their taste for eloquence, and their high esteem for those who excelled in that art (116). "Orators (says Mr. Martin) were in high esteem, both in these islands (the *Æbudæ*) and the continent, until within these forty years. They sat always among the nobles or chiefs of families in the streat, or circle. Their houses and little villages were sanctuaries as well as churches, and they took place before doctors of physic. The Orators, after the Druids were extinct, were brought in to preserve the genealogy of families, and to repeat the same at every succession of a chief; and upon the occasion of marriages and births, they made epithalamiums and panegyrics, which the poet or bard pronounced. The Orators, by the force of their eloquence, had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time: for if any Orator did but ask the habit, arms, horse, or any other thing belonging to the greatest man in these islands, it was readily granted him; sometimes out of respect, and sometimes for fear of being exclaimed against by a satire, which in those days was reckoned a great dishonour (117)."

Before we leave this subject of the learning of the ancient Britons, and particularly of the Druids, it may not be improper to enquire—whether or not they had the knowledge and use of letters—and whether they studied and understood any other language besides their native tongue, before this island was invaded by the Romans.

(114) Tacit. *Annal.* l. 12. c. 34.(115) *Id. ibid.*(116) Martin's *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 104.(117) *Ibid.* p. 115.



After what hath been said of the learning of the British Druids, it will, no doubt, appear surprizing to many readers, to hear it made a question, whether they had the knowledge of letters, or, in other words, whether they could read and write. This most wonderful of all arts, the art of painting thoughts and making sounds visible, is now happily become so common, that it is hardly considered as a part of learning, and is known to the lowest and most ignorant of the people. But the case was very different in those remote ages which preceded the invasion of the Romans. If letters were then known in this island, it was only to a few who devoted their lives to study, and were admired as prodigies of learning. If we may believe some ancient writers, there was a time "when the use of letters was reckoned dishonourable by all the barbarous nations of Europe (117)." Tacitus assures us, that in his time, which was more than one hundred years after the first Roman invasion of Britain, both the men and women of Germany were ignorant of the secret or use of letters (118). This assertion is not to be understood indeed in its utmost latitude, as if letters had been absolutely unknown in Germany. From the manner in which it is introduced, it seems probable, that Tacitus meant only to affirm that letters were not then generally known in Germany, nor used in the common affairs of life; though they might be known to a few learned and curious persons, and used on some great occasions. This last appears to have been the state of things with respect to letters in Britain at the period we are now considering. They were certainly neither generally known nor in common use, though we have good reason to believe, that they were known to the Druids, and perhaps to some of the great who were educated by them. The very law of the Druids, which is mentioned by Cæsar, against committing their doctrines to writing, is a sufficient evidence that they were not unacquainted with the use of letters (119). For if they had been ignorant of the art of writing, they could neither have had any

(117) Ælian. Variar. Hist. l. 8. c. 6.

(118) Tacit. de Morib. Germ. c. 19.

(119) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

necessity for, nor any idea of, such a law. The reasons also which are assigned by Cæsar for this law and practice, demonstrate that this illustrious writer knew very well that the Druids were capable of committing their doctrines to writing, if they had not been restrained from it by a law founded on these political considerations. Few will suppose that Cæsar was capable of falling into such an absurdity as to seek for reasons why the Druids did not commit their doctrines to writing, if he had known that they could not write. It appears that he knew the contrary. For he plainly tells, that in all other affairs and transactions, except those of religion and learning, they made use of letters; and that the letters which they used, were those of the Greek alphabet (120). We learn from Strabo, that the Druids of Gaul received the knowledge of the Greek letters from the Greek colony at Marseilles. "All the people of the  
 "neighbouring nations, who are of a liberal and studious disposition, go to Marseilles, and there apply to  
 "the study of learning and philosophy. This city hath  
 "for some time past been a kind of university to the  
 "Barbarians; and so great a taste for the Greek learning hath prevailed among the Gauls, that they wrote  
 "all their contracts and other legal deeds in Greek  
 "letters (121)." The Britons, and particularly their Druids, might receive the knowledge of the Greek letters, either directly from the Greek merchants of Marseilles, who frequented this island on account of trade, or from the Druids of Gaul, with whom they kept up a constant and friendly intercourse. In general, we have good reason to suppose that the Druids of Britain were not ignorant of any part of learning with which their brethren of Gaul were acquainted, when we know that the most learned and inquisitive Gauls frequently came into this island to perfect their education. We may therefore conclude, that the letters of the Greek alphabet were known to the learned among the Britons, and used by them, on some occasions, in writing contracts, treaties, and other important deeds, before they were invaded and conquered by the Romans. By that

(120) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(121) Strabo, l. 4. p. 131. edit. Paris, A. D. 1620.



conquest the Roman letters were introduced, and from thenceforward continued to be used, not only by those Britons who learned to speak and write the Latin language, but even by those who still retained the use of their native tongue.

It would be very improper (as it is foreign to our present subject) to enter upon a laborious disquisition concerning the old Irish alphabet, which is called Beth-luis-nion, from its three first letters, B, L, N. This alphabet, as we are gravely told by some Irish antiquaries, was invented by Finiufa Farfa, great-grandson of Japhet, who seems to have had a wonderful genius for inventing alphabets. For, besides the Beth-luis-nion of the Irish, and the Hebrew alphabet, he (according to these authors) was so provident and obliging, that he invented also the Greek and Roman alphabets, many ages before there were any Greeks or Romans in the world, that they might be lying ready for the use of these nations when they came into being (122). The Irish, as we are assured by a late writer, were so happy, that they enjoyed the use of letters from the days of this famous Finiufa, the great-grandson of Japhet, the son of Noah, down to the present times (123): a singular honour and felicity, to which no other nation in the world hath had the confidence to pretend. There are other writers indeed, who endeavour to deprive the Irish nation of this distinguished honour, by affirming that they are indebted to their great apostle St. Patrick for the knowledge of letters, as well as of Christianity; and that their Beth-luis-nion is nothing else but the Roman alphabet a little changed in the number, order, and form of the letters (124). "Non nostrum est tantas componere lites." Every reader may judge for himself which of these two opinions is most probable; and few, we presume, will form a wrong judgment.

For several ages past, the study of certain dead languages, as the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which are only to be found in books, hath constituted a very im-

(122) Flaherty's *Ogygia Domestica*, p. 221.

(123) Dr. Parson's *Remains of Japhet*, p. 151.

(124) *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi*, l. 2. Nat. ad vitam S. Patricii. Innes's critical Essay, p. 442.

portant and essential part of a learned education; and in the acquisition of these languages, the studious youth of Europe now spend some of the most valuable years of their lives. But nothing of this nature employed any part of the thoughts or time of the learned and studious among the ancient Britons, who certainly derived their knowledge more from men than from books, from conversation than from reading. If any of them studied or understood any other languages besides their native tongue, these were certainly the Greek and Latin, which were then living languages; the one spoken by the instructors, and the other by the conquerors of the world. Some writers have been of opinion that the Druids of Gaul and Britain understood and spoke the Greek language as well as they did their own (125). But this opinion doth not appear to be well founded, It is true, indeed, that the people of Marseilles, who were originally Greeks, were very famous in these times for their knowledge of languages, as well as of other parts of learning. They were called the three-tongued, because they understood three languages, the Greek, Latin, and Gaulish (126). Those Gauls, therefore, who had their education in that city, which was then esteemed another Athens, no doubt acquired the knowledge of the Greek language. Lucian seems to have met with one of these, who was a Gaulish priest or Druid, who understood Greek, and explained to him the picture of Ogmius, the god of eloquence, already mentioned (127). But the number of the Gauls who were educated at Marseilles, bore a very small proportion to the whole body of that people; and it appears very plainly, that in Julius Cæsar's time the knowledge of the Greek tongue was a very rare and uncommon accomplishment among the learned in Gaul. Divitiacus the Æduan was both a prince and a Druid, and (according to the testimony of Cicero, who was familiarly acquainted with him) one of the most learned men of his country; and yet it is evident, that he neither understood Latin nor Greek (128). For

(125) Sheringham, p. 390. Hottoman. Franco Gallia, c. 2.

(126) Opera S. Hieronymi, l. 9. p. 135.

(127) Lucian in Hercule Gallico.

(128) Cicero de Divinatione, l. 1.



Cæsar, who was a perfect master of both these languages, could not converse with him without an interpreter (129). Nay, when Quintus Cicero was besieged in his camp in the country of the Nervii, a people of Gaul, Cæsar wrote a letter to him in the Greek language, that if it should be intercepted by the enemy, it might not be understood (130): a demonstration that Cæsar believed there were few or none of the Nervii who understood Greek, though some of them might perhaps understand Latin. The Nervii were indeed situated in the northern extremity of Gaul, at a prodigious distance from Marseilles; and therefore the knowledge of the Greek tongue might be much more uncommon among them than among the Gauls of the South, who were nearer to that illustrious seat of learning (131). But may we not for the same reason conclude, that the knowledge of the Greek language was far from being a common accomplishment among the learned of this island? The Latin language was probably still less understood in Britain than the Greek before the Roman conquest.

If the British Druids, considering the times in which they lived, had made no contemptible proficiency in several parts of real and useful learning; it cannot be denied that they were also great pretenders to superior knowledge in certain vain fallacious sciences, by which they excited the admiration, and took advantage of the ignorance and credulity of mankind. These were the sciences (if they may be so called) of magic and divination; by which they pretended to work a kind of miracles, and exhibit astonishing appearances in nature; to penetrate into the counsels of Heaven; to foretel future events, and to discover the success or miscarriage of public or private undertakings. Their own countrymen not only believed that the Druids of Gaul and Britain were possessed of these powers, but they were celebrated, on this account, by the philosophers of Greece and Rome. “ In Britain (says Pliny) the magic arts are cultivated with such astonishing success and so many ce-

Druidical  
magic and  
divination.

(129) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 19.

(130) Id. ibid. l. 5. c. 12.

(131) Cluverius, l. 2. p. 430.

“remonies at this day, that the Britons seem to be capable of instructing even the Persians themselves in these arts (131). They pretend to discover the designs and purposes of the Gods (132). The Eubates or Vates in particular, investigate and display the most sublime secrets of nature; and, by auspices and sacrifices, they foretel future events (133.” They were so famous for the supposed veracity of their predictions, that they were not only consulted on all important occasions by their own princes and great men, but even sometimes by the Roman emperors (134). Nor is it very difficult to account for all this. The Druids finding that the reputation of their magical and prophetic powers contributed not a little to the advancement of their wealth and influence, they endeavoured, no doubt, to strengthen and establish it by all their art and cunning. Their knowledge of natural philosophy and mechanics enabled them to execute such works, and to exhibit such appearances, or to make the world believe that they did exhibit them, as were sufficient to gain them the character of great magicians. The truth is, that nothing is more easy than to acquire this character in a dark age, and among an unenlightened people. When the minds of men are haunted with dreams of charms and enchantments, they are apt to fancy that the most common occurrences in nature are the effects of magical arts. The following strange story, which we meet with in Plutarch’s Treatise of the Cessation of Oracles, was probably occasioned by something of this kind. “There are many islands which lie scattered about the isle of Britain, after the manner of our Sporades. They are generally unpeopled, and some of them are called the Islands of the Heroes. One Demetrius was sent by the emperor (perhaps Claudius) to discover those parts. He arrived at one of these islands (supposed by some to be Anglesey, but more probably one of the *Æbudæ*) next adjoining to the isle of Britain before mentioned, which was inhabited by a few Britons, who

(131) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

(132) Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(133) Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 9. v. I.

P. 354.

(134) Lamprid. in Alexand. Vopisc. in Aurelian. & Numerian.

“ were



“ were esteemed sacred and inviolable by their country-  
 “ men. Immediately after his arrival the air grew black  
 “ and troubled, and strange apparitions were seen; the  
 “ winds rose to a tempest, and fiery spouts and whirl-  
 “ winds appeared dancing towards the earth (135).”  
 This was probably no more than a storm of wind, accompanied with rain and lightning; a thing neither unnatural nor uncommon: but Demetrius and his companions having heard that the British Druids, by whom this isle was chiefly inhabited, were great magicians, they imagined that it was raised by them; and fancied that they saw many strange unnatural sights. The Druids did not think proper to undeceive them; for when they enquired of them about the cause of this storm, they told them it was occasioned by the death of one of those invisible beings or genii who frequented that isle (136). A wonderful and artful tale, very well calculated to increase the superstitious terrors of Demetrius and his crew; and to determine them to abandon this enchanted isle, with a resolution never to return. Stonehenge, and several other works of the Druids, were believed to have been executed by the arts of magic and enchantment, for many ages after the destruction of their whole order (137): nor is it improbable that they persuaded the vulgar in their own times to entertain the same opinion of these works, by concealing from them the real arts by which they were performed. The natural and acquired sagacity of the Druids, their long experience, and great concern in the conduct of affairs, enabled them to form very probable conjectures about the events of enterprizes. These conjectures they pronounced as oracles, when they were consulted, and they pretended to derive them from the inspection of the entrails of victims; the observation of the flight and feeding of certain birds; and many other mummeries (138). By these and the like arts, they obtained and preserved the reputation of prophetic foresight among an ignorant and

(135) Plutarch. de Cessat. Orac. Rowland's *Mona Antiq.* p. 74.

(136) Plutarch. de Cessat. Orac.

(137) Keyssler *Antiq. Septent. c. 7. § I. p. 228. Galfrid. Monumut. b. 8. c. 11, 12.*

(138) Dr. Borlase's *Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 138. to 142.

credulous

credulous people. But these pretensions of the Druids to magic and divination, which contributed so much to the advancement of their fame and fortune in their own times, have brought very heavy reproaches upon their memory, and have made some learned moderns declare that they ought to be expunged out of the catalogue of philosophers, and esteemed no better than mere cheats and jugglers (139). This censure is evidently too severe, and might have been pronounced with equal justice upon all the ancient philosophers of Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome; who were great pretenders to magic and divination, as well as our Druids (140). "I know of no nation in the world (says Cicero) either so polite and learned, or so savage and barbarous, as not to believe that future events are presignified to us, and may by some men be discovered and foretold (141)." The only conclusion therefore that can be fairly drawn, from the successful pretensions of the British Druids to the arts of magic and divination, is this---That they had more knowledge than their countrymen and cotemporaries; but had not so much virtue as to resist the temptation of imposing upon their ignorance, to their own advantage.

Personal  
history of  
learned  
men.

If we have but an imperfect knowledge of the state of learning among the ancient Britons before they were invaded by the Romans, our knowledge of the personal history of the learned men who flourished in this island at and before that period, is still more imperfect. For though there might be many who were famous in their several ages for their genius and erudition, yet as none of these committed any of their works to writing, which is the only monument that can resist the depredations of time, not only their learned labours, but their very names, have been long since consigned to irretrievable oblivion. It would not indeed be difficult to fill many pages, from the writings of Leland, Bale, and Pits, with the lives of many learned Britons who are said by them to have flourished long before and about the time of the

(139) Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philosoph. l. 1. p. 342.

(140) Vide Plin Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

(141) Cicero de Divinat. l. 1. init.



Roman invasion (142). But this would be to fill the pages of history with the most childish and improbable legends, instead of real and important facts. To convince our readers that this stricture is not too severe, it will be sufficient to give the following curious account of Perdix or Partridge the prophet, one of these ancient British sages, who, according to these writers, prophesied in Britain in the year 760 before Christ, at the same time that Isaiah prophesied in Judea. “Perdix or Partridge, a British prophet, who, excelling in genius and learning, particularly in mathematics, by his example roused the indolent minds of others to the pursuit of the same studies. By his curious and constant observation of the stars, he became a famous prophet and prognosticator. In his time, about the year of the world 3198, it rained blood in Britain three whole days, which produced such prodigious swarms of flies that they occasioned a great mortality. As king Rivallo was offering sacrifices in the temple of Diana, according to the manner of these times, Partridge came in, and not only explained the causes of the present calamities, but also pronounced a prophecy of many future events. The king commanded this prophecy to be engraved on a large block of marble, and placed in the same temple, for its preservation. Gildas, a most noble poet and historiographer among the Britons, found this inscription written in very old language, and translated it into elegant Latin verse (143).” “O! (cries Leland) that I had the happiness to read and understand that most venerable inscription! That I might know what were the letters, and what was the language of the most ancient Britons. But if that is too great felicity, O! that I could get a sight of the verses of Gildas (144).” Such is the astonishing credulity of some of our most renowned antiquaries! But even this is not the most ridiculous part of this story. For these illustrious lights of antiquity cannot agree among themselves, whether this famous

(142) Vide Leland. de Script. Britan. 2 tom. Oxon. 1709. Bale Catalog. Scriptor. illust. Britan. folio, Basilizæ apud Joannem Operinum. Pits.

(143) Balei Catalog. Script. illust. Brit. p. 21.

(144) Leland. de Script. Brit. l. 1. p. 16.

British prophet was a man or a bird. Ponticus Verunnius affirms that it was a real partridge, of a large size and most beautiful plumage, that flew into the temple and pronounced this prophecy. But in this Leland and Bale say he was most abominably mistaken (145). What puny modern antiquary will take upon him to determine this important dispute?

Abaris,

One of our most industrious historians hath taken very great pains to prove, that Abaris, the famous Hyperborean philosopher, the disciple and friend of Pythagoras, was a native of Britain, or of one of the British isles (146). To such of our readers as are convinced of this by the arguments of that writer, a short abstract of the life of this extraordinary person will not be disagreeable. Abaris flourished about 600 years before the beginning of the Christian æra. He was a native of the Hyperborean island, which is described by Diodorus Siculus, and greatly admired by his countrymen, who sent him as their ambassador into Greece, to renew their ancient friendship and intercourse with the people of Delos, which had been interrupted (147). Abaris performed this long voyage with great ease and expedition, being carried over rivers, seas, and mountains, through the air, on an enchanted arrow, which he had received as a present from Apollo (148). By this enchanted arrow we ought, perhaps, to understand his skill in astronomy, by which he directed his course. When he arrived in Greece, he gained the esteem and admiration of the learned men of that country, by his politeness, eloquence, and wisdom (149). He excelled particularly in the arts of magic and divination; of which he gave the most illustrious proofs in all the countries through which he travelled (150). It was this Abaris who made the famous Palladium of the bones of Pelops, and sold it to the people of Troy (151). After he had visited many countries, and collected a great

(145) Leland. de Script. Brit. l. 1. p. 16. Balei Catalog. Script. illust. Brit. p. 11.

(146) Carte's Gen. Hist. Eng. v. 1. p. 52, &c.

(147) Diod. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. p. 159.

(148) Jamblic. vita Pythagor. p. 128.

(149) Strabo, l. 7. p. 301.

(150) Jamblic. c. 19. p. 131.

(151) Diction. Hist. de M. Bayle, v. Abaris. Note F.

quantity



quantity of gold, he set out on his return home; and in his way waited on Pythagoras, as Crotona in Italy. This renowned philosopher was so much charmed with Abaris, that he admitted him to his most intimate friendship; shewed him his golden thigh; revealed to him all the secrets of his philosophy, and persuaded him to stay with him and assist him in his school (152).

These two examples will probably be sufficient to convince our readers, that the genuine personal history of those learned men who flourished in this island before they began to commit their works to writing, is irrecoverably lost; and that those who pretend to give us some scraps of this history, entertain us with fables instead of facts.

It is impossible that learning can flourish, in any degree, in any country, without schools and academies for the education of youth, provided with proper teachers, and under proper regulations. We may therefore conclude in general, that the ancient Britons had such schools and seminaries of learning among them, before they were conquered by the Romans. Of this we have also sufficient positive evidence in the Greek and Roman writers, and information of several particulars relating to the constitution and circumstances of these most ancient academies, both in Gaul and Britain. It appears from these writers, that these schools of learning were wholly under the direction of the Druids, who were the only governors and teachers in them, to whose care the education of youth was entirely committed. These Druidical academies, particularly those of Britain, were very much crowded with students; as many of the youth of Gaul came over to finish their education in this island (153). The students, as well as teachers, were exempted from military services and from taxes; and enjoyed many other privileges, which contributed not a little to increase their number (154). The academies of the Druids, like their temples, were situated in the deepest recesses of woods and forests (155). They made choice of such situations, not only because they were

Seminaries  
of learning.

(152) Stanley's Hist. Philosoph. p. 513, 514.

(153) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

(154) Id. ibid.

(155) Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

most proper for study and contemplation, but chiefly because they were most suitable to that profound secrecy with which they instructed their pupils, and kept their doctrines from the knowledge of others (156). It seems indeed probable, that wherever the Druids had a temple of great note, attended by a considerable number of priests, there they had also an academy, in which such of those priests as were esteemed most learned were appointed to teach. The greatest of these ancient British academies, it is believed, was in the isle of Anglesey, near the mansion of the Archdruid, who had the chief direction in matters of learning as well as of religion (157). Here there is one place which is still called Myfyrion, i. e. the place of studies; another called Caer-Edris, the city of astronomers; and another Cerrig-Brudyn, the astronomers circle (158). The story of king Bladud, who is said to have flourished about 900 years before the birth of Christ, to have studied long at Athens, and after his return to have established a famous university at Stamford, is evidently legendary, and merits no regard (159). This ridiculous story is thus told by the old rhiming historian Harding (160):

Stanford he made, the Stanford hight this day,  
 In which he made an Univerfitee.  
 His philofophers, as Merlin doth faye,  
 Had Scholers fele, of great habillitee,  
 Studying ever alway in unitee,  
 In all the seven liberal fcience  
 For to purchafe wyfdome and fapience.

This fine tale was probably invented and propagated by those masters and scholars who abandoned Oxford, and endeavoured to establish an university at Stamford, in the reign of Edward III. (161). No greater regard is due to the monkish legend of the two universities founded by Brutus the Trojan, near the place where the truly famous university of Oxford now stands; which is thus related by John Rouse, the Warwick antiquary: "Our chronicles say that some very learned men came

(156) Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(157) Rowland's *Mona Antiq.* p. 84.

(158) *Id. ibid.*

(159) *Baleus Script.* Brit. p. 11.

(160) Harding's *Chron.* London, 1543. c. 27. fol. 23.

(161) A. Wood's *Hist. Univerf. Oxon.* p. 165, &c.



“ out of Greece into Britain with king Brutus, and  
 “ made choice of a place, which from them is still  
 “ called Greeklade, where they dwelt, and established  
 “ an univerfity. Among thefe learned Greeks, there  
 “ were fome who excelled in the knowledge of medi-  
 “ cine, who took up their refidence, and fixed their  
 “ physical fchool at a very healthy place not far diftant,  
 “ which from them is ftill called Leechlade (162).”  
 Thefe fchools, we are gravely told by the fame anti-  
 quary, were fome time after removed to the place where  
 Oxford now ftands, as being a more commodious and  
 pleafant fituation (163).

But though we cannot now difcover the particular Manner of teaching in thefe femi-  
naries. places where thefe moft ancient feminaries of learning were feated, we are not altogether fo ignorant of their conftitution, and of the manner in which the fciences were taught in them. The profefors delivered all their lectures to their pupils in verfe. This practice may appear fingular and difficult to us, but it was eafy and familiar in thofe poetic ages, when profe was hardly ever ufed but in common converfation, on the loweft fubjects. A Druidical courfe of education, comprehending the whole circle of the fciences which were then taught, is faid to have confifted of about twenty thoufand verfes (164). The kind of verfe in which it is imagined the Druids delivered their doctrines [to their fcholars, was that which is called by the Welch grammarians Englyn Milur, of which the following lines are a fhort fpecimen :

An lavar koth yu lavar guir  
 Bedh durn rē ver, dhan tavaz rēhir  
 Mez dēn heb davaz a gallaz i dir.

What's faid of old will always ftand :  
 Too long a tongue, too fhort a hand ;  
 But he that had no tongue loft his land (165).

The fcholars were not allowed to commit any of thefe verfes to writing, but were obliged to get them all by

(162) J. Roffi Hift. Ang. A. Tho. Hearne, edit. Oxon. p. 20.

(163) Id. p. 21.

(164) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwal, p. 85. La Religion de Gaul,

l. 3. p. 59.

(165) Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica, p. 251.

heart (166). This mode of education was far from being peculiar to the Druids of Gaul and Britain, but seems to have prevailed in all the nations of antiquity, even after the invention of letters (167). For even that most wonderful and useful invention was not brought into common use without much opposition, and many specious reasonings against it (168). Such is the attachment of mankind to their ancient customs, and their shyness to embrace the most valuable new inventions! This practice of committing every thing to memory made a learned education very tedious; and those who went through a complete course commonly spent about twenty years in the academy (169). When the youth were first admitted into these ancient seats of learning, they were obliged to take an oath of secrecy; in which they solemnly swore, never to reveal the mysteries which they should there learn (170). They were then also taken entirely out of the hands of their parents and friends, obliged to constant residence, and not permitted to converse with any but their teachers and fellow-students, until they were regularly dismissed (171). One lesson which the Druids inculcated very much upon all their pupils, was a supreme veneration for the persons and opinions of their teachers; which being deeply impressed upon their minds in their youth, never was obliterated (172). This circumstance contributed not a little to support the power and influence of the Druids; as all the principal persons in every state were educated in their academies, where they imbibed a high opinion of the dignity and wisdom of their instructors. We cannot now discover what particular emoluments or rewards the Druids received for their care of the education of youth, or whether they received these rewards from the public, or from their scholars. But in general we may conclude, that, as this province was entirely in their hands, the advantages they derived from it were very considerable.

(166) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

(167) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Corn. p. 84. atque auctor, ibi citat.

(168) Bulæi Hist. Univers. Paris. l. 1. p. 8.

(169) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(170) Bulæus, l. 1. p. 8.

(171) Golut. Axiom. de Druid. ax. 28.

(172) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6.

Though



Though the above account of the state of learning among the ancient Britons, before they were conquered by the Romans, is not so particular and satisfactory as we could have wished to make it, if history had afforded clearer lights; yet it is evidently sufficient to shew that our British ancestors did not wholly neglect the improvement of their minds and the cultivation of the sciences; and consequently that they did not deserve that contempt with which they have been treated by some of our own historians, nor the odious names of savages and barbarians, which have been so liberally bestowed on them, as well as on other nations, by the supercilious literati of Greece and Rome. It plainly appears that many of the youth of Britain were animated with the love of learning, and a taste for study, before their country was subdued by the Romans; and that this victorious people only put them under the direction of new masters, and gave a new turn to their studies, which we shall now endeavour to describe in as few words as possible.

The famous Julius Agricola (who was advanced to the government of Britain, A. D. 78.) was the first of the Roman governors of this island, who gave any considerable attention to the concerns of learning. This illustrious person being not only one of the greatest generals, but also one of the best and most learned men of the age in which he lived, took great pains to reconcile the provincial Britons to the Roman government, by introducing amongst them the Roman arts and sciences. With this view he persuaded the noble youth of Britain to learn the Latin language, and to apply to the study of the Roman eloquence (173). These persuasions were successful, because they were seasonable; and the British youth being deprived of their former instructors, by the destruction and expulsion of the Druids (which happened about this time), willingly put themselves under those teachers which were provided for them by the Romans. These youth applied with so much ardour to this new course of study, that they obliged Agricola very soon to declare that they excelled the youth of Gaul in genius and erudition (174). This declaration of so great a man

Learning of  
the ancient  
Britons not  
contemp-  
tible.

State of  
learning in  
Britain af-  
ter the  
Roman  
conquest.

(173) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

(174) Id. ibid.

was no doubt very flattering to these noble and ingenious youths, and contributed not a little to increase their love of the Roman learning.

Though it is not necessary to give a minute detail of the state of learning among the Romans at this period, as that belongs more properly to the Roman (175) than to the British history, yet it is certainly requisite to take a little notice of those particular sciences, which that victorious and intelligent people chiefly encouraged, in all the provinces of their empire, and particularly in Britain. These were grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, medicine, and law.

Latin and  
Greek lan-  
guages.

The Romans were at great pains to introduce the study and use of their own language into all the provinces of their empire. The study of this language was warmly recommended to the youth of Britain by the Roman governors of this island, who took care to provide them with masters to teach them to read, write, and speak it, at the public charge. At first these youth discovered a great dislike of the language, as well as to the persons of their conquerors; but by degrees they were brought to apply to the study of it with uncommon diligence and success (176). At length the knowledge of the Latin grammar became one of the first and most indispensable branches of a liberal education; and that language was so generally understood and spoken in this island, "that (to use an expression of Gildas, the most ancient of our historians) Britain might then have been more properly called a Roman than a British island (177)." The Greek tongue was still more universal than the Latin in this period; as it was almost the vernacular language of the eastern empire, and understood by all the literati of the West. This most beautiful and copious language was much admired and studied in this period, in all the provinces of the western empire; and all the chief cities of the provinces were provided with a competent number of Greek grammarians to instruct their youth in this branch of learning (178). To this universal taste

(175) Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3. de Medicis and Professoribus. Id. l. 14. tit. 11. de Studiis Liberalibus Urbis Romæ et Constant. Lugduni, A. D. 1605.

(176) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21. (177) Gildæ Hist. Brit. init.

(178) Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3. leg. 11. p. 40,

which



which then prevailed in the most remote provinces of the Roman empire, for the study of the languages and learning of Greece and Rome, Juvenal plainly alludes in the following line :

Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas (179).

Eloquence had long been the favourite study of the Eloquence. Greeks and Romans. While these illustrious nations enjoyed their liberties, their greatest orators were esteemed the greatest men, had the chief sway in all their public counsels, and were advanced to the highest honours in their respective states. Nay, so strong and prevalent was this taste for eloquence in the Romans, that it even survived their freedom, and operated very vigorously for several ages under the imperial government (180). Their governors encouraged the study of rhetoric in all the provinces of their empire; and in particular we find that Agricola warmly recommended this to the noble youth of Britain (181). These young men observing the high esteem in which orators were held by their conquerors, and that eloquence was the most effectual means of obtaining favour and preferment, they applied to the study and acquisition of it with great eagerness (182). This study became so universally fashionable in this period, that it afforded one of the satirical writers of these times a pretence for saying,

De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule (183).

The introduction of the Christian religion into this island, in this period, continued not a little to promote the study of the languages and of rhetoric, as well as of some other parts of learning. For though many of the first preachers of the gospel, both in Britain and in other countries, abounded more in zeal and piety, and perhaps in extraordinary gifts, than in human learning, yet when these extraordinary gifts were withdrawn, it became necessary for them to apply to the study of languages and of some other sciences. As the New Tes-

(179) Juvenal, sat. 15. v. 109.

(180) Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 14. tit. 1. leg. 1. p. 130.

(181) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

(182) Id. ibid.

(183) Juvenal. sat. 15. v. 111.

tament was written in Greek, some knowledge of that tongue in particular became necessary to all those Christians who desired to be acquainted with the genuine principles of their religion. Besides this, it was not long before Christianity began to be attacked, in all parts of the world, by the eloquence of rhetoricians, and the reasonings of philosophers, which made it necessary for the ministers of that religion to make themselves masters of those weapons, in order to employ them in its defence. Nay, those unhappy disputes and controversies which arose very early among Christians themselves, about the tenets of their religion, though they were attended with many bad effects, were productive of this good one, that they obliged those who were keenly engaged in them, to cultivate the arts of speaking, writing, and reasoning, in order to defend their favourite opinions.

**Philosophy.** As it is not the history of learning in general, but of learning in Great Britain, that we are now investigating, it would be very improper to enter upon a minute enumeration of all the different sects or schools of philosophers among the Greeks and Romans, and of the various tenets of these different schools; since it is certain that some of these were very little, or not at all, known in this island at this period. It is sufficient to take notice, that the two chief schools of philosophy were the academic and peripatetic; the former founded by Plato, and the latter by Aristotle (184). The greatest number of succeeding philosophers ranged themselves under the banners of one or other of these illustrious chiefs, and waged perpetual war against each other. At length the fury of this philosophic war was in some degree abated by the institution of a new sect of philosophers, and a new system of philosophy, which was called the eclectic. This mode of philosophizing had its beginning in the famous schools of Alexandria, about the end of the second century, and in a little time spread into all the provinces of the Roman empire. The distinguishing characteristic of these new philosophers was this, that they did not embrace the systems either of Plato or

(184) Stanley Hist. Philosoph. p. 155, &c. 351, &c. Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. tom. 1. p. 627, &c. 776, &c.



Aristotle, or of any of the other great philosophers who had founded sects, but selected out of all these systems what appeared to them most agreeable to truth. This specious appearance of candour and love of truth gained them many admirers; and it was on this account they were called eclectics, or selectors. But as they professed a peculiar veneration for Plato, and adopted the sentiments of that great philosopher concerning the Deity, the human soul, and invisible objects, they were also called the new Platonists, and their philosophy Reformed Platonism. As this was the most popular philosophy in these times, and was particularly embraced by all the learned men among the Christians, we have reason to believe that it was the philosophy that was chiefly admired and studied in Britain in this period (185).

Some parts of mathematical learning fell into great disgrace, and suffered a kind of proscription, in this period. This was chiefly owing to the gross impositions of certain pretenders to judicial astrology, who called themselves mathematicians; and to the increasing credulity and ignorance of the times, which could not very well distinguish between these impostors and men of real science. This at least is certain, that many severe laws were made by the Roman emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries against mathematicians, who were represented as guilty of the same crimes, and are threatened with the same punishments, with magicians and enchanters (186).

The study of medicine was long despised and neglected by the Romans, and physic was practised among them chiefly, if not only, by slaves and persons of the lowest rank (187). But by degrees this very necessary and useful science came to be more regarded, and its professors more respected and encouraged. Under the emperors, physicians were generally of free condition, and on the same respectable footing with other men of learning; many privileges and immunities were conferred upon them by law, and great care was taken to provide professors of medicine, and to encourage the stu-

(185) Vide Mosheim, Hist. Eccles. cent. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(186) Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 3. l. 9. tit. 16.

(187) Vide Con. Middleton. de Medicorum apud vet. Rom. Conditione Dissertat. in tom. 4. p. 179.

dy of it in all the provinces and great cities of the empire (188). As these laws in favour of physicians, and for the encouragement of the study of medicine, extended to Britain as well as to other provinces, many of the British youth were no doubt thereby engaged to apply to the study of that science.

Law.

As the Romans established their own government, courts of justice, and laws, in all the provinces of their empire, it became necessary for some of the inhabitants of each of these provinces to apply to the study of the Roman laws; that they might be able to explain these laws to their countrymen, and to act as advocates for them in the courts of justice. The provincials were much encouraged in this study by the Romans, who took care to provide proper schools and masters for their instruction (189). It seems to have been a custom in this period, that many of the British youth who applied to the study of the Roman laws, with a view of becoming pleaders, took a journey into Gaul, to finish their education in some of the public schools of that country (190).

Personal  
history of  
learned  
men.

Though the names, and some parts of the history, of many learned men who flourished in Gaul in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries are still preserved (191), it must be confessed that we know very little of the literati of Britain in these times. This is chiefly owing to the dreadful havoc which was made, first by the Scots and Picts, and afterwards by the Saxons, of the monuments of Roman arts and learning in this island. In these devastations the works, and, together with them, the names and memories of many learned men, undoubtedly perished; and very few of those whose names have been preserved are so well known, or so famous, as to merit a place in the general history of their country.

Sylvius  
Bonus.

Sylvius Bonus, or Coil the Good, was a learned Briton who flourished in the fourth century, and was cotemporary with the poet Ausonius, whose indignation he incurred by criticising his works. Ausonius wrote no fewer than six epigrams against Sylvius, in which he re-

(188) Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3.

(189) Id. l. 14. tit. 9.

(190) Gallia caudicos docuit facundā Britannos.

Juv. Sat. 15. v. 110.

(191) Vide Ausonii parentalia, & professores Burdigalensis.

proached



proached him chiefly on account of his country; for the sting of all these epigrams is this, "If Sylvius is good he is not a Briton, or if he is a Briton he is not good; for a Briton cannot be a good man (192)." This violent resentment of Aufonius against the people of Britain was probably excited by their having embraced the party of the usurper Maximus, who at the head of a British army conquered Gaul, and killed the emperor Gratian, who had been the pupil and friend of Aufonius (193). The odious character of the ancient Britons, which was drawn by Aufonius when his mind was inflamed with these violent political and national animosities, merits no regard. Though it is evident from the testimony of Aufonius that Sylvius was an author, yet his works are entirely lost and unknown; and the catalogue which is given of them by Bale, like many others of the catalogues of that writer, is certainly fictitious (194).

As the Christian religion generally prevailed in Britain, in the flourishing times of the Roman government, we may be certain that many of the ministers of that religion applied to the study of the Roman learning, that they might be the better qualified for illustrating and defending the principles of their religion. But as few or none of the writings of these most ancient fathers of the British church are now extant, and little is said of them in the writings of their contemporaries, we can know but little of their personal history, and of the extent of their erudition. St. Ninian, who was one of the chief instruments of propagating the Christian religion in the northern parts of this island, among the Scots and Picts, was a Briton of noble birth and excellent genius. After he had received as good an education at home as his own country could afford, he travelled for his further improvement, and spent several years at Rome, which was then the chief seat of learning, as well as of empire. From thence he returned into Britain, and spent his life

St. Ninian,  
St. Patrick,  
Pelagius,  
&c.

(192) Sylvius hic Bonus est. Quis Sylvius? Iste Britannus.  
Aut Brito hic non est Sylvius, aut malus est.

Aufon. Epigram.

(193) Leland. de Scrip. Brit. l. i. p. 32.

(194) Baleus de Illustrat. Script. Brit. p. 39.

in preaching the gospel in the most uncultivated parts of it, with equal zeal and success (195). St. Patrick, the famous apostle of the Irish, was also a Briton of a good family and ingenuous disposition. Having received the first part of his education at home, he travelled into Gaul, and studied a considerable time under the celebrated St. Germanus, bishop of Arles. From thence he went to Rome, where, by the greatness of his learning and sanctity of his manners, he gained the esteem and friendship of Cælestine, then bishop of that city, who advised him to employ his great talents in attempting to civilize and instruct the people of Ireland in the knowledge of the Christian religion. He was not unacquainted with that country, having been taken in his youth by pirates and carried into Ireland, where he spent some years. Having then beheld with compassion the general ignorance of that people, he cheerfully undertook the arduous task of their instruction and conversion (196). In this work he employed the remaining years of his life, and his pious and learned labours were crowned with the most astonishing success. But besides these and others who have been inrolled in the catalogue of saints, this island produced some men of learning in this period, who have been stigmatized as the most wicked and pertinacious heretics. Of this number was the famous heresiarch Pelagius, whose real name is believed to have been Morgan, of which Pelagius is a translation. He was born in that part of Britain which is now called North Wales, on the 13th of November, A. D. 354, the same day with his great antagonist St. Augustin (197). He received a learned education in his own country, most probably in the great monastery of Banchor near Chester, to the government of which he was advanced, A. D. 404 (198). He was long esteemed and loved by St. Jerome and St. Augustin, who kept up a friendly correspondence with him by letters, before they discovered the heretical pravity of his opinions. For Pelagius being a cautious and artful man, for some time vented his peculiar notions as

(195) Baleus de Illust. Script. Brit. p. 42.

(196) Baleus de Illust. Script. Brit. p. 43. Lelandus de Script. Brit. p. 36.

(197) Ufferius de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 207, &c.

(198) Id. *ibid.* p. 208.



the sentiments of others, without discovering that they were his own (199). At length, however, he threw off the mask, and openly published and defended his doctrines at Rome, about the beginning of the fifth century (200). This involved him in many troubles, and drew upon him the indignation of his former friends, St. Jerome and St. Augustin, who wrote against him with great acrimony. He is acknowledged, even by his adversaries, to have been a man of good sense and great learning, and an acute disputant, though they load him with the most bitter reproaches for his abuse of these talents. His personal blemishes are painted in very strong colours, and he is represented by these good fathers, in the heat of their zeal, as a very ugly fellow, "broad shouldered, thick-necked, fat-headed, lame of a leg, and blind of an eye (201)." Even the most northern parts of this island produced some men of learning in this period. Celestius, the disciple and friend of Pelagius, was a Scotsman, who made a prodigious noise in the world by his writings and disputations about the beginning of the fifth century (202). He defended and propagated the peculiar opinions of his master Pelagius, with so much learning, zeal, and success, that those who embraced these opinions were frequently called Celestians (203). Before he became acquainted with these doctrines he wrote several books which were universally admired for their orthodoxy, learning, and virtuous tendency (204). After he had spent his youth in his own country in a studious privacy, he travelled for his further improvement to Rome, where he became acquainted with Rufinus and Pelagius, and was by them infected with their heresies (205). From that time he became the most indefatigable and undaunted champion of these heresies, and thereby brought upon himself the indignation of the orthodox fathers of those days, who gave him many very bad names in their writings. St. Jerome, whose commentaries on the Ephesians he had

(199) Usserius de Brit. Eccles. primord, p. 205.

(200) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1, c. 10.

(201) Usser. de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 207.

(202) Id. p. 208.

(203) St. Augustin. de Heres. c. 88.

(204) Gennad. Catalog. Vir. Illust. c. 44.

(205) Usser. de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 205.

presumed to criticize, calls him “ an ignorant; stupid  
 “ fool, having his belly swelled and distended with Scots  
 “ pottage; a great, corpulent, barking dog, who was  
 “ fitter to kick with his heels, than to bite with his  
 “ teeth; a Cerberus, who with his master Pluto (Pela-  
 “ gius) deserved to be knocked on the head, that they  
 “ might be put to eternal silence (206).” Such were the  
 flowers of rhetoric which these good fathers employed  
 against the enemies of the orthodox faith! But candour  
 obliges us to observe, that this was perhaps more the vice  
 of the age in which they lived, than of the men. Both  
 Pelagius and Celestius were very great travellers; having  
 visited many different countries of Asia and Africa, as well  
 as Europe, with a view to elude the persecutions of their  
 enemies, and to propagate their opinions (207). It is no  
 inconsiderable evidence of their superior learning and abi-  
 lities, that their opinions gained great ground in all the  
 provinces both of the eastern and western empire, in  
 spite of the writings of many learned fathers and the de-  
 crees of many councils against them. “ The Pelagian  
 “ and Celestian heresy (says Photius) not only flourished  
 “ in great vigour in the West, but was also propagated  
 “ into the East (208).”

Seminaries  
 of learning.

The Romans were at great pains to diffuse the use of  
 their language, and the knowledge of their learning, in-  
 to all the provinces of their empire. With this view  
 they established schools in all the most proper places of  
 these provinces; in which the youth were taught the  
 Latin language, and sometimes the Greek, and other  
 parts of learning. The Theodosian Code abounds with  
 edicts relating to these schools; regulating the number  
 and qualifications of their professors; the manner in  
 which they were to be chosen; the sciences which they  
 were to teach; the salaries which they were to receive;  
 and the immunities of various kinds which they and  
 their families were to enjoy (209). One of the most re-  
 markable of those edicts is that of the emperor Gratian,  
 which was promulgated A. D. 376; and being directed  
 to the præfect of Gaul, it extended to Britain, which was

(206) Uffer. de Brit. Eccles. primord. p. 207.

(207) Ibid. p. 217.

(208) Phot. Bibliothec. num. 45.

(209) Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 3.



under his government. By this law all the edicts of former emperors, in favour of these provincial schools, were confirmed and enforced; and the præfect is commanded to establish such schools in all the considerable towns, particularly in all the capitals of the several provinces under his command (210). Though we cannot therefore give a detail of the places where these Roman schools in this island were seated, the times when they were erected, and other circumstances, yet we have reason to conclude that there were a considerable number of them in it; that some, perhaps the first of them, were established by the famous Agricola, and others by succeeding governors, at different times. In particular, we may almost be certain that there were seminaries of learning established in those times at Lincoln, York, Chester, and Caerleon, which were Roman colonies, and at London, which was a rich and populous city, the capital of Provincial Britain, and probably in several other places. So great a number of illustrious schools, in which the languages and sciences were taught at the public expence, must both have diffused a taste for learning among the people of Britain, and afforded them a favourable opportunity of gratifying that taste.

The Roman provinces in this island were in a very unsettled state from about the middle of the fourth century to their final dissolution, having been often disturbed by internal tumults and usurpations, and frequently harassed on one side by the incursions of the Scots and Picts, and on the other by the depredations of the Saxons (211). In this period, therefore, we may be certain that learning began to decline and languish. But when the Romans took their final farewell of this island, peace, order, civility, and science departed with them; and this wretched country was soon after plunged into the most deplorable darkness and ignorance, as well as confusion. For the greatest part of the learned men of these times, being either Romans by birth, or encouraged and protected by them, they accompanied their countrymen and patrons to the continent; and the few who stayed behind were soon destroyed, or driven from their

Decay of  
learning in  
Britain.

(210) Vide Cod. Theod. tom. 5. leg. 11.

(211) See Chap. I.

studies, by the barbarous invaders of their country. In a little time every establishment in favour of learning fell to the ground, and the schools for education were demolished or deserted. The most ancient of our own historians, Gildas, hath drawn a most shocking picture of the ignorance, as well as of the vices of the Christian clergy of Britain in these times. " Britain (said he) hath priests, but they are ignorant and foolish, &c. (212)." The great success which Cælestius, Agricola, and the other disciples of Pelagius had in propagating their opinions in this island, was chiefly owing to the general ignorance of the British clergy; who being conscious of their own inability to defend their faith against these adversaries, sent into Gaul, where learning was in a more flourishing state, for assistance in this dispute (213). Germanus, who was sent by the bishops of Gaul on this occasion, having defeated the champions of Pelagianism, and banished that heresy out of Britain; imagining that the revival of learning would be the most effectual means of preventing its return, he established several schools, which he put under the direction of some of his most learned followers (214). But the history of these new establishments falls more properly within the succeeding period, and will make a part of the fourth chapter of the second book of this work.

(212) Gildæ Epist. § 2.

(213) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

(214) Leland's Collectanea, v. 2. p. 42.



THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

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B O O K I .

C H A P . V .

*The history of the arts in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

**A**S artists of various kinds constitute a great body of Importance  
the citizens of every civilized nation, and by their <sup>of the arts.</sup>  
skill and industry contribute not a little to the wealth  
and prosperity of the state, as well as to the happiness of  
all its members, it cannot be inconsistent with the dig-  
nity or ends of history to record the invention and pro-  
gress of the most useful arts, and to preserve the memory  
of the most ingenious artists. Besides this, a careful in-  
vestigation of the state of the arts among any people, in  
any period of their history, is one of the best means of  
discovering their genius, manners, and circumstances in  
that period. For these reasons, and others which need  
not be particularly mentioned, the fifth chapter of every

book of this work is to contain a brief delineation of the state of the arts in this island, in the period which is the subject of that book.

Division of  
the arts into  
necessary  
and pleas-  
ing.

The design of all the arts being either to supply the necessities or promote the pleasures of mankind, they may not improperly be divided into two classes; the one of which may be called that of the necessary, and the other that of the pleasing arts. The necessary arts are those which are employed in providing food, lodging, clothing, and defence, which are necessary to the sustenance and preservation of human life. The pleasing arts are those which cannot be said to be necessary to the support of life, but contribute very much to its happiness, by charming the senses, delighting the imagination, and filling the mind with agreeable feelings of various kinds.

Necessary  
arts.

Nothing is so necessary to the preservation of life as a sufficient quantity of food, and therefore the procuring of this hath always been the first object of the art and industry of mankind in all countries. It is indeed true, that there are very few countries in which a small number of human creatures may not sustain a wretched life, without either art or industry, by eating without dressing what the earth produceth without cultivation; and it is not improbable that the first savage inhabitants of this island, as well as of many other countries, subsisted for some time in this miserable manner (1).

Hunting,  
&c.

But as the spontaneous productions of the earth in this climate, which are suited to the sustenance of the human body, are not very plentiful, and are in a great measure destroyed in the winter season, the first inhabitants of Britain would soon be under a necessity of looking out for some more abundant and permanent means of subsistence; and could not fail to cast their eyes on the prodigious number of animals of various kinds with which they were surrounded on all hands. Some of these animals excelling men in swiftness, others exceeding them in strength and fierceness; some concealing themselves under water, and others flying up into the air, far beyond their reach; it became necessary to invent a multitude of arts, to get these animals into their pos-

(1) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1, p. 76, 77.



feffion, in order to feed upon them. This gave rife to the arts of hunting, fowling, and fifhing, which are, and always have been the moft ferious employments of favage nations, and the chief means of their fubfiftence. The ancient Germans, when they were not engaged in war, fpent a great part of their time in hunting; and fo, no doubt, did the moft ancient Britons (2). Even in the beginning of the third century, all the unconquered Britons who dwelt beyond Hadrian's wall, lived chiefly on the prey which they took in hunting (3). The poems of Offian the fon of Fingal (who flourifhed in thefe parts in that age) abound in descriptions of hunting, which he makes the only bufinefs of his heroes in times of peace (4). It appears alfo from thefe poems, that the Britons were not unacquainted with the art of catching birds with hawks trained for that purpofe (5): but they feem to have been abfolutely ignorant of the art of catching fifh; for there is not fo much as one allufion to that art in all the works of that venerable bard. Their ignorance of this art is both confirmed and accounted for by Dio Niceus, who affures us, "That the ancient Britons never tafte<sup>d</sup> fifh, though they had innumerable multitudes of them in their feas, lakes, and rivers (6)." By the bye, we may obferve, that this agreement between the poems of Offian and the Greek hiftorian, in a circumftance fo fingular, is at once a proof of the genuine antiquity of thefe poems; and that the Greek and Roman writers were not fo ill informed about the affairs and manners of the ancient Britons as fome have imagined.

Though fome of the inhabitants of this ifland, even *Pafturage.* after it was invaded by the Romans, lived chiefly by hunting, yet others of them, long before that period, had either invented themfelves, or had been taught by others, a more effectual art of procuring a plentiful fupply of animal food. This was the art of *pafturage*, or of feeding flocks and herds of tame animals. This art or way of life is peculiarly agreeable to a people emerging from the favage ftate, becaufe it requires no

(2) Cæfar de Bel. Gal. 4. c. 7.

(3) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(4) See the Poems of Offian paffim.

(5) Id. the battle of Lora.

(6) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Nerone.

great degree of labour and industry, to which they are averſe, and gratifies their roaming unfettled diſpoſition. Paſturage was accordingly the great employment, and the chief means of ſubſiſtence of the far greateſt part of the inhabitants of this iſland when it was firſt invaded by the Romans. Many of the ancient Britiſh nations are thought, by ſome antiquaries, to have derived their names from the paſtoral life, and from the particular kinds of cattle which they chiefly tended (7). “ The iſland of Britain (ſays Cæſar) abounds in cattle; and the greateſt part of thoſe within the country never ſow their lands, but live on fleſh and milk (8).” Even in the moſt northern extremities of Britain, where the people depended moſt on hunting, they were not altogether deſtitute of flocks and herds of cattle (9). But theſe ancient Britiſh ſhepherds ſeem to have been ignorant of ſome of the moſt uſeful parts of their art, till they were inſtructed in them by the Romans. We have no reaſon to think that they were acquainted with the art of caſtrating animals, in order to meliorate their fleſh; and we know from good authority, that they were many of them ignorant of the art of making cheeſe (10). One of the moſt learned antiquaries thinks it probable that Scribonius, phyſician to the emperor Claudius, was the firſt who inſtructed the Britons in theſe uſeful arts (11).

Agriculture.

The next ſtep from paſturage in every country hath been to agriculture (12). This moſt uſeful of all arts, and the parent of ſo many others, was not wholly unknown in this iſland before the Roman invaſion, though it is difficult to diſcover when it was introduced, and how far it had then advanced. Both the Greeks and Phœnicians had viſited Britain long before the Romans invaded it; but as theſe viſits were only tranſient, and for the ſake of trade, it is uncertain whether they took the trouble to inſtruct the natives in agriculture. It is more probable that the knowledge and practice of this art was brought hither by ſome of thoſe colonies which

(7) Carte's Hiſt Eng. v. 1. p. 108. note.

(8) Cæſar's de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 10.

(9) Oſſian's Poems, v. 1. p. 31. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(10) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

(11) Muſgrave Belgium Eritannicum, p. 47, 48.

(12) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. b. 2. p. 85.



came from the coasts of Gaul and settled here. These emigrants having been employed in agriculture in their own country, pursued the same employment in their new settlements. This was the opinion of Cæsar. "The sea-coasts are inhabited by colonies from Belgium, which having established themselves in Britain, began to cultivate the soil (13)." Agriculture was perhaps little known in this island till about 150 years before the beginning of the Christian æra, when great multitudes of Celtic Gauls, being expelled their native seats between the Rhine and the Seine, by the Belgæ from Germany, took shelter in the south of Britain, where they met with a favourable reception, and formed several small states (14). These states received reinforcements from time to time from the same coasts, whose inhabitants were then called Belgæ, and practised husbandry; a way of life which they were encouraged to pursue in Britain by the fertility of the soil, which produced all kinds of grain in great plenty and perfection (15). If we could depend on the testimony of Geoffrey of Monmouth, we should be led to think that agriculture had been in great esteem in Britain several ages before the period above mentioned. For that writer acquaints us, that it was declared by one of the laws of Dunwallo Molmutius (who is said to have reigned over all Britain about five centuries before the birth of Christ), that the ploughs of the husbandmen, as well as the temples of the gods, should be sanctuaries to such criminals as fled to them for protection (16). But this is unquestionably one of the many improbable fables related by that author; and the law to which he alludes was evidently of a much later date. Upon the whole, the truth seems to be, that though agriculture might be practised a little by a few of the more ancient Britons, yet it was chiefly introduced by the Belgic Gauls, about a century before the Roman invasion, and almost wholly confined to them till after that event.

Very few of the peculiar practices of the most ancient British husbandmen are preserved in history. It appears Manuscs.

(13) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(14) Musgrave Belgium Britannicum, p. 94.

(15) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(16) Gaufrid. Monumut. b. 2. c. 17.

that

that they were not unacquainted with the use of manures, for renewing and increasing the fertility of their grounds; and that besides those which were common in other countries, they had one peculiar to themselves and the Gauls. This was marle. “The people of Gaul and Britain (says Pliny) have found out another kind of manure for their grounds; which is a fat clay or earth, called marle, of which they entertain a very high opinion (17).” The same writer, after enumerating and describing several different kinds of marle, proceeds thus: “Of those marles which are esteemed the fattest, the white ones are most valuable. Of these there are several kinds. First, that one already described which hath the most sharp and piquant taste. Another kind is the white chalky marle, much used by silversmiths. For this they are sometimes obliged to sink shafts one hundred feet deep, where they find the vein spreading broader, as in other mines of metals, It is this kind of marle which is most used in Britain. Its effects are found to continue eighty years: and no man was ever yet known to have manured the same field with this marle twice in his lifetime (18).” It is highly probable that lime was also used as a manure by the ancient Britons; because we know with certainty that it was so used in Gaul, from whence the knowledge of it might easily be brought into Britain (19).

Implements  
and prac-  
tices.

The instruments and methods of ploughing, sowing, and reaping in Britain were no doubt the same as in Gaul, from whence they were brought; and these probably were not very different from those which were used in Italy in these times, which are so copiously described by the Roman writers on agriculture (20). Diodorus Siculus hath preserved some remarkable particulars relating to the manner in which the most ancient British husbandmen preserved their corns after they were reaped, and prepared them for use. “The Britons, when they have reaped their corns, by cutting the ears from the stubble, lay them up for preservation, in subterraneous caves or granaries. From thence; they say, in

(17) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 17. c. 6.

(18) Id l. 17. c. 8.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Vide Scriptores Rei Rusticæ a Gesnero, edit. Lipsiæ 1735.

“very



“ very ancient times, they used to take a certain quantity  
 “ of these ears every day, and having dried and buruised  
 “ the brains, made a kind of food of them for imme-  
 “ diate use (21).” Though these methods were very  
 slovenly and imperfect, they were not peculiar to the an-  
 cient Britons, but were practised by many other nations;  
 and some vestiges of them were not long ago remaining  
 in the western isles of Scotland. “ The ancient way of  
 “ dressing corn, which is still used in several isles, is  
 “ called Graddan, from the Irish word Grad, which  
 “ signifies quick. A woman sitting down takes a hand-  
 “ ful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand,  
 “ and then sets fire to the ears, which were presently  
 “ in a flame; she has a stick in her right hand, which  
 “ she manages very dexterously, beating off the grain  
 “ at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt, for  
 “ if she mis of that she must use the kiln; but expe-  
 “ rience has taught them this art to perfection. The  
 “ corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and bak-  
 “ ed within an hour (22).”

As soon as the Romans had obtained a firm establish-  
 ment in Britain, agriculture began to be very much im-  
 proved and extended. This was an art in which that  
 renowned people greatly delighted, and which they en-  
 couraged in all the provinces of their empire. “ When  
 “ the Romans (says Cato) designed to bestow the highest  
 “ praise on a good man, they used to say, he under-  
 “ stands agriculture well, and is an excellent husband-  
 “ man; for this was esteemed the greatest and most  
 “ honourable character, &c. (23).” As soon therefore as  
 the Romans had subdued any of the British states, they  
 endeavoured, by various means, to bring their new sub-  
 jects to cultivate their lands, in order to render their  
 conquest more valuable. The tribute of a certain quan-  
 tity of corn, which they imposed on these states as they  
 fell under their dominion, obliged the people to apply to  
 agriculture (24). The colonies of veterans (who were  
 as expert at guiding the plough as at wielding the sword)

Agriculture  
 improved  
 bc the Ro-  
 mans.

(21) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 347. edit. Amstelodam. 1746. Varro de  
 Re Rustica, c. 37.

(22) Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, p. 204.

(23) Cato de Re Rustica, Proem.

(24) Heineccii Opera, tom. 4. p. 262, 263.

which

which they planted in the most convenient places, set before the native Britons an example both of the methods and advantages of this art. In a word, the Romans, by their power, policy, and example, so effectually reconciled the Britons to the cultivation of their lands, that in a little time this island became one of the most plentiful provinces of the empire, and not only produced a sufficient quantity of corn for the support of its own inhabitants and the Roman troops, but afforded every year a great surplus for exportation. This became an object of so great importance, that a fleet of ships was provided for this particular service of bringing corn from Britain; and capacious granaries were built on the opposite continent for the reception of that corn; which from thence was conveyed into Germany and other countries, for the use of the Roman armies. “He also built new granaries (says Ammianus Marcellinus of the emperor Julian) in the room of those which had been burnt by the enemy, into which he might put the corn usually brought from Britain (25).” The great number of the ships which were employed by the same emperor, A. D. 359, in bringing corn from this island, must give us a very high idea of the fertility and cultivation of it in these times. “Having collected prodigious quantities of timber from the woods on the banks of the Rhine, he built a fleet of eight hundred ships, larger than the common barks, which he sent to Britain, to bring corn from thence. When this corn arrived he sent it up the Rhine in boats, and furnished the inhabitants of those towns and countries which had been plundered by the enemy, with a sufficient quantity to support them during the winter, to sow their lands in the spring, and to maintain them till next harvest (26).” So great and happy are the effects of well-directed industry! To enumerate the many improvements in husbandry which were introduced by the Romans, and produced this amazing plenty, would swell this article beyond all proportion. They may be seen at large in the writers quoted below (27).

(25) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 18. c. 2. cum Notis Valefii.

(26) Zofimi Hist. l. 3.

(27) Scriptores Rei Rusticæ veteres Latini a Gesnero, edit. Lipsiæ, A. D. 1735. 2 tom. quarto,



The far greatest part of the ancient Britons were as Gardening.  
 ignorant of gardening as of husbandry, before they were  
 subdued and instructed by the Romans. "The people  
 " of Britain (says Strabo) are generally ignorant of the  
 " art of cultivating gardens, as well as of other parts of  
 " agriculture (28)." Like the ancient Germans, they  
 made use of herbs and fruits, but they were such as grew  
 in the fields and woods without cultivation. But no  
 sooner were the Romans settled in Britain, than they  
 began to plant orchards and cultivate gardens, and found  
 by experience, "That the soil and climate were very  
 " fit for all kinds of fruit-trees, except the vine and the  
 " olive; and for all plants and vegetables, except a few  
 " which were peculiar to hotter countries (29)." In a  
 little time, when they became better acquainted with the  
 country, they even found that some parts of it were not  
 unfit for vineyards, and obtained permission from the  
 emperor Probus to plant vines and make wine in Britain,  
 about A. D. 278 (30). In a word, the Romans prac-  
 tised themselves, and instructed their British subjects in  
 all the branches of agriculture, and in every art which  
 was then known in the world, for making the earth yield  
 her most precious gifts in the greatest abundance, for  
 the support and comfort of human life. We have even  
 reason to believe, that provincial Britain was better cul-  
 tivated, and in all respects a more plentiful and pleasant  
 country while it was under the dominion of the Romans,  
 than it was at any time for more than a thousand years  
 after their departure. So beneficial, in some respects,  
 it may sometimes prove to a people who are but just  
 emerging from the savage state, to be brought under the  
 dominion of a more enlightened nation, when that na-  
 tion hath the wisdom and humanity to protect, to polish,  
 and instruct, instead of destroying, the people whom it  
 hath subdued!

We have sufficient evidence that the knowledge of Gradual  
progress of  
agriculture.  
 agriculture, and indeed of all the other arts, entered Bri-  
 tain at the south-east corner, and travelled by slow and  
 gradual steps towards the north-west; but it is very diffi-  
 cult to trace the progress of these arts, or to discover how

(28) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

(29) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(30) Scriptoris Hist. August. p. 942.

far they had advanced in this period. With regard to agriculture, we are assured by a contemporary and well-informed author, that it had advanced no farther than the wall of Hadrian in the beginning of the third century. For when the emperor Severus invaded Caledonia, A. D. 207, we are told, “ That the Maxæatæ and “ Caledonians (who possessed all the island beyond the “ wall of Hadrian) inhabited barren uncultivated moun- “ tains, or desert marshy plains; that they had neither “ walls, towns, nor cultivated lands; but lived on the “ flesh and milk of their flocks and herds, on what they “ got by plunder or caught by hunting, and on the “ fruits of trees (31).” The Maxæatæ and Caledonians having been obliged by Severus to yield up a part of their country to the Romans, that industrious people, in the course of the third century, built several towns and stations, constructed high-ways, cut down woods, drained marshes, and introduced agriculture into the country between the walls, many parts of which are very level, fertile, and fit for tillage (32). Though the Romans never formed any large or lasting establishments to the north of the wall between the Forth and Clyde, yet many of them, and of the provincial Britons, retired into Caledonia at different times and on various accounts, particularly about the end of the third century, to escape from the Dioclesian persecution. It is therefore highly probable that these refugees instructed the people among whom they settled, not only in their religion, but also in their arts, particularly agriculture. The eastern coasts of Caledonia were remarkably fit for culture, and the Picts who inhabited these coasts were very early acquainted with agriculture, which they undoubtedly learned from the Romans or the provincial Britons. The name which was given to the Caledonians of the East by those of the West was Cruitnich, which signifies wheat or corn eaters; a proof that they were husbandmen (33). We have even some reason to believe, that the Caledonians of the West (who in the fourth century began to be called Scots), though they were of a more restless and wandering disposition than those of the East, and their

(31) Xiphilin. ex Dio. Nicæo in Sever.

(33) Works of Ossian, v. 1. Dissert. p. 5.

(32) Id. *ibid.*



country more mountainous, and not so fit for cultivation, were not altogether ignorant of agriculture in this period. For St. Jerome reproaches Celestius, who was a Scotsman, "That his belly was swelled or distended with Scots pottage or hafty-pudding (34)." This is at least a proof that in the beginning of the fifth century the Scots, or western Caledonians, lived partly upon meal; a kind of food to which they had been absolute strangers about two hundred years before, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus.

In those very ancient times, when the first inhabitants of this island were ignorant of agriculture, they were no less ignorant of architecture; and as they had no better food than the spontaneous productions of the earth, or the animals which they took in hunting, so they had no better lodgings than thickets, dens, and caves. This appears to have been the state of many other ancient nations, as well as of the ancient Britons (35). Some of these caves, which were their winter-habitations and places of retreat in time of war, were formed and rendered secure and warm by art, like those of the ancient Germans, which are thus described by Tacitus: "They are used to dig deep caves in the ground and cover them with earth, where they lay up their provisions, and dwell in winter for the sake of warmth. Into those they retire also from their enemies, who plunder the open country, but cannot discover these subterraneous recesses (36)." Some of the subterraneous, or earth-houses, as they are called, are still remaining in the western isles of Scotland and in Cornwall (37). The summer habitations of the most ancient Britons were very slight; and, like those of the Fennians, consisted only of

Britons as ignorant of architecture as of agriculture.

(34) St. Hieron. Comment. in Jeremiah.

(35) Tum primum subieri domos. Domus antra fecerunt;  
Et densæ frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.

Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam  
In terris, visamque diu; cum frigida parvas  
Præberit spelunca domos.

Juv. Sat. 6.

(36) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 16.

(37) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 154. Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Corn. p. 292, 293.

a few stakes driven into the ground, interwoven with wattles, and covered over with the boughs of trees (38).

Houses of  
the Britons.

When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, the inhabitants of Cantium (Kent) and of some other parts in the South, had learned to build houses a little more substantial and convenient. "The country (says Cæsar) abounds in "houses, which very much resemble those of Gaul (39)." The first step towards this improvement seems to have been that of daubing the wattled walls of their houses with clay, to fill up the chinks and make them warmer. "The Germans used for this purpose a kind of pure resplendent earth of different colours, which had an appearance of painting at a distance (40);" but the Gauls and Britons chose rather to whitewash the clay after it was dry with chalk (41). Instead of the boughs of trees, they thatched these houses with straw, as a much better security against the weather. They next proceeded to form the walls of large beams of wood, instead of stakes and wattles. This seems to have been the mode of building in Britain, when it was first invaded by the Romans. "The Britons (says Diodorus Siculus, who was contemporary with Cæsar) dwell in wretched cottages, which "are constructed of wood, covered with straw (42)." These wooden houses of the ancient Gauls and Britons were not square but circular, with high tapering roofs, at the top or center of which was an aperture for the admission of light and emission of smoke. Those of Gaul are thus described by Strabo: "They build their houses "of wood, in the form of a circle, with lofty tapering "roofs (43)." The foundations of some of the most magnificent of these circular houses were of stone, of which there are some vestiges still remaining in Anglesey and other places (44). It was probably in imitation of these wooden houses, that the most ancient stone edifices, of which there are still some remains in the western islands

(38) Tacit. de mor. German. c. 46.

(39) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. i. 5. c. 12.

(40) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 16.

(41) Baxt. Gloss. Brit. voce Candida casa, p. 65.

(42) Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. 8.

(43) Strabo, l. 5. p. 197.

(44) Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 88, 89.



of Scotland, were built circular, and have a large aperture at the top (45).

When the Britons were invaded by the Romans they had nothing among them answering to our ideas of a city or town, consisting of a great number of contiguous houses, disposed into regular streets, lanes, and courts. Their dwellings, like those of the ancient Germans, were scattered about the country, and generally situated on the brink of some rivulet for the sake of water, and on the skirt of some wood or forest, for the conveniency of hunting, and pasture for their cattle (46). As these inviting circumstances were more conspicuous in some parts of the country than others, the princes and chiefs made choice of these places for their residence; and a number of their friends and followers, for various reasons, built their houses as near to them as they could with conveniency. This naturally produced an ancient British town, which is described by Cæsar and Strabo in the following manner: "From the Cassi he learnt that the town of Cassivelaun was at no great distance, a place defended by woods and marshes, in which very great numbers of men and cattle were collected. For what the Britons call a town, is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a mound and ditch, for the security of themselves and their cattle against the incursions of their enemies (47)." "The forests of the Britons are their cities. For when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for long duration (48)." The palaces of the British princes were probably built of the same materials, and on the same plan, with the houses of their subjects, and differed from them only in solidity and magnitude (49).

Though the communication between this island and the continent was more free and open after the first Roman invasion than it had been before, and some of the British princes and chieftains even visited Rome, then in

Britons made little progress in architecture between the

(45) M'Pherson's Dissertations, Dissert. 17.

(46) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 16. Vita Agric. c. 21.

(47) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 21.

(48) Strabo. l. 4. p. 200.

(49) Oſian's Poems, v. 2. 36.

first and second invasion.

its greatest glory; it doth not appear that the people of Britain made any considerable improvements in their manner of building for at least a hundred years after that invasion. For when the renowned Caractacus was carried prisoner to Rome, A. D. 52, and observed the beauty and magnificence of the buildings in that proud metropolis of the world, he is said to have expressed great surprize, "That the Romans, who had such magnificent palaces of their own, should envy the wretched cabbins of the Britons (50)."

Stonehenge.

It must appear very surprizing that the ancient Britons, when they were so ignorant of architecture, were capable of erecting so stupendous a fabric as that of Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain. A fabric which hath been the admiration of all succeeding ages, and hath outlasted all the solid and noble structures which were erected by the Romans in this island. If this was really the work of the ancient Britons, it was probably planned by the Druids, and executed under their direction, at the common expence, and by the united power of all the British states, to be the chief temple of their Gods, and perhaps the sepulchre of their kings, and the place of their general assemblies. For it is well known, that when a people are cordially united under the direction of skilful leaders, and animated by two such powerful motives, as an ardent zeal for their religion, and for the glory of their country, they will perform achievements and execute works which could hardly be expected from them. However this may be, we have sufficient evidence that the people of Britain, before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans, had but little knowledge of architecture, and were very meanly lodged.

Roman architecture in Britain.

But as soon as the Romans began to form settlements and plant colonies in this island, a sudden and surprizing change ensued in the state of architecture. For that wonderful people were as industrious as they were brave, and made haste to adorn every country that they conquered. The first Roman colony was planted at Camulodunum, A. D. 50, and when it was destroyed by the Britons in their great revolt under Boadicia only eleven



years after, it appears to have been a large and well-built town, adorned with statues, temples, theatres, and other public edifices. This we learn incidentally from Tacitus, when he is giving an account of the prodigies which were reported to have happened in that place, and to have announced its approaching destruction. Amongst others, “ the statue of Victory tumbled down, without any visible violence, in the hall where public business was transacted, the confused murmurs of strangers were heard, and the theatre resounded with dismal howlings (51).” The temple of Claudius at Camulodunum was at that time so large a building that it contained the whole garrison, who took shelter in it after the rest of the town was destroyed, and so strong that it stood a siege of two days against all the British army (52). But London affords a still more striking example of the rapid progress of the Roman architecture in this island. There was either no town in that place, or at most only a British town or inclosed forest, at the time of the first Roman invasion; nor is there any reason to suppose that it was much improved between that and the second invasion under Claudius (53). But in about sixteen years after it came into the possession of the Romans, it became a rich, populous, and beautiful city.

The Romans not only built a prodigious number of solid, convenient, and magnificent structure for their own accommodation, but they exhorted, encouraged, and instructed the Britons to imitate their example. This was one of the arts which Agricola, the most excellent of the Roman governors, employed to civilize the Britons, and reconcile them to the Roman government. “ The following winter (says Tacitus) was spent by Agricola in very salutary measures. That the Britons, who led a roaming and unsettled life, and were easily instigated to war, might contract a love to peace and tranquillity, by being accustomed to a more pleasant way of living, he exhorted and assisted them to build houses, temples, courts, and market-places. By praising the diligent and reproaching the indolent, he

Romans instructed the Britons in architecture,

(51) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 32.

(52) Id. ibid.

(53) Ibid. l. 14. c. 33.

“ excited so great an emulation among the Britons, that  
 “ after they had erected all those necessary edifices in  
 “ their towns, they proceeded to build others merely  
 “ for ornament and pleasure, as porticoes, galleries,  
 “ baths, banqueting houses, &c. (54)” From this time,  
 which was A. D. 80, to the middle of the fourth cen-  
 tury, architecture, and all the arts immediately con-  
 nected with it, greatly flourished in this island; and the  
 same taste for erecting solid, convenient, and beautiful  
 buildings, which had long prevailed in Italy, was intro-  
 duced into Britain. Every Roman colony and free city  
 (of which there was a great number in this country) was  
 a little Rome, encompassed with strong walls, adorned  
 with temples, palaces, courts, halls, basiliks, baths,  
 markets, aqueducts, and many other fine buildings,  
 both for use and ornament. The country every where  
 abounded with well-built villages, towns, forts, and  
 stations; and the whole was defended by that high and  
 strong wall, with its many towers and castles, which  
 reached from the mouth of the river Tine on the east,  
 to the Solway Firth on the west. This spirit of build-  
 ing, which was introduced and encouraged by the Ro-  
 mans, so much improved the taste, and increased the  
 number of the British builders, that in the third century  
 this island was famous for the great number and excel-  
 lence of its architects and artificers. When the emperor  
 Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, rebuilt the  
 city of Autun in Gaul, A. D. 296, he was chiefly  
 furnished with workmen from Britain. “ which (says  
 “ Eumenius) very much abounded with the best arti-  
 “ ficers (55).”

Architec-  
 ture began  
 to decline  
 about the  
 end of the  
 third cen-  
 tury.

Not very long after this period, architecture, and all  
 the arts connected with it, began to decline very sensibly  
 in Britain, and in all the provinces of the western empire.  
 This was partly owing to the building of Constantinople,  
 which drew many of the most famous architects and other  
 artificers into the East, and partly to the irruptions and  
 depredations of the barbarous nations. If we may be-  
 lieve venerable Bede, the Britons were become so ig-  
 norant of the art of building before the final departure

(54) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

(55) Eumenii Panegy. 8.



of the Romans, that they were obliged to repair the wall between the Forth and Clyde with turfs instead of stone, for want of workmen who understood masonry (56). But we cannot lay much stress on this testimony, because it doth not refer to the provincial Britons, but to those who lived beyond the wall of Severus, where the Roman arts never much prevailed; and because the true reason of their repairing that wall with turf, and not with stone, certainly was, that it had been originally built in that manner. Besides, we are told by the same writer, in the same place, that the provincial Britons some time after this, with the assistance of one Roman legion, built a wall of solid stone, eight feet thick and twelve high, from sea to sea (57):

The final departure of the Romans was followed by the almost total destruction of architecture in this island. For the unhappy and unwarlike people whom they left behind, having neither skill nor courage to defend the numerous towns, forts, and cities which they possessed, they were seized by their ferocious invaders, who first plundered and then destroyed them. By this means, the many noble structures with which Provincial Britain had been adorned by the art and industry of the Romans, were ruined or defaced in a very little time, and the unfortunate Britons were quite incapable of repairing them, or of building others in their room. That long succession of miseries in which they were involved by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, deprived them of the many useful arts which they had learned from their former masters, and lodged them once more in forests, dens, and caves, like their savage ancestors (58).

Next to food and lodging, nothing is more necessary to mankind, especially to those of them who inhabit cold and variable climates, than clothing. For this reason all those arts which have for their object the providing of decent, warm, and comfortable clothing, may be justly ranked among the necessary arts; though some authors have maintained that vanity contributed as much as necessity to their invention (59).

(56) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12.

(57) Id. *ibid.*(58) *Ibid.*, l. 1. c. 14. Gildæ Hist. c. 25.

(59) Origin of Laws, Arts, &amp;c. b. 2. c. 2. p. 121.

Ancient Britons almost naked, painted their bodies.

It appears evident from ancient history, that the first inhabitants of all the countries of Europe were either naked or almost naked; owing to their ignorance of the clothing-arts (60). Such in particular was the uncomfortable state of the most ancient inhabitants of this island. When they lived on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and the animals which they caught in hunting, as they sheltered themselves during the night in thickets, dens, and caves; so when they went abroad in the day, in quest of their food, or in pursuit of their game, they were either naked, or only a little covered in the coldest seasons, with the branches and bark of trees, and such things as they could use without art or preparation (61). It was probably with the same view to supply the want of clothes, and to secure them a little from the severest colds, that they besmeared their bodies with such things as they found most proper for that purpose. It is even certain that the people of Britain continued much longer in this condition than many nations on the continent, who had earlier intercourse with strangers, and better opportunities of being instructed in the most useful arts. It is a sufficient proof of this, that the Britons still continued to besmear and paint their bodies, long after the people of Spain, Gaul, and even of Germany, had abandoned that practice, and were tolerably clothed (62).

Uncertain who introduced the clothing arts.

It is impossible to discover with certainty when or by whom the art of making, or the custom of wearing clothes was first introduced into this island; or whether this art was in some degree invented by the natives without foreign instruction. For as all mankind are subjected to the same wants, and possessed of the same faculties, some of the most necessary arts have been invented in many different countries. The Phœnicians, who excelled in all the arts of clothing, visited the Scilly islands, and probably some parts of the continent of Britain, in very ancient times, on account of trade; but we have no

(60) Pelloutier Hist. de Celt. t. 1. l. 2. c. 6. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

(61) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 13. c. 11. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16. p. 113.

(62) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. Pomponius Mela, l. 3. c. 6. Solinus, c. 35. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22. c. 1.

evidence



evidence that they instructed the natives in any of these arts (63). It is more probable that they did not; for no kind of cloth is mentioned among the commodities which they gave the Britons in exchange for their tin, lead, and skins (64). The Greeks, who succeeded the Phœnicians in that trade, were not more communicative, having nothing in view but their own gain. The very sight however of people so comfortably clothed could hardly fail to engage the attention of the Britons, and awaken their desires of being possessed of such accommodations. Accordingly we find that the people of the Cassiterides, or Scilly islands, to which the Phœnicians and Greeks traded, were clothed in very ancient times (65).

The first garments of the ancient Britons, and of many other ancient nations, were made of skins. As they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of their flocks, it was most natural and obvious to clothe themselves in their spoils (66). "The Britons (says Cæsar) in the interior or parts of the country are in clothed skins (67)." These garments, in the most ancient times at least, did not consist of several skins artificially sewed together, so as to form a commodious covering for the body; but of one skin of some of the larger animals, which they cast about their shoulders like a mantle, and which left much of the body still naked (68). It required however some art to make these skins tolerably soft and pliable, and fit for wrapping about the body. For this purpose they made use of various means; as steeping them in water, and then beating them with stones and sticks, and rubbing them from time to time with fat to keep them pliant (69).

But these skins, after all this preparation, afforded so imperfect a covering to the body, that we may reasonably suppose our British ancestors would content themselves with it no longer than until they became acquainted with one more comfortable and commodious. The arts of dressing wool and flax, of spinning them into yarn, and

Ancient Britons clothed in skins.

Clothing arts introduced before the first invasion.

(63) Ailet. Sammes Brit. Antiq. c. 5.

(64) Strabo, l. 3. p. 175.

(66) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. p. 298.

(67) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

(69) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. b. 2. c. 2. p. 123.

(65) Id. ibid.

(68) Ibid. l. 4. c. 1.

weaving

weaving them into cloth, are so complicated, that it is not probable that they were often invented, and in many different countries, like some more simple arts; but rather that they were gradually communicated from one country to another. If the Phœnicians or Greeks imparted any knowledge of these arts to the Britons, it was certainly very imperfect, and communicated only to a few of the inhabitants of the Scilly islands, with whom they chiefly traded. It is most probable that Britain was indebted to Gaul for the first knowledge of these most valuable arts, and that they were brought into this island by some of the Belgic colonies about a century before the first Roman invasion, or perhaps earlier. We may therefore conclude that the inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain were well acquainted with the arts of dressing, spinning, and weaving both flax and wool, when they were invaded by the Romans; and that they practised these arts much in the same manner with the people of Gaul, of which a tolerable account may be collected.

Several kinds of cloth made by the Gauls and Britons.

The people of Gaul and Britain manufactured several kinds of woollen cloths in these times; but there were two or three of which they seem to have been the inventors, and in making of which they very much excelled. One of these kinds of cloth which was manufactured by the Belgæ, both on the continent and in this island, was made of a coarse, harsh kind of wool. It was woven very thick, which rendered it remarkably warm. Of this they made their mantles, or plaids, which they used in winter. The Romans themselves, when they were in cold, northern countries, wore this cloth on account of its warmth (70). Another kind of cloth which the Gauls and Britons manufactured was made of fine wool dyed several different colours (71). This being spun into yarn, was woven chequerwise, which made it fall into small squares, some of one colour and some of another. This seems to have been the same kind of cloth which is still made and used by some of the common people in the Highlands of Scotland, and is known

(70) Strabo, l. 4. p. 196.

(71) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48 § 74. In usum Delphini, t. 2. p. 231. Dioç. Sic. l. 5. p. 353.



by the name of tartan. Of this cloth the ancient Gauls and Britons made their summer mantles and other garments. The Gauls, and perhaps the Britons, also manufactured a kind of cloth, or rather felt, of wool, without either spinning or weaving; and of the wool which was shorn from this in dressing it they made matreffes. This cloth or felt is said to have been so strong and firm, when vinegar was used in making it, that it resisted the blow of a sword, and was even some defence against fire (72). Some writers are of opinion, that by the bark of trees with which the ancient Britons and many other ancient nations are said to have clothed themselves, we are not to understand the outward bark, which is unpliant and unfit for that purpose, but the inner bark or rind; and that not in its natural state, but split into long threads, and woven into cloth. As a proof of the truth of this conjecture, they observe, that in many parts of Germany, Denmark and Sweden, they still make a kind of cloth of the inner bark of some trees, which they call *Matten*, and lay under their corns; and that in more ancient and ruder times, they and others used this for clothing (73). It is even pretended, that mankind took the first hint of that most noble and useful invention of weaving webs of warp and woof, from observing the texture of the inner bark of trees (74).

It appears from what hath been said above, that the ancient Gauls and Britons were not ignorant of the art of dying wool, yarn, and cloth different colours. We have even direct evidence that they excelled in some branches of this art, and possessed valuable secrets in it that were unknown to other nations. “The art of dying cloth (says Pliny) is now arrived at very great perfection, and hath lately been enriched with wonderful discoveries. To say nothing at present of the imperial purple of Galatia, Africa, Lusitania, the people of Gaul beyond the Alps have invented a method of dying purple, scarlet, and all other colours, only with certain herbs (75).” Several of these herbs

(72) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48.

(73) Cluver. Germ. Antiq. l. I. c. 16. p. 113.

(74) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. I. p. 126.

(75) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 22. c. 2

which

which the Gauls and Britons used in dying, are occasionally mentioned by Pliny in different places (76). But the herb which they chiefly used for this purpose was the *glastum*, or woad; and they seem to have been led to the discovery of its valuable properties in dying cloth, from the former use of it in painting and staining their bodies (77). The deep blue long continued to be the favourite colour of the ancient Britons, and particularly of the Caledonians, in their clothes, as it had formerly been the colour with which they stained their skin; and both these were executed with the same materials (78).

Art of making  
linen.

Though the hair and wool of animals were probably the first, yet they were not long the only materials that were used in making cloth for garments. The attention and industry of mankind soon discovered several other things that were fit for answering that purpose; particularly the long, slender, and flexible filaments of flax and hemp. These plants were cultivated with this view; and their fine fibres (after they were separated from the wood, and properly prepared) were spun into yarn, and woven into cloth, in Egypt, Palestine, and other eastern countries, in very ancient times (79). From thence these arts of cultivating, dressing, and spinning flax, and weaving linen cloth, were communicated to the several European nations, by slow degrees, and at different times. It was even long after they had been practised in the east, that they made their way into Italy, and were generally received in that country. For some of the greatest families among the old Romans boasted, that they made no use of linen in their houses, or about their persons; and the use of it was long considered as a mark of effeminacy, and a piece of criminal luxury, by that brave and hardy people (80). By slow degrees, however, the manufactory and use of this pleasant, cleanly, and beautiful kind of cloth prevailed not only over all Italy, but also in Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain (81). The art of making, and the custom of wear-

(76) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 18. l. 21. c. 26.

(77) Id. *ibid.* l. 22.

(78) Claudian, *Imprim. Con. Stil.*

(79) Exod. c. 9. v. 31. Deuteron. c. 22. v. 7. Martin. Capel. l. 9. p. 39.

(80) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 1.

(81) Id. *ibid.*



ing linen, were probably brought into this island by the Belgic colonies, at the same time with agriculture, and kept pace with that most useful of all arts, in its progress northwards. For as there is direct evidence that the Belgæ manufactured linen, as well as cultivated their lands on the continent, we have good reason to conclude, that they continued to do the same after they settled in this island; and that such of the more ancient Britons as imitated their example in the one, would also follow it in the other.

The ancient Gauls and Britons were not unacquainted with the art of bleaching linen cloth, in order to render it softer, whiter, and more beautiful, though their process for this purpose seems to have been very simple and imperfect, as is described by Pliny. “Again, after the flax is spun into yarn, it must be bleached and whitened, by being pounded several times in a stone mortar with water: and lastly, when it is woven into cloth, it must be beaten upon a smooth stone, with broad-headed cudgels; and the more frequently and severely it is beaten, it will be the whiter and softer (82).” They sometimes put certain herbs, particularly the roots of wild popples, into the water, to make it more efficacious in bleaching linen (83). But as this elegant kind of cloth is very apt to contract stains and impurities in the using, so nothing is more necessary to those who wear it, than the art of washing and cleansing it from time to time. To this art the Gauls and Britons were not strangers. For soap, made of the tallow or fat of animals, and the ashes of certain vegetables, was not only very much used, but was even invented by the ancient Gauls (84).

Arts of bleaching and washing linen.

But though it appears, from this brief detail, that the most civilized of the ancient Britons were not altogether unacquainted with the most essential branches of the clothing arts before they were subdued by the Romans, yet it is very certain that these most ingenious and useful arts were very much improved and diffused in this island by that event. For one great advantage which the Ro-

Clothing arts in Britain improved by the Romans.

(82) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 19. c. 1. § 3.

(83) Id. ibid. l. 20. c. 19. § 2.

(84) Id. ibid. l. 22. c. 12. § 3.

mans and their subjects derived from the prodigious extent of their empire, was this; that they thereby became acquainted with all the useful and ornamental arts that were practised in all the different countries under their dominion. These arts they readily learnt themselves, and as readily taught their subjects in all the provinces of their empire, where they had been unknown, or imperfectly practised. In order to this, the emperors were at great pains to discover and procure the most excellent artificers of all kinds, particularly the best manufacturers of woollen and linen cloth, whom they formed into colleges or corporations, with various privileges, under certain officers and regulations, and settled in the most convenient places of the several provinces of the empire. In these imperial colleges or manufactories, all kinds of woollen and linen cloths were made, for the use of the emperor's family and court, and of the officers and soldiers of the Roman armies (85). All these colleges were under the direction of that great officer of the empire who was called the Count of the Sacred Largesses; and every particular college or gynæceum was governed by a procurator. It appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, that there was such an imperial manufactory of woollen and linen cloth, for the use of the Roman army in Britain, established at *Venta Belgarum* now Winchester (86).

Secondary  
arts.

Besides those arts which are directly and immediately necessary to provide mankind with food, lodging and clothing, there are others which are necessary to the successful practice of those first and most indispensable arts: which may therefore be called necessary in an inferior and secondary degree. Of this kind are the various arts of working wood and metals, the state and progress of which, in this island, in this most ancient period of the British history, claim a moment's attention.

Carpenters  
arts.

We have little direct information concerning the degree of knowledge which the ancient Britons had of the carpenters and joiners arts, before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans. This was considerably different, no doubt, in the different parts of this island.

(85) Vide *Cod. Theod.* tom. 3. l. 10. tit. 20. p. 504, &c. *Du Cange Gloss.* in voce *Gynæceum*.

(86) *Camd. Brit.* v. 1. p. 139.

Wherever



Wherever they built houses of wood they were tolerably substantial and convenient ; they must have understood how to cut beams to a certain length, to square and smooth them, to frame and join them together, so as to form the walls and support the roofs. This last operation was the more difficult, and required the greater art, as these roofs were made in a conical form, with an aperture at the top. These Britons who practised agriculture, must have known how to make ploughs, harrows, and other implements of husbandry : and those who manufactured linen and woollen cloth, must have had the art of making distaffs, spindles, looms, shuttles, and other instruments. There is one circumstance which is truly surprising, and would incline us to believe that the ancient Britons, even in the most northern parts of this island, had made much greater progress in the carpenters and joiners arts, than could have been expected from a people in their condition in other respects. This circumstance is their war chariots. Many of the Roman and Greek authors speak with admiration of the prodigious number and great elegance of the British chariots, as well as of the wonderful dexterity of the Britons in managing them (87). The best way of accounting for this seems to be, by observing that those nations who delight in war, as the ancient Britons did, arrive sooner at much greater dexterity in those arts that are subservient to it, than they do in others.

As the Romans had arrived at great perfection in all the arts at the time when they formed their first settlements in Britain, so they particularly excelled in carpenters, joiners, and cabinet-makers works ; in which they, no doubt, instructed their British subjects. Among the various secrets in these arts, which the Britons probably learnt from their ingenious and beneficent conquerors, we may reckon—the construction of proper tools and instruments, in which a rude people are always most defective—the way of making and using glew, for uniting different pieces of wood—the arts of turning, panneling, wainscoting, fanecring, and inlaying with wood, horn, ivory, and tortoise-shell, &c. for we know that the

Improved  
by the Ro-  
mans.

(87) Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 35, 36. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33. l. 5. c. 19. Diod. Sicul. 5. p. 346. Pomp. Mela, l. 3.

Romans were perfectly well acquainted with all these secrets, and very ready to communicate them to all their subjects (88).

Art of  
working  
metals.

The arts of refining and working metals are no less necessary, but much more difficult to discover than the arts of working wood. For this reason, many nations have continued long without the knowledge or the use of metals, and endeavoured to supply their place, in some measure, with flints, bones, and other substances (89). This appears to have been the condition of the people of Britain in this respect in very ancient times, from the great number of sharp instruments, as the heads of axes, spears, arrows, &c. made of flints, which have been found in many parts of this island (90). It is, however, abundantly evident, that our British ancestors had either discovered, or had been taught the use and the art of working several metals, as tin, lead, brass and iron, before they were invaded by the Romans.

Tin.

Tin was probably the first metal that was known to the ancient Britons. This much at least is certain, that the people of Cornwall and the Scilly islands understood the arts of refining and working this valuable metal several centuries before the first Roman invasion (91). Their process in digging and refining tin, is thus briefly described by Diodorus Siculus: "The Britons who dwell near the Promontory Belcrium (Lands-end) are hospitable, and, by their great intercourse with foreign merchants, much more civilized in their way of living than the other Britons. They dig tin ore out of their mines, and prepare it with great dexterity and art. Though this ore is naturally of a hard substance like stone, yet it is mixed and incorporated with much earth, from which they separate it with great care; and then melt and cast it into blocks or ingots of a square form, like dice (92)."

(88) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 10. c. 42, 43.

(89) Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. b. 2. c. 4. p. 140.

(90) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 287. Plot's Hist. Stafford. p. 404.

(91) Bochart, v. 1. p. 648. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 27, &c.

(92) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. 347.

Lead



Lead was another metal with which the ancient Britons were very early acquainted, as is evident from its having been one of the commodities which the Phœnicians exported from Cornwall and the Scilly islands (93). If what Pliny tells was true, it was impossible for the people of Britain to remain very long without the knowledge of this metal. "In Spain and Gaul the mines of lead are very deep, and wrought with great labour; but in Britain this metal is found near the surface of the earth, and that in such abundance, that they have made a law that no more than a certain fixed quantity of it shall be wrought annually (94)."

Brass, or rather copper, was known to and used by some of the people of Britain in very ancient times; and they were probably made acquainted with it first by the Phœnicians, who gave them brass in exchange for their lead and tin (95). This is confirmed by Cæsar, who says, "That all the brass used by the Britons was imported (96)." But from whatever quarter they received their brass, it is certain they made much use of it, and understood the art of working it into various shapes (97). This is evident, from the prodigious number of instruments of different sizes and kinds, as axes, swords, spear-heads, arrow-heads, &c. made of copper, and known among antiquaries by the general name of Celts, which have been found in Britain (98). "In May 1735, were found above 100 (of these copper Celts) on Easterly-moor, twelve miles N. W. of York, together with several lumps of metal, and a quantity of cinders; so that no doubt remained of there having been a forge at that place for making them (99)." Even the Maxæatæ and Caledonians were not strangers to the art of working brass. For we are told by Dio Nicæus, "That they had a round ball of brass like an apple at the end of their spears, with which they made

(93) Strabo, l. 3. sub fine, p. 175.

(94) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

(95) Strabo, l. 3. sub fine, p. 175.

(96) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(97) Mem. de Trevoux Fevrier 1713, p. 288. 292. 295.

(98) Leland's Itinerary, v. 1. p. 117. Rowland's Mona Antiq.

p. 86. in note.

(99) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall. p. 283, 284.

“ a great noise, and endeavoured to frighten their enemies horses (100).”

Iron.

Though iron is the most necessary and useful of all metals, and its ore is most abundant, and universally diffused, yet the difficulty of distinguishing and working it, hath been the occasion that many nations have been well acquainted with several other metals long before they had any knowledge of iron (101). This was certainly the case of the ancient Britons, when they made their tools and arms of copper; which they would not have done if they had been in possession of iron, which is so much fitter for these purposes. At the time of the first Roman invasion, iron seems to have been but lately introduced into this island, and was then so scarce and rare a commodity, that the Britons made their money and their trinkets for adorning their persons of that metal (102). But the utility of iron in agriculture, and all the other arts, is so great, that when it is once discovered, it soon becomes common and plentiful in every country; as it did in Britain, especially after the Romans had established their imperial founderies for making iron, and their noble forges for manufacturing arms, tools, and utensils of all kinds (103).

Gold and Silver.

When the Romans first invaded this island, it was not known that it afforded either of the two precious metals of silver or gold. This appears from the silence of Cæsar, and the direct testimony of Trebatius and Quintus Cicero, who accompanied him in his British expeditions (104). But these metals seem to have been discovered very soon after that period. For it is certain that the Britons had both silver and gold, and understood the art of working them, before they were subdued by the Romans under Claudius. This is evident from the testimony of Tacitus, who tells us, “ Britain produceth silver, gold, and other metals, to reward its conquerors (105):” and from the great number of gold

(100) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Vita Severi.

(101) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. p. 157.

(102) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Herodian. l. 3. c. 46.

(103) Musgrave Belgium Britannicum, p. 64. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 323, &c.

(104) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Cic. Epist. l. 3. ep. 1

(105) Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 12. Id. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.



chains that were taken from Caractacus, and carried in a kind of triumph into Rome. The arts of discovering, refining, and working these precious metals, had probably been brought into this island from Gaul, where they had long flourished (106).

Vessels of some kind or other, for containing and pre-<sup>Potters art.</sup> serving liquids, are so necessary, that they have been very early invented in all countries; and as clay is found in every place, is easily moulded into any form, and naturally hardens in the sun or in fire, it hath been almost universally used in making vessels for these purposes in the first stages of society. The people of Britain were furnished with earthen vessels by the Phœnicians in very ancient times; and they no doubt soon learnt to make others in imitation of them for their own use (107). Many urns of earthen ware, supposed to have been the workmanship of the ancient Britons, have been found in barrows in different parts of Britain (108). The Romans made much use of earthen wares; greatly excelled in the art of making them; and the vestiges of several of their great potteries are still discernible in this island (109).

Besides those arts which are naturally necessary to man-<sup>Art of war.</sup> kind, there is one which their own avarice, ambition, and other passions, have rendered no less necessary. This is the art of war, which in the present state of human affairs is as indispensable as any of the arts already mentioned. That it is a real misfortune to a people to be possessed of the greatest abundance of the necessaries and comforts of life, and of all the arts which procure these advantages, if they have not at the same time the skill and courage to defend themselves and their possessions, the deplorable state of the unwarlike Britons when they were abandoned by the Romans, affords a most convincing proof.

As the art of war is as necessary, so it hath every where<sup>Antiquity of this art.</sup> been as ancient, as any of the other arts. Whenever there have been men to fight, and any thing to fight for, there have been wars. It is true indeed, that the

(106) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 9. § 27. p. 350.

(107) Strabo, l. 3. sub fin.

(108) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 236, &c.

(109) Philosophical Transactions, No. 263.

first conflicts of savage tribes hardly deserve the name of art. They defend themselves, and they annoy their enemies, with such weapons as chance presents, and by such method as their natural cunning suggests, or their present rage inspires. But war doth not any where continue long in this artless state. Life and victory are so dear to mankind, that they employ all their ingenuity in contriving the most effectual means of preserving the one and procuring the other. It appears from the history of all nations, that in their most early periods they were greater proficient in the art of war than in any of the other arts. This was evidently the case of the ancient Britons before they were invaded by the Romans. Some of them were naked, but none of them were unarmed. Several of their tribes could neither plough, nor sow, nor plant, nor build, nor spin, nor weave; but all of them could fight, and that not only with much courage, but also with considerable degrees of art. This fatal but necessary skill they had acquired in those almost incessant wars in which the petty states of Britain had long been engaged against one another; and by this skill they were enabled to make a long and glorious struggle for liberty, even against the Romans, who so far excelled all the rest of mankind in the dreadful art of subduing or destroying their fellow-creatures. It is proper therefore to take a short view of the military arts of the ancient Britons in this place: their remarkable customs relating to war will be hereafter mentioned (110).

All were  
trained to  
war.

All the young men among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations (the Druids only excepted), were trained to the use of arms from their early youth, continued in the exercise of them to their old age, and were always ready to appear when they were called by their leaders into actual service (111). Their very diversions and amusements were of a martial and manly cast, and contributed greatly to increase their agility, strength, and courage (112). A circumstance which is perhaps too much neglected in the military discipline of modern times. Their kings and great men in par-

(110) Chap. VII.

(111) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29. Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 47. p. 312.

(112) Chap. VII.



particular were constantly furrounded with a chosen band of brave and noble youths, who spent their time in hunting and martial sports; and were ready at a moment's warning to embark, with eagerness and joy, in any military expedition (113). They had even academies in which their young noblemen were instructed in the use, and accustomed to the exercise, of arms (114). By these and the like means, the ancient British states, though neither large nor populous, were enabled to bring prodigious multitudes of warriors into the field, all expert in the use of their arms, and conducted by brave and able leaders (115).

The armies of the ancient Britons were not divided into distinct corps, consisting each of a certain determinate number of men, commanded by officers of different ranks, like the Roman legions, or our modern regiments; but all the warriors of each particular clan or family formed a distinct band, commanded by the chieftain or head of that family (116). This disposition was attended with great advantages; and these family-bands, united by the strongest ties of blood, and by the most solemn oaths, fought with the keenest ardor for the safety of their fathers, sons, brothers, and near relations; for the glory of their chief, and the honour of their name and family (117). All the several clans which composed one state or kingdom, were commanded in chief by the sovereign of that state; and when two or more states made war in conjunction, the king of one of these states was chosen, by common consent, to be generalissimo of the combined army (118). Such commanders in chief over several allied kings and states were Cassibelanus, Caractacus, Galgacus, and even Boadicea queen of the Icenii. For though the ancient Britons were a brave and fierce people, they did not disdain to fight under the command of a woman, when she happened to be animated with an heroic spirit, and invested with sovereign authority.

Constitution of the British armies.

(113) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 13.

(114) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 30.

(115) Xiphilin. ex Dione in vita Neronis.

(116) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 136.

(117) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34.

(118) Id. Ibid. c. 33. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 11. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 29. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in vita Neronis.

Different  
kinds of  
their troops.

The troops which composed the armies of the ancient Britons were of three kinds; infantry, cavalry, and those who fought from chariots.

Infantry,  
and their  
arms.

The infantry of the Britons was by far the most numerous body, and constituted, according to Tacitus, the chief strength of their armies (119). These troops were very swift of foot, excelled in swimming over rivers and passing over fens and marshes, which enabled them to make sudden and unexpected attacks, and expeditious retreats (120). They were not encumbered with much clothing, many of them being almost naked; having neither breast-plates, helmets, nor any other defensive armour but small and light shields or targets (121). Their offensive arms were long and broad swords without points, and designed only for cutting, which were slung in a belt or chain over the left shoulder, and hung down by the right-side; short and sharp-pointed dirks fixed in their girdles; a spear, with which they fought sometimes hand to hand, and used sometimes as a missile weapon, having a thong fixed to it for recovering it again; and at the butt end a round ball of brass filled with pieces of metal, to make a noise when they engaged with cavalry (122). Some, instead of spears, were armed with bows and arrows (123). From this very short description it will appear, that these troops were far from being contemptible enemies.

Cavalry.

The cavalry of the ancient Britons were mounted on small, but very hardy, spirited, and mettlesome horses, which they managed with great dexterity (124). They were armed with oblong shields, broad swords, and long spears (125). It was usual with the Britons, as well as Gauls and Germans, to dismount and fight on foot; having their horses so well trained, that they stood firm in the place where they left them, till they returned (126).

(119) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(120) Herodian. l. 3. c. 46. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Ner.

(121) Id. ibid.

(122) Herodian. ibid. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36. Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 195. Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. I. c. 44. Boxhornii Orig. Gal. p. 22—26.

(123) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 43.

(124) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(125) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 48.

(126) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 2.



It was also a common practice among all these nations to mix an equal number of their swiftest footmen with their cavalry; each footman holding by a horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions (127). This way of fighting continued so long among the genuine posterity of the Caledonians, that it was practised by the Highlanders in the Scots army in the civil wars of the last century (128).

Those who fought from chariots constituted the most remarkable corps in the armies of the ancient Britons. Chariot-fighting. This formidable corps seems to have been chiefly composed of persons of distinction, and the very flower of their youth. In the venerable remains of the son of Fingal, Car-born is the most common epithet for a prince or chieftain, and is never bestowed on a person of inferior rank (129). As this singular art of war was almost peculiar to the ancient Britons, and they greatly excelled and delighted in it, it may not be improper to give a brief description of the different kinds and constructions of their war-chariots, and of their way of fighting from them.

When we consider the imperfect state of some of the most useful and necessary arts in Britain, before it was invaded by the Romans, we could hardly expect to find in it wheel-carriages of any kind; much less chariots for state, for pleasure, and for war, of various forms, and of elegant and curious workmanship. It appears however, from the concurring testimonies of many (130) Various kinds of chariots. writers of the most unquestionable credit, that there were such chariots in prodigious numbers, even in the most remote and uncultivated parts of this island, in these ancient times. The wheel-carriages and war-chariots of the ancient Britons are mentioned in the Greek and Roman authors by several different names, particularly the six following; Benna, Petoritum, Currus or Carrus, Covinus, Effedum, Rheda. By each of these words, as some imagine, a particular kind of carriage is intended,

(127) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. i. c. 48. Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 6.

(128) Memoirs of a Cavalier, p. 142, 143.

(129) Poems of Ossian, passim.

(130) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12. 36. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 24. 32. l. 5. 3. 16. 19. Xiphilin, ex Dione in Sever, Dio. Cassius, l. 60. Mela, l. 3. c. 5. Strabo, l. 4. p. 200. Diod Sicul. l. 5. c. 346.

which they distinguish and describe in the following manner :

**Benna.** The Benna seems to have been a kind of carriage used rather for travelling than for war. It contained two or more persons, who were called Combennones from their sitting together in the same machine. The name was probably derived from the British word Ben, which signifies head or chief ; and these carriages perhaps got this appellation from the high rank of the persons who used them (131).

**Petoritum.** The Petoritum seems to have been a larger kind of carriage than the Benna, and is thought to have derived its name from having four wheels ; as Pedwar in the British language, and Peteres in the Æolic dialect of the Greek tongue (which was spoken by the people of Marfeilles in Gaul), signify four (132).

**Carrus.** The Carrus or Currus was the common cart or waggon. This kind of carriage was used by the ancient Britons in times of peace for the purposes of agriculture and merchandize, and in time of war for carrying their baggage and wives and children, who commonly followed the armies of all the Celtic nations (133).

**Covinus.** The Covinus was a war-chariot, and a very terrible instrument of destruction ; being armed with sharp scythes and hooks for cutting and tearing all who were so unhappy as to come within its reach. This kind of chariot was made very slight, and had few or no men in it besides the charioteer ; being designed to drive with great force and rapidity, and to do execution chiefly with its hooks and scythes (134).

**Æfedum.** The Æfedum and Rheda were also war-chariots, probably of a large size, and stronger made than the Covinus, and designed for containing a charioteer for driving it, and one or two warriors for fighting. The far greatest number of the war-chariots of the ancient Britons were of this kind (135).

(131) Boxbornii Origines Gallicæ, p. 26. Sammes Brit. Antiq. p. 121.

(132) Boxbornii Orig. Gal. p. 26. Cluver. Germ. Antiq. p. 56.

(133) Tacit. de morib. Germ. c. 7.

(134) Mela, l. 3. c. 6. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 35.

(135) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 24. 32. l. 5. c. 16. 19.



After this prosaic detail, the following poetical description of the war-chariot of an ancient British prince will not be disagreeable: "The car, the car of battle comes, like the flame of death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo. It bends behind like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears, and the bottom is the foot-stool of heroes. Before the right-side of the car is seen the snorting horse—Bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulinsifadda. Before the left-side of the car is seen the snorting-horse. The thin-maned, high-headed, strong-hoofed, fleet, bounding son of the hill: his name is Dufronnal among the stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs bind the car on high. Hard-polished bits shine in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds. The steeds that like wreaths of mist fly over the streamy vales, the wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of the snow-headed Gormal (136)."

Besides the many different kinds of these chariots, there are two other circumstances concerning them which are truly surprising, and if they were not so well attested would appear incredible. These are their prodigious numbers, and the admirable dexterity with which they managed and conducted them. Great number of chariots, and great dexterity of their drivers. Cæsar acquaints us, that after Cassibelanus had dismissed all his other forces, he still retained no fewer than four thousand of these war-chariots about his person (137). This number is so great, that we can hardly help suspecting that it was magnified a little beyond the truth, by the apprehensions of the Romans, who were terribly annoyed by these chariots. The same illustrious warrior and writer, who was an attentive observer of every thing of this kind, gives us the following account of the dexterity with which the Britons managed their war-chariots:

(136) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 11, 12.

(137) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 19.

" Their

“ Their way of fighting with their chariots is this ;  
 “ first, they drive their chariots on all sides, and throw  
 “ their darts ; in so much that by the very terror of  
 “ the horses, and noise of the wheels, they often break  
 “ the ranks of the enemy. When they have forced  
 “ their way into the midst of the cavalry, they quit  
 “ their chariots and fight on foot. Mean while the  
 “ drivers retire a little from the combat, and place them-  
 “ selves in such a manner as to favour the retreat of their  
 “ countrymen, should they be overpowered by the enemy.  
 “ Thus in action they perform the part both of nimble  
 “ horsemen and of stable infantry ; and by continual  
 “ exercise and use, have arrived at that expertness, that  
 “ in the most steep and difficult places they can stop  
 “ their horses upon full stretch, turn them which way  
 “ they please, run along the pole, rest on the harness,  
 “ and throw themselves back into their chariots, with  
 “ incredible dexterity (138).”

Cæsar and  
 Tacitus  
 reconciled.

What Cæsar here says concerning the drivers retiring out of the combat with their chariots may seem, at first sight, to be inconsistent with what we are told by Tacitus : “ That the most honourable person commonly drives the chariot, and under his conduct his followers fight (139).” But this might be their disposition only while the chariots were advancing, and before they had made an impression on the enemy ; and then the chief warrior might resign the reins to a person of inferior note, to conduct the chariot out of the battle.

Chariot-  
 fighting  
 continued  
 long in  
 Britain.

War-chariots had been used by the people of Gaul in former times ; but they seem to have laid them aside before they were engaged with the Romans under Julius Cæsar (140). For that general makes no mention of them in any of his battles with the Gauls. It is probable therefore, that in Cæsar’s time chariot-fighting was known and practised only in this island, and continued to be so until it was subdued by the Romans, and longer in those parts of it that were not conquered. When we consider what a singular and formidable appearance so prodigious a number of these war-chariots, driven with

(138) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33.

(139) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(140) Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 352. Livii Hist. l. 10. c. 28.



such rapidity, and managed with such dexterity, must have made in advancing to the charge, we need not be surpris'd that the Roman soldiers, though the bravest and most intrepid of mankind, were so much disconcerted, as we are told they were, by this way of fighting (141).

Such were the different kinds of troops among the ancient Britons, their arms, and their dexterity in handling these arms. In all these respects they were so formidable, that one of the most intelligent of the Latin historians acknowledges, that there was nothing wanting but union among the British states, to have enabled them to defend their country and their liberty against the Romans. "They are swayed (says Tacitus, speaking of the Britons) by many chiefs, and rent into factions and parties, according to the humours and passions of their leaders. Nor against nations so powerful does aught so much avail us, as that they consult not in a body for the security of the whole. It is seldom that two or three communities assemble and unite to repulse any public danger threatening to all. By this means, while only a single state fought at a time, they were all subdued one after another (142)."

Want of union the great misfortune of the Britons.

Colours, standards, and military ensigns of various kinds, to distinguish the different corps in an army, and to animate them with courage in defence of their insignia, appear to have been of great antiquity in all countries (143), and were not unknown to the ancient Britons. The standard of Fingal, which was called the Sun-beam, is described with great pomp in the poems of Ossian. "Raise (cries the hero) my standards on high ---spread them on Lenas wind, like the flames of an hundred hills. Let them sound on the winds of Erin, and remind us of the fight (144)." Instruments of martial music, for rousing the courage of the combatants, calling them to arms, founding the charge and the retreat, were of great antiquity in this island, as well as in other countries (145).

Their standards, &c.

(141) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 15, 16.

(142) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(143) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 49. p. 316.

(144) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 57. Id. ibid. v. 1. p. 4. v. 2. p. 72.

(145) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 49. p. 318. Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 13.

Military  
knowledge  
of the Bri-  
tish gen-  
erals.

The princes and generals of the ancient Britons do not seem to have been destitute of the skill of conducting and commanding armies, or deficient in the knowledge or practice of any part of their duty. In drawing up their troops in order of battle, they commonly placed their infantry in the center, in several lines, and in distinct corps, at a distance from each other; and as they chose the ascent of a hill for the field of battle, all these lines were seen by the enemy, and made a formidable appearance, rising one above another (145). Each of these distinct corps consisted of the warriors of one clain, commanded by its own chieftain (146). These bodies of infantry were commonly formed each in the shape of a wedge, presenting its sharpest point to the enemy; and they were so disposed that they could readily support and relieve one another (147). The cavalry and chariots were placed on the wings, or in small, flying parties along the fronts of the army, to skirmish with the enemy and begin the action (148). In the rear, and on the flanks, they placed their waggons, with their mothers, wives, and children in them; both to serve as a fortification to prevent their being attacked in these parts, and to inflame their courage by the presence of persons who were so dear to them, and whose safety depended on their bravery (149). When the army was formed and ready to engage, the commander in chief rode along the line in a war-chariot, animating the troops by such speeches as were most likely to rouse their courage and exasperate them against their enemies; while the chieftain of each particular clan harangued his followers to the same purpose (150). To these speeches of their leaders the troops replied with loud and dreadful cries to express their own alacrity, and to strike terror into the adverse army; and the signal of battle being given, they rushed forward to the charge with great impetuosity, shouting and singing their war-songs (151).

(145) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 36, 37. Annal. l. 12. c. 33, 34.

(146) Ibid. c. 34.

(147) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 50. p. 321.

(148) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 37.

(149) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 50. p. 322.

(150) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. Vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Nerone.

(151) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 33. Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 56.

Some



Some of the British princes discovered very great Military stratagems. abilities in the command of armies and the conduct of a war. Cassibelanus, Caractacus, Galgacus, and others, according to the accounts of the Roman historians, formed several plans of operations, and contrived stratagems and surprisings which would have done honour to the most renowned commanders of Greece and Rome. In particular they observe, that they chose their ground for fighting with great judgment, and availed themselves, on all occasions, of their superior knowledge of the country in the best manner (152). It cannot however be denied, that the Britons of those times were much fitter for skirmishes, surprisings, and an irregular kind of war, than for fighting pitched battles. In the former they were often successful against the Romans; in the latter, they were never able to resist the steady valour and the superior arms and discipline of that victorious people.

It must likewise be confessed that there was one part Fortification and attack of places. of the military art of which the ancient Britons had very little knowledge. This was the art of fortifying, defending, and attacking castles, towns, and cities. Their strongest places were surrounded only with a slight ditch and a rampart of earth, and some of them with nothing but felled trees (153). They seldom threw up any entrenchments about their camps, which, for the most part, had no other defence but their carts and waggons placed in a circle around them (154). As the Britons of these times delighted to live, so they chose to fight, in the open fields. Their impatient courage, and their aversion to labour, made them unable to endure the delays and fatigues of defending or besieging strong places; and they often reproached the Romans with cowardice, for raising such solid works about their camps and stations (155).

The art of war had a different fate from all the other Military knowledge of the Bri- arts among the ancient Britons after they were subdued

(152) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 32. l. 5. c. 22. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 33. Vita Agric. c. 25, 26.

(153) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 9. 21.

(154) Vegetius, l. 3. c. 10.

(155) See Boadicea's famous speech to her army in Xiphilin. ex Dione in Nerone.

tons de cin- by the Romans. They were greatly improved both in  
 ed after the the theory and practice of other arts, but lost all their  
 Roman con- military skill, and all their dexterity in the use of arms,  
 quest. by that event. For it was the constant policy of the  
 Romans to deprive all those nations whom they subdued  
 of the use of arms, and to accustom them to a soft,  
 effeminate way of life, that they might neither have the  
 ability, nor even the inclination, to shake off their yoke.  
 This policy they practised so effectually in this island,  
 that the provincial Britons in a little time degenerated  
 from a race of brave, undaunted warriors, into a genera-  
 tion of effeminate and helpless cowards. As long as  
 they lived in profound security under the protection of  
 their conquerors, they fancied themselves perfectly happy,  
 and were insensible of the grievous loss which they had  
 sustained. But when they were abandoned by their  
 protectors, and left to themselves, they were soon con-  
 vinced by the miseries in which they were involved,  
 “ That no improvements in arts, nor increase of wealth,  
 “ could compensate for the loss of national spirit, and  
 “ the power of self-defence (156).”

Such seems to have been the state of the necessary  
 arts in this island before it was subdued by the Romans ;  
 and such the changes that were made in them by that  
 event. It is now time to proceed to take a short view of  
 the state of the fine or pleasing arts of sculpture, paint-  
 ing, poetry, and music, in the same period.

The plea-  
 sing as an-  
 cient as the  
 necessary  
 arts.

When we consider the rude imperfect state of some of  
 the most necessary and useful arts in Britain before it was  
 invaded by the Romans, we may be inclined to think  
 that the fine and pleasing arts, which administer only to  
 amusement, were quite unknown in this country in these  
 ancient times. For it seems to be reasonable to suppose  
 that mankind would not engage in the pursuit of plea-  
 sures, until they had provided necessaries ; nor begin to  
 cultivate the fine and ornamental arts, before they had  
 brought the useful ones to some good degree of perfec-  
 tion. In a word, we may be apt to imagine, that until  
 men were commodiously lodged, comfortably clothed,  
 and plentifully fed, they would neither have leisure nor



inclination to amuse themselves with sculpture and painting, nor to divert themselves with poetry and music. But all these fine reasonings are contradicted by experience, and the ancient history of all nations. From thence it appears, that the merely pleasing arts were cultivated as early and as eagerly in every country as those which are most necessary; and that mankind, every where, began as soon to seek the means of amusement as of subsistence (157). The ancient inhabitants of this island did not differ from the rest of mankind in this respect; and when we look attentively into the few remaining monuments of their history, we shall be convinced that they applied to some of the pleasing arts with the greatest fondness, and with no inconsiderable success.

It hath been often and justly observed, that mankind have naturally a taste for imitation; and that from this taste, some of their most innocent pleasures and amusements, and the arts which administer to them, are derived. Of this kind are the two imitative arts of sculpture and painting; the one of which exhibits a solid, and the other a superficial imitation of material objects. As these two arts proceed from a natural propensity which exerts itself with a surprising energy in some persons without any instruction, they are, and always have been very universal, and some traces of them may be discovered among the most savage and uncultivated nations (158). We have good reason therefore to believe in general, that these arts were practised by the ancient Britons before they were subdued and instructed by the Romans; but as we have no remaining monuments to prove that they had any remarkable genius for them, or had made any distinguished progress in them, a very short view of them will be sufficient, that we may have room to consider at a greater length the other two pleasing arts of poetry and music, in which we know they greatly delighted and excelled.

The idea of forming images of men and other animals of clay, wax, and other soft substances, which are

(157) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, p. 161. Mœurs de Sauvages, l. 2. p. 44.

(158) Voyage de J. De Lery, p. 277. Lescarbot. Hist. de Nouvelle France, p. 692.

easily moulded into any form, is so natural and obvious, that the practice of it hath been very ancient and universal (159). We have seen already that the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the useful part of the potters art; it is therefore very natural to suppose that some of them who had a strong taste for imitation, would make little images, or figures of men and other creatures, of clay, and harden them as they did their earthen ware. To this they would be prompted by their natural taste, their desire of displaying their ingenuity, and of amusing themselves and others (160). When they had arrived at some dexterity at working in wood, they began to adorn these works with various figures; particularly their war-chariots, which were curiously carved, and on which they lavished all their art (161). As the ancient Britons excelled in wicker-works, and their baskets were sent to Rome, where they were much admired; so they employed this art in forming works of imitation (162). For we have not the least reason to doubt, but that they, as well as the Gauls, made those huge colossal images of wicker, described by Cæsar, for the horrid purpose of human sacrifices (163). We are quite ignorant whether the ancient Britons understood or practised the arts of casting figures of metals, or of cutting them on stones, nothing of this kind which can with certainty be ascribed to them being now extant. For that human figure which is cut on the face of a rock at Risingham in Northumberland, though it is believed by some to be British on account of the coarseness of the work, is unquestionably Roman (164). It is most probable that they were unpractised in these arts, and that they were restrained from the cultivation of them by the principles of their religion, which prohibited the use of statues and images in their temples (165). In the description which is given by Tacitus of the destruction of the Druids in the Isle of Anglesey, with their groves, altars, and

(159) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences. v. 1. p. 165.

(160) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 12.

(161) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 11.

(162) Musgrave Belgium Britannicum, p. 166, 167.

(163) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 16.

(164) Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 239.

(165) Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall, p. 120.



sacred fires, there is not the least hint of any statues or images of their Gods (166). Cæsar indeed observes, that the Gauls had many statues in their temples, particularly of Mercury (167). But this was probably an innovation to which the Britons were strangers before the Roman invasion.

After the authority of the Druids was destroyed, and Statues. that of the Romans established, the use of statues was effectually introduced into the temples, and public and private houses in this island. For the Romans were at that period so extravagantly fond of statues, that Rome was in a manner peopled with them; and they abounded in all the great cities of their empire (168). When Roman colonies, towns, and stations were built in Britain, we may be certain that they were adorned, or rather crowded (according to the custom of that people), with the statues of Gods, heroes, and other great men. To provide all these statues for adoration and ornament, colleges or corporations of statuaries were established in many places of the empire, and particularly in Britain (169).

Of all that prodigious multitude of statues with which Few of them remaining. the Roman temples, and other public and private buildings in this island, were adorned, there are very few now remaining; and these few mutilated and of little value. The introduction of Christianity occasioned the destruction of many of those which had been the objects of idolatrous worship; which were either broke in pieces, or neglected and left exposed to all injuries. “ The Deities (says Gildas of the Britons, before their “ conversion to Christianity), or rather the devils which “ they worshipped, almost exceeded those of Egypt in “ number: some of whose statues we still see both with- “ in and without the walls of their deserted tem- “ ples (170). The Romans, at their departure, probably carried off some of those pieces of sculpture that were most admired; and great numbers of them, together

(166) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 30.

(167) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 17.

(168) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 12.

(169) Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 342.

(170) Gildæ Hist. c. 2.

with the edifices which they adorned, were destroyed by the Scots and Picts in their incursions, and by the Saxons in their long wars. The few pieces which have escaped all these accidents and the injuries of time, and are now preserved with care in the repositories of the curious, are chiefly figures cut on altars, and other stones, in Basso and Alto Relievo (171). Some of these are in a fine and delicate taste; but the greatest number of them plainly indicate that the sculptor's art was on the decline when they were cut.

Painting of  
their bodies.

Painting is another of the pleasing and imitative arts, which represents visible objects on smooth surfaces, by lines and colours. Some rude beginnings of this art have been discovered among the most savage nations (172); and the first essays of it were certainly very ancient in this island. There is not any one circumstance relating to the ancient Britons which is better attested, or more frequently mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers, than that of their body-painting (173). Cæsar and Pliny speak of this painting as consisting of one uniform colour, spread over the whole body. "All the Britons  
" in general stain themselves with woad, which makes  
" their skins of a blue colour. The British women,  
" both married and unmarried, besmear their whole bo-  
" dies with the juice of the herb called *Glastum* (woad),  
" and so appear quite naked at some of their religious  
" solemnities, resembling *Æthiopians* in colour (174). This operation of rubbing or besmearing the whole body with the juice of one herb, is so simple, that it hardly deserves the name of art. But other writers represent this body-painting of the ancient Britons as performed in a more artificial manner; and consisting of a variety of figures of beasts, birds, trees, herbs, and other things, drawn on the skin, or on the above colour as a ground. "The Britons draw upon their naked bodies the figures  
" of animals of all kinds, which they esteem so great  
" an ornament, that they wear no clothes, that these

(171) Horsley's *Brit. Rom.* b. 2 c. 1, 2.

(172) *Voyage de J. Lery*, p. 277. *Mœurs de Sauvages*, l. 2. p. 44.

(173) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 5. c. 14. *Tacit. vita Agric.* c. 11. *Pomp. Mea*, l. 3. c. 6. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 22. c. 1. *Solin.* c. 35. *Herodian* l. 3. c. 47. *Isidor. Orig.* l. 19. c. 23.

(174) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 5. c. 14. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 12. c. 1.

" figures



“ figures may be exposed to view (175).” We learn from other authors, that this body-painting was a distinct trade or profession in those times; and that these artists began their work, by making the intended figures upon the skin with the punctures of sharp needles, that it might imbibe and retain the colouring matter (176). This is said to have been a very painful operation; and those were esteemed the bravest fellows who bore it with the greatest fortitude; who received the deepest punctures, and imbibed the greatest quantity of paint (177). When these figures were made on the body in childhood, as they commonly were, they grew and enlarged with it, and continued upon it through life (178). Persons of inferior rank had but a few of these figures, of a small size, and coarse workmanship, painted on their bodies; but those of better families had them in greater numbers, of larger dimensions, and more elegantly executed, according to their different degrees of nobility (179). The “ name of the *Picts* corresponds very well with the appearance of their bodies. For they squeeze the juice of certain herbs into figures made on their bodies with the points of needles; and so carry the badges of their nobility on their spotted skins (180).” As both sexes painted, we have reason to suppose that the British ladies would not be sparing of these fine figures on their bodies, which were at once esteemed so honourable and ornamental. “ Have you not seen in Thrace (where this practice of body-painting prevailed) many ladies of high rank having their bodies almost covered with figures? Those who are most honourable, and descended of the best families, have the greatest number and variety of these figures (181).” Some writers have been of opinion, that several royal and noble families derived their family names from those animals and other things which their ancestors had painted on their bodies.

(175) Herodian. l. 3 c. 47.

(176) Solinus, l. 35. sub fin.

(177) Id. ibid.

(178) Id. ibid. Claudian. de Bello Getico, v. 435.

(179) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 31. c. 3.

(180) Isidor. Orig. l. 19. c. 23.

(181) Dio. Chrysof. Orat. 14. p. 233. 234. Pelloutier. Histoire de Celtes, l. 1. p. 294.

Painting  
their  
shields.

In proportion as clothes came into use among the ancient Britons, this practice of body-painting declined; and as soon as they were completely clothed, it was wholly laid aside. But the art of painting did not suffer any thing by that change. For, in order to preserve their family distinctions, and the ancient badges of their nobility, they then painted the same figures of various animals and other things on their shields, which they had formerly painted on their bodies (182). The art of painting even gradually improved, and those figures which had been painted of one colour only on their bodies, were painted of various colours, in imitation of life, on their shields (183). The Gauls had made still greater progress than the Britons or Germans in this art of adorning their shields; for some of their greatest men had these figures of animals cast in brass and inlaid, which made them serve for a further security to their persons, as well as for badges of their nobility (184).

Painting  
improved  
after the  
Roman  
conquest.

Whatever skill the ancient Britons had acquired in the art of painting before they were subdued by the Romans, we have good reason to believe that they were much improved in it by the instructions and example of these ingenious conquerors; who, at that period, greatly delighted and excelled in that art. Whoever will take the trouble to read the third and fourth chapters of the 35th book of Pliny's Natural History, will have an opportunity of seeing how early the art of painting was introduced into Rome; how eagerly and successfully it was cultivated there, not only by professed artists, but even by some of the most illustrious heroes of that republic; and how greatly all who excelled in it were encouraged (185). By these means the art of painting, in all its branches, was brought to great perfection: and not only the temples, theatres, and other public buildings at Rome, and in the provinces, had their walls and ceilings painted in the most exquisite manner; but the private apartments of the wealthy Romans were adorned with the most beautiful and costly pictures (186). It is not to be imagined,

(182) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 44. p. 292.

(183) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 6.

(184) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 30. p. 353.

(185) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 35. c. 3, 4. (186) Ibid. l. 35. c. 7.

therefore,



therefore, that the people of Britain, who were not destitute of a natural taste for painting, could behold so many beautiful pictures, and observe the manner in which they were executed, without making improvements in this art. It is very probable that among the great multitude of artificers carried out of Britain A. D. 296, by the emperor Constantius, to assist in building and adorning his favourite city of Autun, there were sculptors and painters, as well as architects (187).

There is not any one circumstance in the history of Poetry. the ancient Britons more surprising than that of their early and admirable taste for poetry. This taste (which they had in common with the other Celtic nations) exerted itself in a very conspicuous manner, long before they had made any considerable progress in the most necessary arts (188). At a time when they were almost naked, and without tolerable lodgings; when they chiefly depended on what they caught in hunting for their subsistence, they composed the most sublime and beautiful poems, of various kinds, on many different subjects (189).

It hath been often enquired what it was that made the ancient Britons, and other ancient nations, begin so early, and delight so much to express themselves in the lofty and figurative language of poetry, rather than in the plain and easy style of prose. To this, some have imagined, they were prompted by the ardour of their devout affections, the warmth of their love and gratitude to the Supreme Being; and that in consequence of this, their first poetical compositions were sacred hymns to the honour of the Deity (190). Others have supposed that poetry was the child of love; and that the beauties of the fair sex were the subjects of the most ancient poems; while many have been of opinion, that the love of fame, and a passionate desire of painting their own great actions, or those of their princes and patrons in the strongest colours, inspired the first poets (191). It cannot be denied, that these and all the other passions of the human heart,

(187) Eumen. Panegy. 8.

(188) Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 10.

(189) Poems of Ossian. 2 vols. London 1762, 1763.

(190) M. Rollin Belles Lettres, l. 1. p. 289.

(191) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 342, 343.

when they are very much inflamed, are apt to break out in bold, daring, and, if you please, poetical expressions; but they are no less apt to disdain the restraints of harmony, rhyme, and measure, and to violate all the rules of regular composition. Besides, though we should allow that the ardour of their various passions (which are subject to few restraints in the first stages of society) inspired their sacred hymns, their love sonnets, their flattering panegyrics, their biting satyrs, and their mournful elegies; this will not account for their many poetical compositions on history, divinity, morality, philosophy, and law, in which passion had no share (192). We must therefore look for some more powerful and universal cause of this universal practice of all ancient nations, of making all their compositions in verse. This cause was probably no other than necessity, the mother of many of the most noble and useful inventions. Before the use of letters and writing is introduced into a country, it is impossible for any of its inhabitants to engage the public attention to his thoughts on any subject, to have them circulated among his cotemporaries, and transmitted to posterity, but by clothing them in melodious numbers, and adorning them with the charms of poetry (193). This is the only thing that can engage and enable men to commit compositions of any length to their own memories, or to teach them to their children. It is not perhaps naturally, but it is certainly morally impossible, that so long a work as that of Ossian's poems, for example, could have been preserved through so many ages, without ever having been committed to writing, if it had been composed in the plain, simple, unadorned style of prose. But the melodious sounds of poetry are so agreeable to the ear, its bold figures and beautiful descriptions are so pleasing to the imagination, and its pathetic expressions of love, joy, grief, terror, and other passions, so affecting to the heart, that in a certain period of society it becomes one of the chief amusements of narrative age to repeat them, and one of the highest entertainments of ingenious youth to hear them, and commit them to memory.

(192) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 14.(193) *Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes*, l. 2. c. 10. p. 384.



As these observations account for the early introduction and great popularity of poetry among the ancient Britons, so they account also for the many different kinds of their poetical compositions. Before the use of letters, the language on all important occasions was poetical; every thing that was intended to be generally known, or long remembered; every thing, in a word, except the mere chit-chat of common conversation, was expressed in some kind of verse or numbers (194). It was even long after the introduction of letters into several countries of Europe, and probably into Britain, before any thing but poetry was thought worthy of being written. It may not therefore be improper to give a brief detail of some of the different kinds of the poetical compositions of the ancient Britons, with short specimens of a few of them.

That they composed hymns to the honour of their Gods, which they sung at their sacrifices and other religious solemnities, we have not the least reason to doubt (195). For this was the uniform practice of all the Celtic nations; and it was the peculiar province of one of the orders of their priests to compose and sing these sacred hymns (196). We have no reason to be surprised that none of the sacred hymns of the ancient Britons are now extant, since they were never committed to writing, and so many ages have elapsed since their religion was destroyed.

The speculative principles and moral precepts, as well as the devotional exercises of the religion of the ancient Britons, were couched in verse; and constituted a part of that extensive poetical system of erudition, in which the Druids instructed their disciples (197). All the different parts of their natural philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics, were clothed in the same dress; and they composed many long poems, not only concerning the nature and will of the Gods, but also concerning the nature of things, the magnitude of the world, the

(194) Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, l. 1. p. 368. 384. Isidor. *Orig.* l. 1. c. 27.

(195) *Diod. Sicul.* l. 2. § 47. p. 158. *Tacit. de morib. German.* c. 2.

(196) *Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations*, p. 203. 207.

(197) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 14.

form, magnitude, and motion of the heavenly bodies, &c. (197). Even their laws, and those of all the other ancient nations of Europe, though they may seem to be a very improper subject for poetry, were preserved and taught in the same manner. Nay, it is said to have been one of the first things in which they instructed their youth, to repeat and sing the laws of their country, that if they violated them, they might not pretend ignorance (198). The poems which they composed on these and other subjects relating to religion and learning, were so numerous, that some of their youth spent no fewer than twenty years in committing them to memory (199).

Historical  
poems.

The history and annals of the ancient Britons, and of the other Celtic nations, were composed in verse, and sung to the music of the harp (200). As soon as a king or chieftain had resolved on a military expedition, he made choice of some famous poet or poets to attend his person; to behold, record, and celebrate his great exploits, in the most magnificent and flattering strains. Poffidonius of Apamea says, in the twenty-third book of his history, "That it is the custom of all the Celtic  
" princes when they go to war, to carry with them a cer-  
" tain number of poets, who eat at their tables, and sing  
" their praises to the people who gather around them,  
" in crowds (201)." Many of the poems of Ossian, the renowned Caledonian bard, are poetical histories of the martial expeditions of his illustrious father Fingal, his son Oscar, and other heroes (202). From these historical songs, the historians of several countries composed the most ancient parts of their respective histories.

Heroic  
Poems.

Heroic poems, or poems in praise of the kings, heroes, and great men of their country, were the favourite works of the ancient British bards, in which they employed all their art, and exerted all their genius. "The bards  
" (says Ammianus Marcellinus) celebrate the brave acti-

(197) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(198) Ælian Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 39.

(199) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14. Mela, l. 3. c. 2.

(200) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 2. Strabo, l. 1. p. 18. M. Malley  
Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc, p. 242.

(201) Athenæus, l. 6. c. 12.

(202) Ossian's Poems. Keating's Hist. of Ireland, p. 132.



“ons of illustrious men in heroic poems, which they sing to the sweet sounds of the lyre (203).” Two of these heroic poems, the works of an ancient British bard, are still extant, and have lately appeared in an English dress, and been illustrated by a criticism, not unworthy of such beautiful and precious remains of antiquity (204). The preservation of these two admirable poems through more than thirteen centuries, merely by memory and tradition, is a sufficient proof of the prodigious fondness of the Caledonian Britons, and of their posterity, for such poetical compositions.

Though the praise of heroes was the most frequent and favourite theme of the ancient British bards; yet they sometimes composed satirical pieces against the enemies of their country. “The bards (says Diodorus Siculus) are excellent and melodious poets, and sing their poems, in which they praise some, and satirize others, to the music of an instrument not unlike a lyre (205).” There are very few of these satirical strokes in the works of the humane and generous Ossian, whose soul delighted in the praise of heroes; but they became more frequent in the poems of succeeding bards, which at length made them forfeit the public esteem and favour which they had long enjoyed, and exposed them to universal contempt and hatred (206).

As war was the great business and chief delight of the ancient British princes, so it was one of the most frequent subjects of the songs of their poets. For it was their opinion that martial songs enlivened war, supported the yielding fight, and inflamed the courage of the combatants (207). Sometimes, indeed, when the bards did not approve of a war, they sung such mild pacific strains as calmed the rage of two hostile armies ready to engage, and brought about a peace. “They pay a great regard to their bards or poets in the affairs of peace, but still greater in those of war. Sometimes, when two armies

(203) Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9.

(204) See Fingal and Temora, in Ossian's Works. Dr. Blair's Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian. In this dissertation, and in the Translator's prefaces, the reader will find the genuineness of Ossian's Poems fully established.

(205) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354.

(206) Ossian's Poems, v. 2, 112, note 2.

(207) Id. v. 1. p. 56.

“ have

“ have been standing in order of battle, with swords  
 “ drawn and lances extended, on the point of engaging  
 “ in a most furious conflict, these poets have stepped in  
 “ between them, and by their sweet persuasive songs  
 “ have calmed their fury like that of wild beasts. Thus,  
 “ even among these fierce barbarians, rage gave way to  
 “ wisdom, and Mars yielded to the Muses (208).”

For inflaming  
 the fury  
 of the com-  
 batants;

But the ancient British bards more frequently employ-  
 ed the power and influence of their art to increase than  
 to extinguish the flames of war and the rage of battle.  
 They were the heralds who proclaimed war and challeng-  
 ed the enemy to fight, and this harsh office they formed  
 in songs. “ I sent (says Ossian) the bard, with songs,  
 “ to call the foe to fight (209).” They composed those  
 martial songs that were sung by the troops as they ad-  
 vanced to the charge, to rouse their own courage, and  
 to strike terror into their enemies (210). These songs  
 were called Barditi, from their authors the bards. The  
 troops began to sing these in a low key, and as they ad-  
 vanced they raised their voices higher and higher, until  
 at last they uttered the most dreadful and terrifying  
 sounds (211).

for rousing  
 their cou-  
 rage.

When their friends were hard-pressed, and in danger  
 of giving way, the bards endeavoured to revive their  
 spirits and courage by their songs; of which the reader  
 may take the following song of a famous bard to a British  
 hero, when he was in danger of being overcome by his  
 enemy, as a specimen: “ Son of the chief of generous  
 “ steeds. High bounding king of spears. Strong arm  
 “ in every perilous toil. Hard heart that never yields.  
 “ Chief of the pointed arms of death. Cut down the  
 “ foe. Be thine arm like thunder. Thine eyes like  
 “ fire. Thy heart of solid rock. Whirl round thy  
 “ sword as a meteor at night, and lift thy shield like the  
 “ flame of death. Son of the chief of generous steeds!  
 “ cut down the foe. Destroy---The hero's heart beat  
 “ high (212).”

(208) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 37. p. 354.

(209) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 163.

(210) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 3.

(211) Id. ibid. Ammianus Marcel. l. 17. c. 23.—This kind of  
 poem, or war song, was called Brofnuha Cath, that is to say, inspiration  
 to war. Dr. McPherson's Dissertations, p. 221.

(212) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 56.

When



When brave and good princes or chieftains fell in battle, the bards bewailed their fall in such mournful and pathetic strains as these: "Weep, ye daughters of

"Morven, and ye maids of the streamy Loda! Like a tree they grew on the hills, and they have fallen like the oak of the desert, when it lies across a stream, and withers in the wind of the mountain. Oscar! chief of every youth! thou seest how they have fallen. Be thou, like them, on earth renowned. Like them the song of bards. Terrible were their forms in battle; but calm was Ryno, in the days of peace---- Rest, youngest of my sons, rest, O Ryno, on Lena. We too must be no more: for the warrior one day must fall (213)." But such a noble sense had these ancient British bards of the dignity of song, and of the sacred laws of truth, that they declined to adorn the fall of the greatest princes with their lamentations, if they had been guilty of any thing unbecoming heroes. "An hundred heroes reared the tomb of Cairbar; but no song is raised over the chief, for his soul had been dark and bloody. The bards remembered the fall of Carmac! What could they say in Cairbar's praise (214)?"

The victories of their kings and heroes were celebrated by the bards in the most sublime and joyous strains (215). When a British chief returned from a successful expedition, he entered the place of his residence in a kind of triumph, followed by his troops, and preceded by all his bards, singing the song of victory. How beautiful is the following song of victory, which was sung before the renowned Fingal, at one of his triumphant entries into Selma, about sun-set. "Hast thou left thy blue course in heaven, golden-haired son of the sky! The West hath opened its gates; the bed of thy repose is there. The waves come to behold thy beauty; they lift their trembling heads; they see thee lovely in thy sleep; but they shrink away with fear. Rest in thy shadowy cave, O son! and let thy return be with joy.----But let a thousand lights arise to the sound of the harps of Selma: let the beam spread in

(213) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 70.

(214) Id. *ibid.*, v. 2. p. 17.

(215) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 29. p. 352.

“ the hall, the king of Shells is returned ! The strife  
 “ of Crona is past, like sounds that are no more : raise  
 “ the song, O Bards ! the king is returned with his  
 “ fame (216).”

Dying  
 songs.

So great was the fondness of the ancient Britons for poetry, and so much were they accustomed to express their thoughts on all great occasions in verse, that they sometimes composed verses, and sung them in their dying moments (217). “ He fell, like the bank of a  
 “ mountain stream ; stretched out his arm and said---  
 “ Daughter of Cormac-Cairbar, thou hast slain Duchomar ! The sword is cold in my breast : Morna, I feel  
 “ it cold. Give me to Moina the maid : Duchomar  
 “ was the dream of her night. She will raise my  
 “ tomb ; and the hunter shall see it, and praise me.  
 “ But draw the sword from my breast : Morna, the  
 “ steel is cold (218).”

Love songs.

Next to the martial feats of heroes, the charms of the fair, and the cares and joys of virtuous love, were the most frequent and delightful subjects of the songs of the ancient British bards. Their descriptions of female beauty are always short and delicate ; expressive of the modesty and innocence of the ladies minds, as well as of the charms of their persons. “ Half hid in her shady  
 “ grove, Roscrana raised the song. Her white hands  
 “ rose on the harp. I beheld her blue-rolling eyes.  
 “ She was like a spirit of heaven half-folded in the skirt  
 “ of a cloud.---She rose bright amidst my troubled soul.  
 “ ---Cormac beheld me dark.---He gave the white-  
 “ bosomed maid.---She came with bending eye, amidst  
 “ the wandering of her heavenly looks---she came (219).”  
 How tender, pure, and passionate are the following strains of an ancient British chieftain ; expressing his wedded love to his absent queen ! “ O ! strike the harp  
 “ in praise of my love, the lonely sun-beam of  
 “ Dunfcaich. Strike the harp in the praise of Bragela,

(216) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 193, 194.

(217) Qualis Olor noto positurus littore vitam.

Ingemit, et mæstis mulcens concentibus auras

Præfago queritur venientia funera cantu.

(218) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 9.—See the Dying Ode of Regner Lodbrog, in Pieces of Runic Poetry. London, 1763.

(219) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 67, 68.

“ she



“ she that I left in the Isle of Mist, the spouse of Semo’s  
 “ son. Dost thou raise thy fair face from the rock to  
 “ find the sails of Cuchullin?----The sea is rolling far  
 “ distant, and its white foam shall deceive thee for my  
 “ sails. Retire, for it is night, my love, and the dark  
 “ winds sigh in thy hair. Retire to the halls of my  
 “ feasts, and think of the times that are past : for I will  
 “ not return till the storm of war is ceased. O ! Connal,  
 “ speak of wars and arms, and send her from my mind,  
 “ for lovely with her raven-hair is the white-bosomed  
 “ daughter of Sorglan (220).” So strict was the con-  
 nexion between love and poetry in these times, that their  
 courtships were commonly carried on in verse ; and  
 what is now esteemed an absurdity on the stage, was  
 then acted in real life. Some of these poetical court-  
 ships are still preserved in history, and in the works of  
 ancient bards (221).

The ancient British poets composed songs for increas- *Festalsongs.*  
 ing the mirth of feasts, beguiling the tediousness of  
 journies, and of labour ; and for many other occasi-  
 ons (222). But it would be improper to pursue this de-  
 tail any further. For every incident of any consequence,  
 either in peace or war, was made the subject of a  
 poem.

We have not a sufficient number of these poems, com- *Beauties of  
 the ancient  
 British  
 poetry.*  
 posed by different poets in this most ancient period, now  
 extant ; nor a sufficient knowledge of the language in  
 which they were written, to enable us to form a judg-  
 ment of all their various properties, excellencies, and  
 defects. But if we may judge of them from the poems  
 of Ossian, and a few others, as they appear in a transla-  
 tion, they were truly admirable, and abounded in all the  
 natural and genuine beauties of poetry. How lively and  
 picturesque are the descriptions of Ossian, both of ter-  
 rible and amiable objects ? How full of dreadful images  
 is the following description of a combat between an in-  
 trepid mortal and an ærial being ? “ Cormar was the  
 “ first of my race. He sported through the storms of  
 “ the waves. His black skiff bounded on the ocean, and

(220) Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 18.

(221) M. Malley Introduction à l’Histoire de Dannemare, p. 202,  
 203. Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 60. note.

(222) Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 9. p. 355 to 363.

“travelled

“ travelled on the wings of the blast. A spirit once  
 “ embroiled the night. Seas swell, and rocks resound.  
 “ Winds drive along the clouds. The lightning flies  
 “ on wings of fire. He feared, and came to land : then  
 “ blushed that he feared at all. He rushed again among  
 “ the waves to find the son of the wind. Three youths  
 “ guide the bounding bark ; he stood with his sword  
 “ unsheathed. When the low-hung vapour passed, he  
 “ took it by the curling head, and searched its dark  
 “ womb with his steel. The son of the wind forsook  
 “ the air. The moon and stars returned (223).” How  
 beautiful is the following description of the lovely Agen-  
 decca ? “ Ullin, Fingal’s bard, was there ; the sweet  
 “ voice of the hill of Cona. He praised the daughter  
 “ of the snow, and Morven’s high descended chief.  
 “ The daughter of the snow overheard, and left the  
 “ hall of her secret sigh. She came in all her beauty,  
 “ like the moon from her cloud in the east. Loveliness  
 “ was around her as light. Her steps were like the  
 “ music of songs. She saw the youth and loved him.  
 “ He was the stolen sigh of her soul. Her blue eye  
 “ rolled on him in secret, and she blest the chief of  
 “ Morven (224).”

*Similies.*

There is hardly any thing in which poets discover the  
 richness of their fancy, and greatness of their genius,  
 more clearly, than in the beauty and variety of their  
 similies or comparisons : and it may be justly affirmed,  
 that no poets ever excelled the ancient British bards in  
 this respect, if we may judge of them by their remains.  
 The poems of Ossian abound more in similies, than those  
 of any other poet, either ancient or modern ; and many  
 of these similies are not inferior in beauty to the most  
 admired ones in the most celebrated poets. There is no  
 simile in Homer, Virgil, or any other poet, that hath  
 been more universally admired than the famous one in  
 Mr. Addison’s Campaign ; in which a general, in the  
 heat and rage of battle, is compared to an angel riding  
 in a whirlwind, and directing a storm (225). But the  
 following

(223) Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 39.

(224) Id. *ibid.* p. 37. Dr. Blair’s Dissertation on the Poems of  
 Ossian, p. 51 to 63.

(225) So when an angel by divine command,  
 With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,



following one, in the works of Ossian, on the same subject, will probably be thought by many still more poetical. "He rushed in the sound of his arms, like the dreadful spirit of Loda, when he comes in the roar of a thousand storms, and scatters battles from his eyes (226)."

The true sublime, in sentiment and diction, is the greatest glory of the greatest poets; and in this few, if any, ever excelled Ossian. The genius, the situation, and the subjects of this illustrious bard, were all more favourable to the sublime than to any other species of poetical excellence. "Accuracy and correctness, artfully connected narration, exact method and proportion of parts, we may look for in polished times. The gay and the beautiful will appear to more advantage in the midst of smiling scenery and pleasurable themes. But amidst the rude scenes of nature, amidst rocks, and torrents, and whirlwinds, and battles, dwells the sublime. It is the thunder and lightning of genius; it is the offspring of nature, not of art (227)." The following description and speech of the spirit of Loda, is one example of the true sublime, out of many that might be given from the works of Ossian: "A blast came from the mountain, and bore on its wings the spirit of Loda. He came to his place in his terrors, and he shook his dusky spear. His eyes appear like flames in his dark face; and his voice is like distant thunder.—The people bend before me. I turn the battle in the field of the valiant. I look on the nations, and they vanish: my nostrils pour the blast of death. I come abroad on the winds: the tempests are before my face. The blasts are in the hollow of my hand: the course of the storm is mine. But my dwelling is calm, above the clouds: the fields of my rest are pleasant (228)."

Sublime in  
sentiment  
and diction.

Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,  
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;  
And, pleas'd the Almighty's order to perform,  
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

Addison's Works, vol. 1.

(226) Ossian's Poems, v. 1 p. 151.

(227) Dr. Blair's Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, p. 62.

(228) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 199, 200.

Verfifica-  
tion.

The ancient poets of Britain, and of the other nations of Europe, are said to have used a prodigious variety of measures, and many different kinds of versification, in their poetical compositions. Olaus Wormius informs us, that the ancient Scalds, or poets of Scandinavia, made use of one hundred and thirty-six different kinds of measure in their verses (229); and a learned Welshman hath enumerated and explained many different modes of versification that were used by the bards of his country, from the sixth century downwards, and probably in more ancient times (230). Many of these measures depended neither on metrical feet, like the versification of the Greeks and Romans, nor on rhyme, like that of the modern nations of Europe; but on various alliterations, and on the number and musical disposition of the syllables; of which we may form some imperfect idea from our English blank verse. All these different modes of versification, it is said, were admirably adapted to assist the memory, insomuch that if one line of a stanza was remembered, it became easy to recollect all the rest (231). “The British poetry, as well as the language, hath a peculiarity which perhaps no other language in the world hath; so that the British poets in all ages, and to this day, call their art *Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, i. e. the secret of the poets. Knowing this art of the poets, it is impossible that any one word of the language which is to be found in poetry, should be pronounced in any other manner than is there used; so that without a transformation of the whole language, not one word could be altered (232).” Though Olaus Wormius expressly says, that the Scalds or poets of the North never made use of rhyme (233); and though the learned Pelloutier had never met with any writer who so much as insinuated that rhyme was used by any of the Celtic poets (234); yet it plainly appears, from the remains of

(229) Olaus Wormius de *literatura Runica*, in *Append.*

(230) Dr. John David Rhy's *Cambro-britannicæ Linguæ Institutiones*. London, 1592. See also Lhuyd's *Archeologia Britannica*, p. 304—310.

(231) Carte's *Hist. of England*, v. 1. p. 33.

(232) Mr. Lewis Morris apud Carte, *ibid.*

(233) Olaus Wormius de *literatura Runica*, in *Append.*

(234) Pelloutier *Histoire des Celtes*, l. 1. p. 360.



Ossian, that this mode of versification, which hath been generally esteemed a Gothic or Monkish invention, was frequently used by the most ancient British bards (235).

Having given this brief history of British poetry, it may not be improper to give a short account of the British poets of this period, which we are now delineating. These poets appear to have been divided into two classes: the first class comprehending their sacred poets, who composed and sung their religious hymns; and were called in Greek, Eubates; in Latin, Vates; and in their own language, Faids (236): the second comprehending all their secular poets, "who sung of the battles of heroes, or the heaving breasts of love," and were called "Bards (237). As enough hath been already said of the Faids in another place (238), it only remains to give some account of the Bards.

The word Bard being a primitive noun, neither derived nor compounded, it can neither be traced to its root, nor resolved into its parts. It signified one who was a poet by his genius and profession; and who employed much of his time in composing and singing verses on many various subjects and occasions (239). The Bards constituted one of the most respected orders of men in the ancient British states; and many of the greatest kings, heroes, and nobles esteemed it an honour to be enrolled in this order (240). They enjoyed, by law and custom, many honourable distinctions and valuable privileges. Kings and princes made choice of Bards to be their bosom friends and constant companions; indulged them with the greatest familiarity, and gave them the most flattering titles (241). Their persons were held sacred and inviolable; and the most cruel and bloody tyrants dared not to offer them any injury. The cruel Cairbar, who had murdered the royal Cormac with his own hand, durst proceed no further

(235) The Original of the 7th book of Temora in Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 228. 235. 238. 241. 244.

(236) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 199, &c.

(237) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 37.

(238) See Chap. II.

(239) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 209.

(240) Dr. Brown's Dissertation on Poetry and Music, p. 157. &c.

(241) Keating's Hist. of Ireland, p. 48.

than to imprison his Bards. "He feared to stretch his sword to the Bards, though his soul was dark (242)." He was even bitterly reproached by his heroic brother Cathmor, for having proceeded so far. "The noble Cathmor came---He heard our voice from the cave; he turned the eye of his wrath on Cairbar. Chief of Atha! he said, how long wilt thou pain my soul? Thy heart is like the rock of the desert, and thy thoughts are dark. Cairbar loose the Bards: they are the sons of other times. Their voice shall be heard in other years, after the kings of Temora have failed (243)." The Bards, as well as the Druids, were exempted from taxes and military services, even in times of the greatest danger; and when they attended their patrons in the field, to record and celebrate their great actions, they had a guard assigned them for their protection (244). At all festivals and public assemblies they were seated near the person of the king or chieftain, and sometimes even above the greatest nobility and chief officers of the court (245). Nor was the profession of the Bards less lucrative than it was honourable. For, besides the valuable presents which they occasionally received from their patrons, when they gave them uncommon pleasure by their performances, they had estates in land allotted for their support (246). Nay, so great was the veneration which the princes of these times entertained for the persons of their poets, and so highly were they charmed and delighted with their tuneful strains, that they sometimes pardoned even their capital crimes for a song (247).

Bards very numerous.

We may very reasonably suppose, that a profession that was at once so honourable and advantageous, and enjoyed so many flattering distinctions and desirable immunities, would not be deserted. It was indeed very much crowded; and the accounts which we have of the numbers of the Bards in some countries, particularly in Ireland, are hardly credible (248). We often

(242) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 22.

(243) Id. *ibid.*

(244) Brown's Dissertation, p. 161. Mr. Malley's Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 242.

(245) Id. *ibid.* 240.

(246) Id. *ibid.* p. 241. Keating's Hist. Ireland, p. 132, &c.

(247) Pieces of Runic Poetry, London, 1763, p. 49.

(248) Keating's Hist. of Ireland, p. 370, &c.

read,



read, in the poems of Ossian, of a hundred Bards belonging to one prince, singing and playing in concert, for his entertainment (249). Every chief Bard, who was called Allah Redan, or doctor in poetry, was allowed to have thirty Bards of inferior note constantly about his person; and every Bard of the second rank was allowed a retinue of fifteen poetical disciples (250). But it is probable that the Bards of Britain and Ireland were not so numerous in the period we are now delineating, as they became afterwards; nor were they then guilty of those crimes by which they at length forfeited the public favour (251). In this most ancient period, the British Bards seem to have been, in general, men of genius and virtue, who merited the honours which they enjoyed.

Though the ancient Britons of the southern parts of this island had originally the same taste and genius for poetry with those of the north, yet none of their poetical compositions of this period have been preserved. Nor have we any reason to be surprised at this. For after the provincial Britons had submitted quietly to the Roman government, yielded up their arms, and had lost their free and martial spirit, they could take little pleasure in hearing or repeating the songs of their Bards, in honour of the glorious achievements of their brave ancestors. The Romans too, if they did not practise the same barbarous policy which was long after practised by Edward I. of putting the Bards to death, would at least discourage them, and discountenance the repetition of their poems, for very obvious reasons. These sons of the song being thus persecuted by their conquerors, and neglected by their countrymen, either abandoned their country or their profession, and their songs being no longer heard, were soon forgotten. But so natural was a taste for poetry to the original inhabitants of this island, that it was not quite destroyed by their long subjection to the Romans; but appeared again in the posterity of the provincial Britons (as will be seen in the sequel of this

None of the poems of the provincial Britons preserved.

(249) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 18.

(250) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 212, 213.

(251) Dr. Brown's Dissertation, p. 163, &c.

work) as soon as they recovered their martial spirit, and became a brave, free, and independent people.

Musical.

The ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of many other countries, had at least as great a taste and fondness for music as they had for poetry. It is quite unnecessary to enquire how they contracted this taste. For music is natural to mankind, who have been accustomed to singing in all ages and in all countries (251). Vocal music, perhaps in imitation of the feathered songsters of the woods and groves, was here, and every where, more ancient than instrumental (252). It was not long, however, before men became sensible of the imperfection of their organs, and endeavoured to supply their defects by the invention of several sonorous instruments, with the music of which they accompanied and assisted their voices in singing (253). It is impossible to discover at what time, and by whom, instrumental music was first invented, or rather introduced into this island; though we may be certain that it was long before it was invaded by the Romans.

Poetry and music were originally united.

It is probable that the ancient Britons, as well as many other nations of antiquity, had no idea of poems that were made only to be repeated, and not to be sung to the sound of musical instruments. In the first stages of society in all countries, the two sister arts of poetry and music seem to have been always united; every poet was a musician, and sung his own verses to the sound of some musical instrument (254). This we are directly told, by two writers of undoubted credit, was the case in Gaul, and consequently in Britain, in this period. "The Bards," says Diodorus Siculus, sung their poems to the sound "of an instrument not unlike a lyre (255)." The "Bards, as we are informed by Ammianus Marcellinus, celebrated the brave actions of illustrious men in heroic poems, which they sung to the sweet sounds of the

(251) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. p. 345. Quintilian, l. 1. c. 10.

(252) At liquidas avium voces imitariæ ore

Ante fuit multo, quam levia carmina cantu

Concelebrare homines possent, aurisque juvare. Lucret. l. 5.

(253) Origin of Laws, Arts, &c. v. 1. p. 345.

(254) Gerard. Vossius de Art. Poet. p. 82.—See Dr. Brown's Dissertation on the Union of Poetry and Music.

(255) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354.

"lyre.



“ lyre (256).” This account of these Greek and Latin writers is confirmed by the general strain, and by many particular passages of the poems of Ossian. “ Beneath his own tree, at intervals, each Bard sat down with his harp. They raised the song, and touched the string: each to the chief he loved (257).” But this union between poetry and music did not subsist very long, in its greatest strictness, perhaps in any country. The musicians soon became very numerous; and those of them who had not a genius for composing verses of their own, assisted in singing the verses of others to the music of their harps. Many of those songsters, or parasites (as Athenæus calls them), which the Celtic princes carried with them when they went to war, were composed by those among them who had a poetical genius, and were called Bards (258). This partial separation between poetry and music had probably taken place in this island in the days of Ossian. For though we have sufficient evidence from the poems of this illustrious bard, that in his time all poets were musicians; we have not the same evidence that all musicians were poets.

As instrumental music was at first invented to accompany and assist the voice in singing, so it was long employed in all countries to that purpose only (259). This was evidently the case among the ancient Britons in the period we are now considering. Ossian, the sweet voice of Cona, who excelled as much both in vocal and instrumental music as he did in poetry, seems to have had no idea of playing on an instrument without singing at the same time. Whenever his bards touch the string, they always raise the song (260). This was probably one of those circumstances so affecting, and enabled it to produce such strong emotions of rage, love, joy, grief, and other passions in the hearers, by conveying the pathetic strains of poetry to their hearts, in the most rousing, softening, joyous, or plaintive sounds:

(256) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 15. c. 9.

(257) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 112, 113.

(258) Athenæus, l. 6. c. 12.

(259) Mr. Rollin's Hist. of the Arts, c. 6.

(260) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. Ammian. Marcel. l. 51. c. 9.

Harp.

Though the ancient Britons were not altogether unacquainted with wind instruments of music, yet they seem to have delighted chiefly in the lyre or harp (261). This instrument is said to have been invented by the Scythians, and was much used by all the Celtic nations (262). At first it had only four or five strings, or thongs made of an ox's skin, and was played upon with a plectrum made of the jaw-bone of a goat (263). But the construction of this instrument was gradually improved, and the number of its strings increased; though we do not know with certainty of what number of strings the ancient British harp consisted. They played upon it with their fingers, and not with a plectrum (264).

Music  
simple and  
natural.

The ancient Britons of this period certainly sung and played by the ear; and their tunes, as well as their poems, were handed down from one age to another; the author of each poem composing its music, which was taught at the same time with the poem. This music, like that of other ancient nations, was in general simple and natural, suited to the subject of the song or poem for which it was composed; which made it more affecting than the more artificial, but less natural, music of later ages (265).

(261) The Poems of Ossian, passim.

(262) Pelloutier Hist. des Celt. c. 9. p. 360. Note 30.

(263) Id. ibid.

(264) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 67. last line.

(265) Mr. Rollin's Hist. of Arts, c. 6. § 3.



THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N .

---

B O O K I .

C H A P . VI .

*The history of commerce, coin, and shipping in Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

**T**HE innumerable advantages of commerce are so Importance sensibly felt by all the inhabitants of this happy of commer- island, that it is quite unnecessary to enter upon a formal cial history. proof of its great importance, or to make any apology for admitting it to a place in the history of our country. This is a distinction to which it is well intitled, and from which it hath been too long excluded.

It is almost as difficult to discern the first beginnings Antiquity of the British commerce, as it was to discover the sources of com- of the Nile. For as the greatest rivers sometimes flow merce. from the smallest fountains, so the most extensive commerce sometimes proceeds from the most trifling and

imperceptible beginnings. The truth is, that commerce of some kind, and in some degree, hath been coeval with society, and the distinction of property, in all parts of the world (1). As soon as the inhabitants of any country were formed into societies, under any kind of government, and had any thing that they could call their own; they were prompted by necessity, conveniency, or fancy, to make frequent exchanges among themselves of one thing for another. Thus, in the very first stage of society, the hunter who had caught more game than he needed, or could use, willingly gave a part of it for a share of the herbs or fruits which another had gathered. This kind of commerce was certainly carried on in this island almost as soon as it was inhabited.

Gradual increase of commerce in the way of barter.

When the people of any country proceed from the savage to the pastoral life, as their properties become various and valuable, so their dealings and trafficking with one another become more frequent and extensive. But when they join a little agriculture and some necessary manufactures to the feeding of cattle, the materials, opportunities, and necessity of commerce among the members of a state are very much increased, though it is still carried on for some time in the way of exchange and barter of one commodity for another. It was in this way, as we are told by Solinus, that the people of Britain, particularly the Silures, carried on their trade in his time. "They make no use of money in commerce, but exchange one thing for another; and in making these exchanges they pay a greater regard to the mutual necessities of the parties, than to the intrinsic value of the commodities (2)." In this state of commerce there were no merchants by profession; but every man endeavoured to find out, in the best manner he could, another person who wanted the things which he had, and had those which he wanted. This, we may well imagine, was sometimes no easy task; and while commerce was carried on in this manner, in any country, it could not be very extensive. Such was the very limited, imperfect state of trade among the ancient inhabitants of this island for several ages. Ignorant of the

(1) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 277.

(2) Solinus, c. 35.



arts of numbering, weighing, and measuring, and unacquainted with the use of money, they knew only to exchange, by guess, one thing for another. But even this was of very great advantage, and formed one of the strongest ties by which the members of infant societies were united.

In the first periods of society in this, and perhaps in every other country, commerce was almost wholly confined within the narrow limits of every little state. The intercourse which the members of one state had with those of another, was for the most part hostile and predatory, rather than mercantile and friendly. The petty states of Britain were almost constantly at war with one another, which made their mutual depredations to be considered as just and honourable enterprises. Too like the ancient Germans in this, as well as in many other things, “they did not esteem those robberies in the least dishonourable that were committed without the limits of their own state, but rather applauded and encouraged them, with a view to keep their youth in the constant exercise of arms (3).” It is not improbable that the prospect of obtaining those things by force from the people of a neighbouring state, which they could not obtain without an equivalent from their fellow-citizens, contributed not a little to keep the flames of war almost constantly burning. But when some of the British states began to apply to agriculture and other arts, their ferocious and predatory dispositions gradually abated; the rage of war was often suspended for a considerable time, and the people of these different states carried on a commercial intercourse with each other for their mutual advantage. By this means the circle of commerce was enlarged, and it became a bond of union between different states; as it had formerly been between the members of each state. But though it was more extensive, it was still of the same kind, and carried on by way of barter and exchange (4).

Besides this internal commerce which the people of Britain carried on among themselves from the very Foreign commerce

(3) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

(4) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 33. c. 1.

with the commencement of civil society, and which gradually increased as they improved in civility, industry, and arts; they had commercial dealings with several foreign nations in very ancient times. The first of these nations which visited this island on account of trade was unquestionably the Phœnicians. This is positively affirmed by Strabo, and acknowledged by many other authors (5). That people are generally believed to have been the inventors of navigation and foreign trade, and the instructors of other nations in these most useful arts (6). This much at least is certain, that they were the boldest and most expert mariners, the greatest and most successful merchants of antiquity (7). After they had made themselves perfectly well acquainted with all the coasts of the Mediterranean, had planted colonies and built cities on several parts of these coasts, and had carried on, for some ages, a prodigious and most enriching trade with all the countries bordering on that sea; they adventured to pass the Straits of Gibraltar about 1250 years before the beginning of the Christian æra, and pushed their discoveries both to the right and left of these Straits (8). On the right hand they built the city of Cadiz, in a small island near the coast of Spain; and from thence prosecuted their discoveries and their trade with great spirit and advantage (9). They soon became acquainted with all the coasts, and many of the interior parts of Spain, which was to them, for some ages, as great a source of wealth as the new world was afterwards to the Spaniards (10). Pursuing their inquiries after trade and gain still further northward, they acquired a perfect knowledge of the western coasts of Gaul; and at length discovered the Scilly islands, and the south-west coasts of Britain (11).

(5) Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

(6) Origin of Laws, &c. v. 1. p. 296.

(7) Isaiah, c. 23. v. 8. Ezekiel, c. 27.

(8) Origin of Laws, &c. v. 2. p. 293, &c. Bochart in Phalig. l. 3. c. 7. in Canaan, l. 1.

(9) Id. ibid. c. 34. p. 608, &c.

(10) Diod. Sic. l. 5. § 35. p. 358.

(11) Bochart Canaan, l. 1. c. 41. p. 659. c. 39. p. 648.



It is impossible to fix the time of this last discovery of the Phœnicians with certainty and precision. Some writers are of opinion that this island was discovered by that adventurous people before the Trojan war, and not long after it was first inhabited by colonies from the continent of Gaul (12). If we could be certain that the tin, in which the Tyrians or Phœnicians traded in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, was brought from Britain, we should be obliged to embrace this opinion (13). But as we know that they found great quantities of tin as well as of more precious metals in Spain, we cannot fix the æra of their arrival in Britain from this circumstance. The learned Bochart, and others from him, fix the time when the Phœnicians first discovered the Cassiterides, or Scilly islands, to the year of the world 3100, and before Christ 904 (14); while others imagine that this discovery was made by Himilco, a famous mariner of antiquity, who was sent from Carthage with a fleet to explore the seas and coasts northward of the Straits of Gibraltar, about 600 years before the beginning of the Christian æra (15). Though nothing can be determined with certainty about so remote an event, this last opinion seems to be the most probable. For Herodotus, who flourished about 440 years before our Saviour, says, that the Greeks in his time received all their tin from the islands called Cassiterides, but that he knew not in what part of the world these islands were situated (16). This is a direct proof that the Scilly islands, and adjacent continent of Britain, were discovered before this period; and that the Phœnicians, who had made this valuable discovery, still concealed their situation from other nations.

It is uncertain whether or not the Phœnicians planted any colonies, or built any cities in Britain and the adjacent islands, as they did in many other countries, to enable them to carry on their trade with greater advantage. Some think that the swarthy complexions and curled hair of the ancient inhabitants of the south-west coast of

The time of the Phœnicians' discovery of Britain not certainly known.

No evidence that the Phœnicians planted any colonies in Britain.

(12) Aylett Sammes Brit. Antiq. c. 5.

(13) Ezekiel, c. 26. v. 12.

(14) Bochart's Canaan, l. 1. c. 34. Anderson's History of Commerce, v. 1. p. 8.

(15) Dr. Borlase's Hist. Corn, p. 27, 28.

(16) Herodot. l. 1.

Britain,

Britain, which made Tacitus conjecture that they had come from Spain, were owing to their being descended from a colony of Phœnicians from Spain, which had been planted in these parts (17). But, upon the whole, it seems to be more probable that the Phœnicians contented themselves with making occasional, perhaps annual, voyages, into these parts of the world for the sake of trade; and that this is the reason so few vestiges of them are to be found, even in those parts of this island that they most frequented.

Commodities exported by the Phœnicians.

The enlargement of their commerce was the great object the Phœnicians had in view in their many bold adventurous voyages into distant countries, particularly into this island. They soon found that it abounded in several valuable commodities, for which they very well knew where to find a good market. The most considerable of these commodities were tin, lead, and skins (18).

Tin.

The Phœnicians, at their first arrival in Spain, had found great quantities of tin, with which they carried on a very advantageous trade into many different countries for several ages (19). But at length the mines of tin in Spain were almost exhausted, and the profits arising from them were much diminished. This made the discovery of the Scilly islands, and of the South-west coasts of Britain, very seasonable to the Phœnicians. For here they found that valuable metal tin, from which they derived such large profits, in the greatest plenty, and with the greatest ease (20). Cargoes of this metal they conveyed, in their own ships, into all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and even into India, where it was much valued, and sold at a very high price (21).

Lead.

It is not certain in what parts of the island the Phœnicians found the lead which they exported. If it was in those parts of it which have abounded most with that metal in succeeding ages, they were better acquainted with Britain, and had penetrated further into it, than is com-

(17) Dr. Borlase's Hist. Corn. p. 39.

(18) Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

(19) Bochart Phalig. c. 34.

(20) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 347.

(21) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 16.



monly imagined. For the countries in which the richest lead mines have been found, are those of the Coritani, now Derbyshire; of the Dimetæ, now Cardiganshire; of the Ordovices, now Denbighshire; and of the Brigantes, now Yorkshire, Northumberland, &c. (22). However this may be, we are assured by Pliny, "That in some parts of Britain lead was found immediately under the surface, in such abundance, that they found it necessary to make a law, that no more than a certain quantity of it should be taken annually (23)." When this metal was so plentiful and obvious, the Phœnicians would easily procure as great quantities of it as they thought proper to export.

The third, and not the least valuable article of the Phœnician exports from this island, was the skins both of wild and tame animals. Under this article was probably comprehended the wool of the British sheep, which hath been so excellent in all ages; and would be of great use to the Phœnicians in their woollen manufactures.

Though the Phœnicians were probably among the first nations in the world who understood the fabrication of money, and its use in trade; and though they were immensely rich in gold and silver, yet they made no use of coin in their commerce with the people of Britain. That people had, in these times, no idea of the nature or use of money; and the Phœnicians profited too much by their ignorance, to take any pains to instruct them in these particulars. They acted, in a word, in the same manner towards the ancient Britons, as the Europeans acted towards the people of America, on their first discovery of that country. They gave them things of small price in exchange for their most valuable commodities. The Phœnician imports into the Cassiterides, or tin-countries of Britain and its adjacent islands, as we are told by Strabo, consisted of the three articles of salt, earthen-ware, and trinkets made of brass (24). The first and second of these articles were indeed useful, but of easy purchase, and were probably sold at an exorbitant rate, to the unskilful Britons. The things made of

(22) Camden's Britannia, col. 591. 820. 917, &c.

(23) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

(24) Strabo, l. 3. sub fine.

brass were chiefly of the superfluous and ornamental kind, as bracclets for their arms, chains for their necks, rings, and the like, of which the ancient Britons were remarkably fond (25).

Phœnicians  
concealed  
their com-  
merce with  
Britain  
from other  
nations.

We may be convinced that the Phœnicians made great profit by their trade to Britain, by the anxious care with which they laboured to conceal it from the knowledge of other nations. The following story which is told by Strabo, is a sufficient proof of this anxiety and care. "In the most ancient times, the Phœnicians from Cadiz were the only persons who traded to these islands, concealing that navigation from all others. When the Romans once followed a Phœnician ship with a design to discover this market, the master maliciously and wilfully run his ship among shallows; and the Romans following, were involved in the same danger. The Phœnician, by throwing part of his cargo over-board, made his escape; and his countrymen were so well pleased with his conduct, that they ordered all the loss he had sustained to be paid out of the public treasury (26)." By these prudent precautions, the Phœnicians enjoyed a profitable and exclusive trade to these islands for about 300 years. But the secret was at length discovered, and the Greeks, Gauls and Romans came in successively for a share in this trade.

Britain dis-  
covered by  
the Greeks.

It appears, from the unquestionable testimony of Herodotus, that though the Greeks in his time (about 440 years before Christ) knew very well that all the tin which they used, and which they received from the Phœnicians, came originally from the Cassiterides, or Britain, and the Scilly islands, yet they did not know in what part of the world these islands were situated (27). For though the Phœnicians, in their transactions with the Greeks, could hardly avoid mentioning the names of these remote countries to which they sailed, they might, and did, avoid instructing them in the course they steered; and the Greeks had not then made such progress in navigation as enabled them to make the discovery themselves. How long it was after the age of Herodotus before the Greeks began to trade directly to Britain, is not

(25) Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(26) Strabo, l. 3.

(27) Herodot., l. 1.



exactly known ; but there are some things that may incline us to think that it was not very long. Pliny observes (28), that Britain had long been famous in the annals of the Greeks : and Polybius, who was by birth a Greek, and flourished near 200 years before Christ, wrote a whole book (which is unhappily lost) concerning Britain, and the manner in which tin was managed in that island (29) ; a proof that it was not unknown to the Greeks in the age of Polybius, and probably a considerable time before. Pytheas of Marseilles, who flourished about three hundred and thirty years before the beginning of the Christian æra, was the most ancient Greek geographer who gave any account of the British isles ; and was probably the very first of the Greeks who discovered these islands, and communicated that discovery to his countrymen. For Pytheas was an adventurous mariner, as well as a great geographer ; and having passed the Straits, sailed along the coasts of Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Scandinavia, until he came to a place where the sun continued only a few minutes below the horizon ; which must have been about the 66th degree of north latitude (30). In this voyage he not only discovered Britain, but even Thule, now Iceland, which he places six days sail further to the north than Britain (31). It is therefore highly probable that the Greeks began to trade into Britain soon after the age of Pytheas, or about three hundred years before the birth of Christ.

The commodities which the Greeks of Marseilles, and perhaps of other places, exported from Britain, were probably the same that had been exported from hence by the Phœnicians, their predecessors and rivals in this trade ; viz. tin, lead, and skins. The first of these commodities was the most valuable, and yielded the greatest profits. For this metal was long held in high estimation in all parts of the world, on account of the facility with which it was refined and manufactured, and the many various uses to which it was employed (32).

Imports  
and exports  
of the  
Greeks.

(28) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 16.

(29) Polyb. l. 3.

(30) Strabo, l. 2. p. 104.

(31) Strabo, l. 4. p. 204. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, t. 19. p. 146, &c.

(32) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

It was sent even into India, where none of it was to be found, and where they purchased it with their most precious diamonds. The great profits arising from the tin-trade of Britain in these times, was the chief thing that made the merchants of Carthage and Cadiz conceal the place where they got their tin with so much care; and made other nations so desirous of making the discovery. The Greeks obtained a share, if not the whole of this trade, with the greater ease, that the Carthaginians, soon after this period, began to be engaged in those long and bloody wars with the Romans, which very much diverted their attention from mercantile affairs, and at last ended in the total destruction of their state. They, no doubt, carried on this trade with the people of Britain in the same manner the Phœnicians had done, by giving them, who were still ignorant of the nature and use of money, some things of no great price, in exchange for their valuable commodities.

Greeks excelled in navigation and ship-building.

Not only the maritime states of Greece, but the Greek colonies of Italy, Sicily, and Gaul, excelled in the arts of ship-building and navigation, and were much addicted to trade, in this period. Many evidences of this, if it were necessary, might be produced: but that prodigious ship which was built at Syracuse, under the direction of Archimedes, and of which we have a most pompous description in Athenæus, is at once a proof of the great proficiency of the Greeks in all the maritime arts; and of their trade with Britain, about 200 years before the birth of Christ, when that ship was built. For, according to Athenæus, "this ship had three masts; of which the second and third were got without much difficulty; but it was long before they could find a tree fit for the first or main-mast. This at length was discovered on the mountains of Britain, and brought down to the sea-coast by machines invented by one Phileas Tauro-menites, a famous mechanic (33)."

Greeks also concealed their commerce with Britain.

As the Greeks did not enjoy the British commerce very long, and neither planted colonies nor built cities in this island, we have no reason to be surpris'd that so little is said on this subject by such of their writers as are now extant, and that they left so few traces behind them.

(33) Athenæi Deepnos, l. 5. c. 10.



Attentive observers, however, have discovered so many vestiges of their language, letters, learning, religion, and manners among the ancient Britons, as sufficiently prove the reality of their intercourse with this island (34). They seem also, as well as the Phœnicians, to have endeavoured to conceal their knowledge of and commerce with the British isles from other nations. For when the famous Scipio, as we are told by Strabo from Polybius, enquired the people of Marfeilles concerning these isles, they pretended a total ignorance of them (35). This was certainly a very false pretence, after the information they had received from Pytheas and others (36); and was probably made with no other view than to prevent the Romans from disturbing them in the enjoyment of the tin-trade in Britain.

Whether the Greeks of Marfeilles were discouraged from continuing to trade directly with Britain, by the length and danger of the voyage, or by the wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, which rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean very unsafe, we cannot be certain. But this we know from the best information, that the trade between Britain and Marfeilles, after some time, began to be carried on in a different manner, and through a different channel. Of this we have the following plain account from Diodorus Siculus: “ These  
 “ Britons who dwell near the promontory of Belerium  
 “ (the Land’s-end) live in a very hospitable and polite  
 “ manner, which is owing to their great intercourse with  
 “ foreign merchants. They prepare, with much dex-  
 “ terity, the tin which their country produceth. For  
 “ though this metal is very precious, yet when it is first  
 “ dug out of the mine it is mixed with earth, from  
 “ which they separate it, by melting and refining.  
 “ When it is refined, they cast it into ingots, in the  
 “ shape of cubes or dies, and then carry it into an ad-  
 “ jacent island, which is called Ictis (Wight). For when  
 “ it is low-water, the space between that island and the  
 “ continent of Britain becomes dry land; and they carry  
 “ great quantities of tin into it in their carts and wag-

The trade  
of Britain  
carried on  
in a differ-  
ent chan-  
nel.

(34) Aylet Sammes *Britannia Antiqua*, c. 6. p. 74.

(35) Strabo, l. 4. p. 190.

(36) *Memoires de L'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. 19. p. 163.

“ gons.

“ gons. Here the merchants buy it, and transport it to  
 “ the coast of Gaul; from whence they convey it over  
 “ land, on horses, in about thirty days, to the mouth  
 “ of the Rhone (37).” As Marfeilles is situated near  
 the mouth of the river Rhone, we may be certain that  
 it was the place to which the British tin was carried; and  
 that from thence the merchants of Marfeilles sent it into  
 all parts of the world to which they traded.

Who car-  
 ried on this  
 trade.

It is not so clear, from the above account of Diodorus  
 Siculus, who were the foreign merchants who purchased  
 the tin from the Britons in the Isle of Wight, transport-  
 ed it to the coast of Gaul, and from thence over land to  
 Marfeilles. Some imagine that they were Greeks from  
 Marfeilles, who had factories established in the Isle of  
 Wight, and on the coast of Gaul, for the management  
 of this trade; while others think that they were Gauls,  
 and that the people of Marfeilles remained quietly at  
 home, and received the British tin and other commodities  
 from the hands of these Gaulish merchants (38). There  
 seems to be some truth in both these opinions: and it is  
 most probable that the merchants of Marfeilles, finding  
 the difficulties and dangers of trading directly to Britain  
 by sea, contrived the scheme of carrying on that trade  
 over the continent of Gaul; and sent agents of their  
 own to begin the execution of this scheme. But they  
 could not but soon discover that it was impossible to carry  
 on a trade through so great an extent of country, with-  
 out the consent and assistance of the inhabitants; and  
 that it was necessary to employ them, first as their car-  
 riers, and afterwards as their agents. By this means,  
 some of the Gauls becoming acquainted with the nature  
 and profits of this trade, engaged in it on their own ac-  
 count. For it is certain that the Gauls were instructed  
 in trade, as well as in arts and learning, by the Greeks of  
 Marfeilles.

Ports of  
 Gaul where  
 the British  
 goods were  
 landed.

It is evident that the Isle of Wight was the place from  
 whence these foreign merchants, whether Greeks or  
 Gauls, exported the British tin; but we are not told at  
 what port of Gaul it was landed. A modern writer, of  
 great learning, hath engaged in a long and particular

(37) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. p. 247.

(38) Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16. p. 162.



discussion of this point (39); and after examining several different opinions, he concludes at last, that Vennes, in Brittany, was the port at which the goods exported from Britain were disembarked. It is however probable that the merchants of Gaul landed their goods from Britain at different ports, as it suited best their own situation and conveniency.

The people of Marseilles did not enjoy the British commerce long without rivals, after it began to be carried on over the continent of Gaul. For it appears that the merchants of Narbonne soon obtained a share of that trade. This had been but an inconsiderable place, till the Romans planted a colony there, about a century before the birth of Christ, and made it the capital of their first province in Gaul, called Narbonensis (40). Soon after this, Narbonne became a magnificent, rich, and mercantile city; being conveniently situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, not far from the mouth of the Rhone. From this time the merchants of Gaul found a market at Narbonne for a part of the goods which they brought from Britain, and which they had formerly carried only to Marseilles (41).

Narbonne a  
great em-  
porium.

After the British trade was thus divided between Marseilles and Narbonne, the merchants of Gaul opened several new routes for conveying their goods from Britain over the continent of Gaul, to these two great cities. Three of these routes are distinctly described by Strabo. When they made use of the first of these routes, they brought their goods from Britain up the river Seine, as far as it was navigable; and from thence conveyed them, on horses, over land, to the river Rhone, on which they again embarked them; and falling down that river to the Mediterranean, landed them either at Marseilles or Narbonne. In their return they brought goods for the British market from these cities up the Rhone, as far as it was navigable, from thence over land to the Seine, and down the river, and across the channel to the Isle of Wight, and other parts of Bri-

The routes  
by which  
the British  
goods were  
conveyed  
over the  
continent of  
Gaul to  
Marseilles  
and Nar-  
bonne.

(39) Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. 16, p. 168.

(40) Strabo, l. 4. p. 189.

(41) Strabo, l. 4.

tain (42). But because so long a navigation up the rapid river Rhone was attended with great difficulties, they sometimes landed their goods at Vienne, or Lyons, carried them over land to the Loire, and down that river to Vennes, and other cities on the coast of Brittany, and from thence embarked them for Britain (43). The trade between Britain and Marfeilles and Narbonne, by this second route (which was perhaps the greatest), was carried on by the Veneti, who were the greatest traders and the best navigators among the ancient Gauls (44). The third route was from Britain to the mouth of the Garonne, up that river as far as it was navigable; and from thence over land to Narbonne (45).

Trade of  
Britain ex-  
tended.

After the trade of Britain came into the hands of the Gauls, who were of the same origin, professed the same religion, and spoke the same language with the ancient Britons, it was not long confined to the Scilly islands and the coast of Cornwall, as it had been while it was managed by the Phœnicians and Greeks; but gradually extended to all the coasts opposite to Gaul. For when the Belgæ, and other nations from Gaul, had got possession of these coasts, the intercourse between them and the continent became open, friendly, and frequent. Merchant ships were constantly passing and repassing the British channel, especially where it is narrowest, from the one country to the other, for their mutual benefit. In former ages, the Britons who dwelt in Scilly islands, and on the coast of Cornwall, near the Land's-end, were the most civilized, because they had then the greatest intercourse with foreign merchants from Cadiz and Marfeilles (46). But in Cæsar's time, and for some time before, the people of Kent were the most polite; because the trade of Britain being then carried on by the Gauls, the greatest number of ships from the neighbouring continent arrived in the ports of that country; and the inhabitants of it were more conversant with foreign merchants, and most engaged in trade (47).

(42) Strabo, l. 4. p. 128. 186.

(43) *id.* *ibid.*

(44) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 3, c. 8.

(45) Strabo, l. 4. p. 89.

(46) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 22. P. 347.

(47) Cæf. de Bel. Gl. l. 5. c. 13, 14.

Though



Though the above deduction of the various revolutions in the British commerce, from its commencement to the first Roman invasion, may not appear altogether satisfactory; it will not perhaps be found an easy task to collect one much more perfect from the genuine remains of history. From the memorable æra of that invasion, the trade of this island became gradually more considerable, and the particulars of it a little better known.

Trade of Britain greater and better known, after the Roman invasion.

We are informed by Cæsar, that as soon as he began to think of invading this island, he was at great pains to procure intelligence about the state and circumstances of it, in order to enable him to form a proper scheme for its reduction. But he found it very difficult to obtain the intelligence he wanted and desired. "For very few, except merchants, visited Britain in these times; and even the merchants were acquainted only with the sea-coasts, and countries opposite to Gaul (48)." This is a distinct description of the feat and limits of the foreign trade of Britain at that time; which was confined to the sea-coasts on that side of it that lies along the British channel, between the mouth of the Thames on the east, and the Land's end on the west. All the rest of this island was then unknown to strangers, and without any trade or intercourse with foreign nations.

Limits of the British trade at that invasion.

Though Julius Cæsar did not found any cities, plant any colonies, or form any lasting establishments in Britain, yet the Romans gained, by his two expeditions, a much greater knowledge of it than they could before obtain from the information of others. The tribute also which he imposed on several of the British states, though it was never paid, afforded a pretence to succeeding emperors to make demands upon them, and to intermeddle in their affairs. This pretence was not neglected by his immediate successor Augustus, who drew considerable revenues from Britain, without being at any expence or trouble. These revenues arose partly from the valuable presents that were made him by the British princes who courted his favour, and partly from the

Intercourse between Britain and the continent increased.

(48) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 20.

customs or duties which he imposed on all the goods exported from Britain to the continent, and imported from the continent into Britain (49). As these duties were moderate, and procured the British merchants the protection of the Romans, and a favourable reception in all their ports, they paid them without much reluctance; and Augustus, who had more of the spirit of a financier than of a hero, chose rather to accept of this revenue which was got with ease, than to involve himself in the danger and expence of an expedition into Britain (50). The British trade being now become an object not unworthy of the attention of the greatest monarch in the world, it may not be improper to take a short view of the several articles of which its exports and imports consisted, as far as they can be discovered from the Greek and Roman writers.

Exported  
from Bri-  
tain.

Tin, we have reason to believe, still continued to be one of the most valuable articles of the British exports. The Romans, as well as the Phœnicians, Greeks, and other nations, set a very great value on this metal, and employed it to many various uses (31).

Tin.

Pliny, indeed, doth not give credit to the prevailing opinion in his time, that all the tin which was used in the Roman empire came from Britain, but thinks that some of it was brought from Spain and Portugal (52). But as Cæsar, Mela, Solinus, and other Roman authors (53), take notice of the great abundance of tin in this island, it is highly probable that the far greatest part, if not the whole of it that was used in the world in these times, was exported from Britain.

Lead.

Lead was another considerable article of the British exports during the reign of Augustus and his successors, as long as the Romans continued in this island. Pliny, after enumerating the various uses of lead, observes that this metal is got with greater ease, and in greater quantities, in Britain, than in either Gaul or Spain (54).

(49) Strabo, l. 4, p. 200.

(51) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. 34. c. 17.

(53) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. Mela, l. 3. c. 8. Solinus, c. 35. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(50) Id. *ibid.*

(52) Id. *ibid.* c. 16.

(54) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 17.

Though



Though the Britons had some iron when they were first invaded by the Romans, yet, as Cæsar observes, they had it only in small quantities, hardly sufficient for their home consumption, and none to spare for exportation (55). But after the Romans had been some time settled in this island, this most useful metal became very plentiful, and made a part of the British exports (56).

When Cæsar invaded Britain, it was believed that it produced neither gold nor silver; but the Romans had not been long settled in it, before they discovered their mistake, and found that it was not altogether destitute of these precious metals (57). A modern writer is of opinion, that gold and silver were not then found in such quantities as to furnish an article of the British exports (58): but the following passage of Strabo seems to imply the contrary: "Britain produceth corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron; besides which, skins, slaves, and dogs, naturally excellent hunters, are exported from that island (59)."

The Gagates, or jectstone, is believed by some to have constituted another article of the British exports of this period. This stone was highly esteemed by the ancients, both on account of its beauty and the many medicinal virtues they imagined it possessed; for which reason it bore a high price. It was found only at one place in Lycia, and in Britain (60).

Nascitur in Lycia lapis, & prope gemma Gagates,  
Sed genus eximium fecunda Britannia mittit (61).

Solinus, in describing the productions of Britain, mentions the Gagates as one of the most valuable, in the following terms: "Besides, to say nothing in this place of the many large and rich veins of metals of various kinds with which the soil of Britain abounds, the Gagates is found there in great quantities, and of

(55) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(56) Musgrave Belgium Britan. ep. 7. p. 156.

(57) M. Tullii Epist. tom. 1. l. 7. ep. 7. Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(58) Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 169. (59) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(60) Musgrave Belgium Britan. p. 164. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 19.

(61) Marbodæus apud Camden Britan. v. 2. p. 908.

“ the most excellent quality. If you inquire about its  
 “ appearance, it is black and gem-like, if its quality, it  
 “ is exceeding light: if its nature, it flames with water,  
 “ and is quenched with oil: if its virtue, it hath as  
 “ great a power of attraction when it is rubbed as am-  
 “ ber (62).”

Lime and  
 chalk.

Lime, chalk, and marle are reckoned among the British exports of this period. That chalk and marle abound in many parts of this island is well known, and that they were used as manures by the ancient British husbandmen hath been already proved (63). The following very remarkable inscription, which was found, with many others, near Domburgh, in Zealand, A. D. 1647, makes it appear that chalk was exported from Britain to the continent in very ancient times; and that this trade was carried on by a class of men who were called British chalk-merchants, who seem to have had a particular veneration for the goddess Nehalennia. This is a sufficient proof that this chalk-trade was carried on before the general establishment of Christianity.

DEAE NEHALENNIAE  
 OB MERCES RECTE CONSER-  
 VATAS SECVND. SILVANVS  
 NEGO † TOR CRETARIVS  
 BRITANNICIANVS  
 V. S. L. M. 46.

To the goddess Nehalennia  
 For his goods well preserved  
 Secundas Silvanus  
 A chalk-merchant  
 Of Britain

Willingly performed his merited vow.

Pearls.

Gems, and particularly pearls, may also be classed among the British exports of this period (65). Pearls, according to Pliny, were esteemed by the Romans the most precious and excellent of all things, and bore the highest price (66). Julius Cæsar was so great an ad-

(62) Solinus, c. 35. (63) Musgrave *Belgium Britan.* p. 162.  
 See Chap. V. sect. Agriculture.

(64) Keyfler *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 246.

(65) Meia, l. 3. c. 6.

(66) Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 9. c. 35.



mirror of the British pearls, which he had seen in Gaul, and used to weigh in his hand, that Suetonius affirms, the hope of obtaining a quantity of them was his chief inducement to the invasion of Britain (67). This much is certain, that after his return from this island, he consecrated a breast-plate, of great value and beauty, to Venus, in her temple at Rome; which he signified by an inscription, was composed of British pearls (68). Several ancient writers represent the pearls of Britain as generally small, and of a dusky colour; though others speak of them in more favourable terms (69).

Gignit et insignes antiqua Britannia baccas (70).

The fairest pearls grow on the British coasts.

It seems probable that the pearls of Britain were inferior to those of India and Arabia in general, though some of them might be remarkable for their size and beauty. But however this may be, the manner in which they are mentioned by so great a number of Greek and Roman authors, is a sufficient proof that they were well known on the continent, and consequently that they were a considerable ~~article~~ article of commerce (71).

Though agriculture was not unknown in Britain before <sup>Corn,</sup> it was invaded by the Romans, it was neither so perfect nor so extensive as to afford corn for exportation. But this most useful of all arts made such rapid progress after that period, that Strabo (who flourished about the beginning of the Christian æra) mentions corn among the productions of Britain that were exported (72). When the Romans subdued the best part of this island, and settled in it, they practised agriculture with so much skill, industry, and success themselves, and gave such encouragement to the natives to imitate their example, that corn became the staple commodity of Britain, and the most valuable article of its exports (73).

(67) Sueton. Jull. Cæsar, c. 47. (68) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 35.

(69) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 9. c. 35. Tacit. vitæ Agric. c. 12. Ælian Hist. Anem. l. 15. c. 8.

(70) Marbodæus de Lapid. prec. c. 61.

(71) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 23. c. 6. sub fine.

(72) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199. (73) See Chap. V. sect. Agriculture.

Cattle,  
hides,  
cheese,  
horses.

As Britain, according to the testimony of Cæsar, very much abounded in cattle of all kinds, we may be certain that they furnished the merchants of these times with several articles for exportation (74). The hides of horned cattle, and the skins and fleeces of sheep, were exported from this island by the merchants in this period, as well as they had been long before by the Phœnicians and Greeks (75). After the Romans had instructed the Britons in the art of making cheese, great quantities of it are said to have been exported for the use of the Roman armies (76). The British horses were so beautiful, and so admirably trained, that they were much admired by the Romans, and exported for the saddles of their great men, and for mounting their cavalry (77). It is also probable that oxen were exported for the yoke, and their carcasses for provisions for the Roman fleets and armies.

Dogs.

It will perhaps appear ridiculous to many readers to be told that the British dogs constituted no inconsiderable article in the exports of this period. But in the hunting and pastoral stages of society, these faithful animals are the favourite companions and most useful possessions of men; and even in a more advanced period of civilization, they contribute not a little to their amusement. We need not therefore be surpris'd to hear the poet speaking of the British dogs, as an article of commerce, in the following terms :

Quod freta si Morinum dubio refluentia ponto  
Veneres, atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos,  
O quanta est merces, et quantum impendia supra ?

But if the coasts of Calais you visit next,  
Where the firm shore with changing tides is vex't,  
And thence your course to distant Britain steer,  
What store of dogs ! and how exceeding dear (78).

These dogs seem to have been of three kinds, and designed for three different purposes. Some of them were very large, strong, and fierce, and were used by the

(74) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(75) Strabo, l. 3. p. 175. l. 4. p. 199.

(76) Musgrave Belgium Britannicum, p. 47.

(77) Anderfon's History of Commerce.

(78) Græcius apud Camden Britan. v. 1. p. 139.

Gauls,



Gauls, and some other nations, in war (79). Others of them were the same with our present mastiffs, or bulldogs, and were purchased by the Romans for baiting bulls in the amphitheatres, for the entertainment of the people.

*Magnaue taurorum fracturi collo Britanni (80).*

And British mastiffs break the brawny necks of bulls.

But the greatest numbers, and those which bore the highest price, were designed for hunting, and excelled all others, both in swiftness and the exquisiteness of their scent. They are thus described in a passage of Oppian, translated out of Greek into Latin by Bodinus :

*Est etiam catuli species indagine clara,  
Corpus huic breve, magnifico sed corpore digna ;  
Picta Britannorum gens illos effera bello  
Nutrit, Agatæosque vocat vilissimo forma  
Corporis, ut credas parasitos esse latrantes (81).*

There is a kind of dogs of mighty fame  
For hunting ; worthy of a fairer frame .  
By painted Britons brave in war they're bred,  
Are beagles called, and to the chase are led :  
Their bodies small, and of so mean a shape,  
You'd think them curs ; that under tables gape.

Many of the people of this now free and happy island **Slaves**, will be still more surpris'd when they are inform'd, that, in the period we are delineating, great numbers of slaves were exported from Britain, and sold like cattle in the Roman market. Of this, however, we have sufficient evidence from Strabo, a writer of the most unexceptionable credit, who directly mentions slaves among the British exports in his time (82). It is even probable that the young Britons, which, in the same place, he says he himself saw at Rome, were slaves expos'd to sale in the market. For their height is exactly measured, all their limbs are view'd, and every part of their bodies examined with the critical depreciating eye of a merchant who was cheapening them (83). Some of these British

(79) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200. Musgrave Belg. Brit. p. 160.

(80) Claudian.

(81) Camden Britan. v. i. p. 140.

(82) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(83) Id. l. 4. p. 200.

slaves appear to have been employed in laborious and servile offices about the imperial court and the public theatres of Rome (84). We are not informed who these unfortunate Britons were, who were thus ignominiously bought and sold; nor in what manner they had lost their liberty. But it is most probable that they were prisoners taken in war; or criminals condemned to slavery for their crimes: though some of them might perhaps be unfortunate gamesters, who after they had lost all their goods, had boldly staked their wives and children, and at last their own persons (85).

**Baskets.**

The reader must have observed that no manufactures, or works of art, have been mentioned among the British exports of this period. This was owing to the low imperfect state of the arts among the ancient Britons, before they were instructed by the Romans. There seems to have been only one kind of goods manufactured by them for exportation; which was baskets, and other works made of osiers. These baskets were of very elegant workmanship, and bore a high price; and are mentioned by Juvenal, among the extravagant expensive furniture of the Roman tables in his time.

*Adde et bascaudas & mille escaria (86).*

Add baskets, and a thousand other dishes.

That these baskets were manufactured in Britain, we learn from the following epigram of Martial:

*Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis  
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam (87).*

A basket I, by painted Britons wrought,  
And now to Rome's imperial city brought.

After the introduction of the Roman arts, goods of many kinds were manufactured in, and exported from Britain.

**Goods imported into Britain.**

Though the above enumeration of the ancient British exports is probably very imperfect, it is impossible to give

(84) Camden Brit. Introd. p. 51.

(85) Musgrave Belg. Brit. p. 157, 158. Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 24.

(86) Juvenal, Sat. 12. v. 46. (87) Martial, l. 14. ep. 99.



one so complete of the imports of these times. For these are not much noticed by any of the contemporary writers, except Strabo, who names only a few particulars, and comprehends all the rest under the general expression of "various wares or trinkets of the like kind (88)." The particulars mentioned by Strabo are only these four:---ivory bridles---gold-chains---cups of amber---and drinking-glasses (89). These are evidently only a few of the most curious and costly commodities that were imported into Britain after it had been visited by Julius Cæsar, and before it was subdued by Claudius; designed only for the use of the British kings and princes. Besides these, we may be certain there were many other things imported, for the use of persons of inferior rank. In particular, we are told by Cæsar (90), that all the brass used in Britain was imported: and we know that in these times, before iron became plentiful, a great part of the arms, tools, and utensils of all kinds that were used in this island, were made of that metal (91).

As soon as the Romans had subdued a considerable part of Britain, and great numbers of them had settled in it, the imports unavoidably became much more various and valuable. Besides wine, spices, and many other articles for their tables, they were under a necessity of importing the greatest part of their tools, arms, furniture, clothing, and many other things. When the Britons began to imitate the Roman luxury and way of living (as they soon did), the demand for the productions and manufactures of the continent was still more increased; which made the imports exceed the exports in value, brought the balance of trade, for some time, against this island, and involved the unhappy Britons in a grievous load of debt (92).

When the Romans had completed the conquest of provincial Britain, they made haste to improve and enrich it, by introducing agriculture into all parts of it that were capable of cultivation; and by establishing various manufactures, in which they instructed their

(88) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

(89) *Id. ibid.*

(90) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(91) See Chap. V. sect. of Metals.

(92) Camden Britan. v. 1. p. 435.

British subjects. As the Britons improved in the knowledge of agriculture and the other arts, they provided themselves, by their own industry, with many things that they had formerly imported; and raised and prepared many more articles for exportation. By this means they brought and kept the balance of trade in their favour, which soon enabled them to pay all their debts, and, by degrees, enriched them with great sums of Roman money.

Seats of the  
British  
trade on  
the conti-  
nent.

The trade from the continent into Britain, as we learn from Strabo, was chiefly carried on from the mouths of these four great rivers, the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne: and the merchants who carried on that trade resided in the sea-ports on the adjacent coasts (93). From thence they sent their British goods, partly by water, and partly by land carriage, into the interior parts of Germany, Gaul, Italy, and other countries: and by the same means received goods from all those countries for the British market.

Trading  
towns in  
Britain.

We are not so particularly informed concerning the situation of the chief sea-ports and principal trading towns of Britain in this period. While the British trade was managed only by the Phoenicians and Greeks, the Scilly islands and the Isle of Wight were the chief marts and seats of trade. When it fell into the hands of the Gauls, it became gradually more extensive; and they visited all the safe and convenient harbours on the British coasts, opposite to their own, from the Land's-end to the mouth of the Thames. But after the Romans invaded, and more especially after they subdued and settled in this island, the scene of trade was prodigiously enlarged, many towns were built in the most convenient situations, on its sea-coasts, and navigable rivers; and all these towns had probably a share of trade, more or less; though some had a much greater share than others. Clausentum, or Old Southampton, is imagined to have been a place of considerable trade, on account of its convenient situation, on a fine bay near the tin-countries and the Isle of Wight (94). Rutupæ, or Richborough, is also believed to have been a famous sea-port, and a place

(93) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(94) Musgrave *Belgium Britannicum*, p. 40:



of great trade in the Roman times. This much at least is certain, that it was the port where the Romans commonly landed when they came into this island; and where they departed out of it for the continent (95). But London very soon became by far the richest and greatest of all the trading towns in Britain. For though this renowned city (designated by Providence to be the chief seat of the British trade and empire in all succeeding ages) was probably founded only between the first Roman invasion under Julius, A. A. C. 55. and the second under Claudius, A. D. 43; yet in less than twenty years after this last event, it is thus described by Tacitus: "Suetonius, with wonderful resolution, marched through the very heart of the enemy's country to London; a city famous for its wealth, and the great number of its merchants; though it was not distinguished by the title of a colony (96)." It seems indeed probable, that London was founded by the merchants of Gaul and Britain some time in the reign of Augustus, on account of the convenience of the situation for commerce; and that this illustrious city owes its origin, as well as a great part of its prosperity and grandeur, to trade. There is hardly any other supposition can account for its becoming so remarkable for its wealth and commerce in so short a time.

It hath been disputed whether the duties that were paid by the British merchants to the Roman government in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were levied at the ports on the continent where their goods were landed, or at the ports in this island where they were embarked. It is perhaps impossible to arrive at certainty in this matter; but it seems to be probable, from some passages in Strabo, that in the interval between the first and second invasion, the Romans had publicans settled in the trading towns of Britain, with the consent of the British princes, for collecting their duties on merchandize; which they, from prudential considerations, had agreed to accept of in lieu of the tribute which had been imposed by Julius Cæsar. The reason which that excellent writer gives in one place, why the Romans did not

Duties on  
merchand-  
ize where  
paid.

(95) Vide Balteley Antiq. Rutup.

(96) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

think fit to prosecute the conquest of Britain begun by Cæsar, is this : That though the Britons refused to pay tribute, they consented to pay certain duties on goods exported and imported ; and the Romans, upon mature consideration, thought it best to accept of those duties, which they imagined would produce very near as much as the tribute would have produced, after deducting the expence of the army which would have been necessary to enforce the payment of the tribute (97). This plainly implies that the duties were levied where the tribute would have been levied, i. e. in Britain. For the consent of the Britons was not in the least necessary to enable the Romans to impose what duties they pleased on British goods in the ports on the continent, which were entirely under the Roman dominion. This is confirmed by what the same author says in another place, concerning the earnest endeavours of the British princes to engage the friendship of Augustus by embassies, presents, good offices, and the cheerful payment of duties on goods exported and imported : and that by these means the Romans came to be familiarly acquainted with a great part of Britain ; which they could not have been, if some of them had not resided in it, for collecting these duties (98). As soon as the Romans had formed a province in Britain, they certainly established publicans, or officers for collecting the duties on merchandize, in all the trading towns of that province ; and extended that establishment as their dominions were enlarged.

Their history, proportion, and manner in which they were collected.

The *Pertoria*, or duties on merchandize, were imposed by the ancient kings of Rome on their subjects, as soon as they had any trade ; and though they were abolished at the expulsion of the kings, they were soon after restored, and continued to constitute a very important branch of the public revenue, both under the common-wealth, and under the emperors (99). These duties were imposed in all the provinces of the empire, on all kinds of goods, without exception, that were exported or imported in order to be sold : and those on exports were to be paid before they were embarked, and on imports before they were landed ; under the penalty

(97) Strabo, l. 2. p. 116.

(98) *Ibid.* l. 4. p. 200.

(99) *Vide* Burmanni *Vestigalia Populi Romani*, c. 5. p. 50, &c.



of forfeiting the goods. In order to prevent frauds, the merchants were obliged to give in to the publicans an entry of all their goods exported or imported, with an estimate of their value, in order to ascertain the sum that was to be paid, which was always a certain proportion of the real value; and the publicans had a right to view all the goods, and enquire into the truth of the entry and estimate (100). The proportion of the value of goods exported or imported, that was to be paid by way of custom, was not always the same, but varied according to the exigencies of the state, or dispositions of the emperors; though the fortieth part seems to have been the most ordinary rate (101).

It is in vain to attempt to form an exact estimate of the annual value of the duties that were levied by the Romans on the trade of this island. This, at first, was probably no great matter; though even then the emperor Augustus did not think it unworthy of his attention. But as the people of Britain gradually improved in agriculture, arts, and manufactures under the government of the Romans, their trade increased; both its exports and imports became more various and valuable; and the duties arising from them more considerable. These at last (if we may be allowed to indulge a conjecture) might perhaps amount to five hundred thousand pounds per annum, or a fourth part of the whole revenues of Britain in the most flourishing times of the Roman government (102). This will not appear an extravagant supposition, when we reflect, that for one article, as much corn was exported from this island in one year (three hundred and fifty-nine) as loaded eight hundred large ships (103). It will appear still more credible, when we consider the flourishing state of the internal trade of Britain in the Roman times; and that all the goods that were bought and sold in the public fairs and markets, to which the merchants were by law obliged to bring their goods, paid a tax of the fortieth part of the sum for which they were sold to the government, as well as those that were exported and import-

Annual amount of these duties.

(100) Vide Burmanni *Vestigalia Populi Romani*, c. 5. p. 56—60.

(101) *Id* *ibid.* c. 5. p. 64.

(102) See Chap. III. sect. 3.

(103) *Zosim. Hist.* l. 3.

ed (104). Nay, even those goods that were not sold paid a certain tax or toll for the liberty of exposing them to sale (105). When all these things are taken into the account, the above conjecture concerning the annual amount of the Roman customs in Britain in the most flourishing times of their government, will perhaps be thought by many rather too moderate than too high.

Origin of money.

All the trade of Great Britain, as hath been already observed, was carried on for some ages in the way of barter, and exchange of one commodity for another; a method attended with manifold inconveniences. It must have often happened, that the one party had not the particular kind of goods which the other wanted; or that the two things proposed to be exchanged were not of equal value; and that one or both of them could not be divided, as in the case of living animals, without being destroyed. These, and many other inconveniences attending this primitive mode of commerce, must have been sensibly felt by the ancient Britons, and by all other ancient nations; but it was not very easy to find a remedy. This however was happily invented in very ancient times; though it is not well known where, or by whom; and consisted in constituting certain scarce and precious metals, as gold, silver, and brass, to be the common measures and representatives of all commodities, and the great medium of commerce. These metals were admirably adapted to answer this purpose; as they were scarce, of great intrinsic value, durable, portable, and divisible into as many parts as was necessary without loss (106). This was the true origin of money; which, notwithstanding all the general declamations of poets, moralists, and divines against it, hath certainly proved one of the most useful of human inventions, and the great means of promoting a free and universal intercourse among mankind, for their common good.

When metals were first used as money, and made the common prices of all commodities, their value was determined only by their weight.

(104) Burmanni Vestigal. Pop. Rom. p. 69. Clarke on Coins, p. 188.

(105) Burmanni Vestigal. Pop. Rom. p. 69.

(106) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 281.



The feller having agreed to accept of a certain quantity of gold, silver, or brass for his goods, the buyer cut off that quantity from the plate or ingot of that metal in his possession; and having weighed it, delivered it to the feller, and received the goods (107). But this method of transacting business was attended with much trouble, and liable to various frauds, both in the weight and fineness of the metals used in commerce. To remedy these inconveniences, it was ordained by the laws of several ancient nations, that all the metals that were to be used as money, should be divided into pieces of certain determinate forms and magnitudes, stamped with certain marks, by which every person might know, at first sight, the weight, fineness, and value of each piece (108). By this happy improvement, the one party was saved the trouble of cutting and weighing his money in every payment, and the other secured from frauds in the weight or fineness of that money. This was the true origin of coin; by which money became more current, and commercial transactions were very much facilitated.

It is impossible to discover the precise time when money first began to be used in this island, or by whom it was introduced. Both the Phœnicians and Greeks were very well acquainted with the nature and use of money when they traded into Britain; but we have no evidence that they communicated any knowledge of it to the ancient Britons. It is more probable that both these trading nations took advantage of their ignorance, and concealed from them the nature and value of money, that they might purchase their commodities for some trifling trinkets. The people of Gaul could hardly fail to acquire the knowledge of money in very ancient times, either from the Greeks of Marseilles, or the Phœnicians of Spain; and when once it was generally known and used in Gaul, it could not be long a secret in Britain. It is therefore most probable, that the use of money was introduced into this island from the opposite continent, by merchants who came to trade, or colonies which came to

(107) Gen. c. 23. v. 16. Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 282.

(108) Id. *ibid.* v. 1. p. 283, 284. Clarke on Coins, p. 392, 393.

settle in it, not very long before the first Roman invasion. For at the time of that invasion, money, or the use of metals as a medium in commerce, seems to have been but newly introduced; and coin, properly so called, to have been still unknown, or only made of brass. "The Britons use either brass money, or rings and plates of iron, of a determinate weight, by way of money (109)."

Passage of  
Cæsar's  
examined.

This remarkable passage (of which the original is given) is variously used, and differently understood by antiquaries; some read the first part of the sentence thus—*Utuntur aut ære*---they use either brass, &c. and from thence infer that the brass which the Britons used by way of money, was unstamped and uncoined, as well as the iron, and consisted only of pieces of a certain known weight (110).

Others read it thus---*Utuntur autem nummo æreo*---or---*Utuntur aut æreo*, and suppose the substantive *nummo* to be understood---"They use brass money:" and from this reading they conclude, that the brass money which the Britons used was coined; though the iron which they used (*pro nummo*) by way of money, was not coined, but only made into rings and plates of a certain weight (111). Both these opinions are supported by their respective advocates with no little learning and acuteness; but there is still room to doubt on which side the truth lies. As the latter part of the above passage from Cæsar's Commentaries, respecting the iron tallies used by the ancient Britons of money, is very clear, so the truth of it is confirmed by several large hoards of this old iron money, without any impression, having been found in different places (112).

Gold and  
silver coins.

If the Britons had any gold or silver among them, either coined or uncoined, when they were first invaded by the Romans, it was certainly unknown to their invaders. For though Cæsar mentions the tin, lead, and iron which their country produced, and the brass which they imported, he says not one word of either gold or

(109) Cæsar de Bcl. Gal. l. 5. 12.—*Utuntur aut æreo, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.*

(110) Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobelin's Coins, p. 34, 35.

(111) Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, p. 266.

(112) *Id. ibid.* p. 275.

silver :



silver: and some of his companions in that expedition wrote to their friends at Rome in plain terms, that Britain yielded neither gold nor silver (113). But a very considerable number of gold coins were found, A. D. 1749, on the top of Karn-bre hill, in Cornwall; which are well described by the learned Dr. Borlase, and clearly proved to have belonged to the ancient Britons; and, as he thinks, were coined by them before the first invasion (114). His arguments, however, in support of this last point, are not so conclusive as to overbalance the direct testimony of Cæsar and Quintus Cicero; especially when we consider that they were prompted, both by their avarice and curiosity, to be very diligent in their enquiries after these precious metals, and that they had the best opportunities of procuring information. It is therefore most probable, that these Karn-bre coins, which are of pure gold, were struck by the authority and direction of some of the British princes in these parts, some time between the first invasion under Julius Cæsar, and the second under Claudius. It is very certain that the Britons improved very much in all the arts in that interval, by their more free and frequent intercourse with the continent; where the arts were also in a progressive state. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose, that some of the Gauls retiring from their country to avoid the Roman yoke, and settling in Britain, which was still free after the retreat of Cæsar, brought with them the art of coining money, in the same taste in which it was practised in Gaul, immediately before the conquest of that country by the Romans; when a new and more beautiful manner was introduced. This conjecture is confirmed by the remarkable resemblance of these coins to those of the ancient Gauls; which is so striking, that not a few have imagined that they are really Gaulish coins, and were brought into this country by some merchant on account of trade (115).

It is also not improbable, that some of those Gauls who settled in Britain soon after Cæsar's retreat, were the first who discovered that this island was not destitute of gold; By whose gold and silver were discovered in Britain.

(113) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. M. Tullii Epist. ad Familiar. tom. 1. l. 7. ep. 7.

(114) Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, c. 12.

(115) Id. *ibid.* p. 270.

and so furnished the Britons with the most precious materials, as well as with the art of coining. For Gaul had long been famous for the abundance of its gold, and the Gauls for their dexterity in discovering, refining, and working that metal (116). There is one peculiarity in the coins now under consideration, that makes it still more probable that they were the workmanship of the Gauls, or of some who had been instructed by them. These coins are all of pure gold, without any alloy or mixture of baser metals; and the Gauls made not only their coins, but their rings, chains, and other trinkets, of pure gold, without alloy (117).

Whoever was the person who first discovered that this island produced gold and silver, it is certain that this discovery was made not long after the first invasion of the Romans. For Strabo, who flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, mentions gold and silver among the productions of Britain (118): and his testimony is confirmed by Tacitus, who says----“ Britain produceth gold, silver, and other metals, to reward its conquests (119).”

Progress of  
coining  
money in  
Britain.

The Britons being now furnished with the materials, and some imperfect knowledge of the art of coining money, gradually improved in this art, and soon produced coins of gold, silver, and brass, far more beautiful and perfect in all respects, than those found at Karn-bre, which seem to have been among the first productions of the British mint. The figures of human heads on one side, and horses, trees, wheels, &c. on the other side of the Karn-bre coins, are in a much ruder and more clumsy taste than those on the British coins in Speed and Camden. But the greatest and most obvious difference between these two sets of coins, consists in this; that the latter have legends or inscriptions, and the former have none. This is a demonstration that a very material change and improvement had been made in the art of coining, between the time in which the Karn-bre and those other British coins were struck.

Figures  
stamped  
on the most an-  
cient coins.

The figures that were first stamped on the coins of all nations, especially of those nations whose chief riches

(116) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 27. p. 350. (117) Id. ibid.

(118) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(119) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

consisted.



consisted in their flocks and herds, were those of oxen, horses, hogs, and sheep (120). The reason of this seems to have been, that before these nations were acquainted with money, they had used their cattle as money, and purchased with them every thing they wanted; and therefore, when they became acquainted with the nature of money, as a representative of all commodities, they stamped it with the figures of these animals, which among them it chiefly represented (121). From hence we may conclude, that those coins of any country, which have only the figures of cattle stamped upon them, and perhaps of trees, representing the woods in which these cattle pastured, were the most ancient coins of that country (122). Some of the gold coins found at Karnbre, in Cornwall, and described by Dr. Borlase, are of this kind, and may therefore be justly esteemed the most ancient of our British coins.

When sovereigns became sensible of the great importance of money, and took the fabrication of it under their own direction, they began to command their own heads to be stamped on one side of their coins; while the figures of some animals still continued to be impressed on the other side. Of this kind are some of the Karnbre coins, with a royal head on one side, and a horse on the other; which we may therefore suppose to have been struck in a more advanced state of the British coinage, and which we may call the second stage of its improvement (123).

When the knowledge and use of letters were once introduced into any country where money was coined, it would not be long before they appeared on its coins; expressing the names of the princes whose heads were impressed upon them; of the places where they were coined, and other circumstances. This was a very great improvement in the art of coining, and gave an additional value to money; by making it preserve the memories of princes, and afford lights to history. Nor were our British ancestors unacquainted with this great improvement before they were subdued by the Romans. For several of our ancient British coins which are preserved

Heads of  
princes  
stamped on  
coins.

Legends  
on coins.

(120) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 3 § 13. Columella, c. 7. in præf.

(121) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 2. p. 311.

(122) Plate in Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall. (123) Id. ibid,

in the cabinets of the curious, and have been engraved in Speed, Camden, Pegge, and others, have very plain and perfect legends or inscriptions, and on that account merit particular attention.

Cunobeline's coins,

The far greatest number of the ancient British coins which have been found with inscriptions upon them, appear from these inscriptions to have been coined in the reign and by the authority of Cunobeline; a prince who flourished in this island between the first and second Roman invasion. The learned Mr. Pegge hath published an engraving of a very complete collection of these coins of Cunobeline, to the number of thirty-nine, with an essay upon them; from which the following brief account of them is for the most part extracted (124). These coins are of different metals; some of them gold, others of silver, and others of brass, but all of them very much debased. They are all circular, though not perfectly flat, most of them being a little disked, some more, some less, with one side concave, and the other convex. The taste in which they are executed is good, and the figures upon them are much more elegant than those on the Karn-bre coins above mentioned, or on the ancient Gallic coins in Montfaucon (125).

Divided into six classes,

The Letters upon them are all Roman, and for the most part fair and well shaped. They are very properly arranged by Mr. Pegge, under the six following classes:

- I. Contains those that have only the king's name, or some abbreviation of it.
- II. Those that have the king's name, with a place of coinage.
- III. Those that have the king's name, with TASCIA, or some abbreviation of that word.
- IV. Those that have the king's name, with TASCIA, and a place of coinage.
- V. Those that have TASCIA only.
- VI. Those that have TASCIA, with a place of coinage.

(124) See an Essay on the Coins of Cunobeline. London 1766.

(125) Montfaucon Antiq. tom. 3. p. 88. plate 52.



CLASS I.



CLASS II.



CLASS III.







In the first class are six coins, but all differing in some 1st class. particulars. The first coin is of silver, having the king's head, and the name *CUNOBELINE* around it on one side, and a fine horse, with a crescent or new moon above his back, on the reverse. The second coin is also of silver, having the syllable *CVN* in a straight line on both sides; on the obverse there is no head, but on the reverse there is the figure of a naked man at full length, in a walking attitude, with a club over his shoulder. The third coin hath the same inscription and figure of the second, and differs from it only in the metal, which is copper, and in the size which is smaller. The fourth coin is of copper, with the syllable *CVN* in a straight line, without any head on the obverse; and on the reverse the figure of an animal, which some antiquaries take to be a horse, and others a dog or a sheep. The fifth coin in this class is taken from Mr. Selden's *Titles of Honour*, part I. c. 8. On the obverse is the king's head, adorned with a diadem, or fillet of pearls, with the name *CUNOBELIN* inscribed around. The metal and the reverse are mentioned by Mr. Selden. The sixth and last coin in this class is of gold, blank on the obverse; on the reverse it hath a fine horse upon the gallop, over him a hand holding a truncheon, a pearl or pellet at a little distance from each end of it, and above it *CVNO*; under the horse the figure of a serpent wrigling.

In the second class are nine coins; no two of which 2d class. are exactly alike in all respects. The first is of brass; having on the obverse a Janus, with *CVNO* below it; and on the reverse the figures of a hog and a tree, and under them *CAMV*, supposed to be an abbreviation of *Camulodunum*, the royal seat of *Cunobeline*, and the place of coinage. The second is of gold; on the obverse an ear of corn and *CAMV*; on the reverse a horse, with the figure of a comet above his back, and of a wheel under his belly, and *CVNO*. The third is of silver; having on the obverse the king's head, and *CAMV*; and on the reverse a female figure sitting in a chair, with wings at her shoulders, supposed to be *Victory*, and *CVNO* under the chair. The fourth coin differs only from the second in this, that the figure above the horse's back is that of the leaf of a tree, and the wheel is placed before his mouth, and not under his belly. The fifth is a small gold coin; having

having on the obverse an ear of corn, which is supposed to indicate the place of coinage; and on the reverse a horse, with CVN. The sixth is a gold coin; having on the obverse a head with a beard, and CVNOB; and on the reverse a lion couchant, with CAM. The seventh is of brass; on the obverse two human figures standing, supposed to be Cunobeline and his queen, with CVN; and on the reverse a Pegasus, or winged horse, with CAMV. The eighth coin differs only from the first of this class in this, that there is no tree on the reverse. The ninth is of gold; on the obverse a horse curvetting, with a wheel under his belly, and CVN, and a star over his back; on the reverse an ear of corn, and CAMV.

3d class.

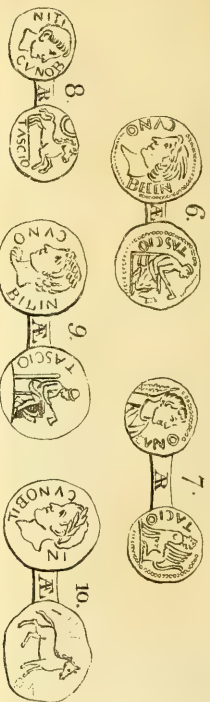
The third class comprehends ten coins, all different in some particulars from each other. 1. A brass coin; on the obverse the king's head, with CVNOBILIN around it; on the reverse a workman sitting in a chair, with a hammer in his hand, coining money; of which several pieces appear on the ground, and TASCIO. 2. A silver coin; on the obverse a laureate crown, with CVNO inscribed; on the reverse a Pegasus, with TASC below. 3. A silver coin; with the king's head on the obverse, and CVNO; and on the reverse a sphinx, with TASCIO. 4. On the obverse the king's head, with CVNOBILIN; and on the reverse a horse, with TASCIO. 5. An elegant copper coin; having on the obverse the king's head, with his name latinised CVNOBELINVS RE; and on the reverse the figure of an ox, and below it TASC. 6. A copper coin; and on the obverse a female head, probably the queen's, with CVNOBELIN; and the reverse very nearly the same with that of the first coin in this class. 7. A silver coin; having a female head on the obverse, with CVNO; and on the reverse a fine sphinx, with TASCIO. 8. Is also silver; with the king's head and CUNOBILIN on the obverse; and a fine horse galloping on the reverse, with TASCIO. 9. Differs very little from the first in this class. 10. Is a copper coin; with the king's head laureated, and CVNOBILIN on the obverse; a horse with some faint traces of TASCIA on the reverse.

4th class.

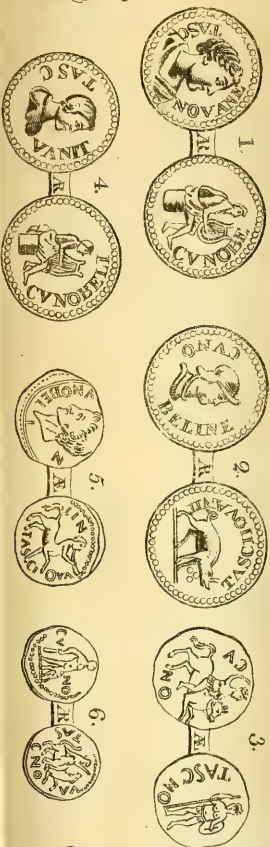
The fourth class contains six coins, which are remarkably fine. 1. Is a silver coin; having the king's head on the obverse, with TASC behind it; and before the face NOVANE, which is believed to be an abbreviation of the



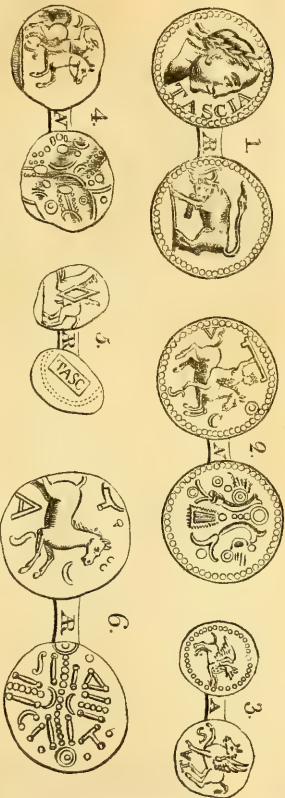
CLASS III.



CLASS IV.

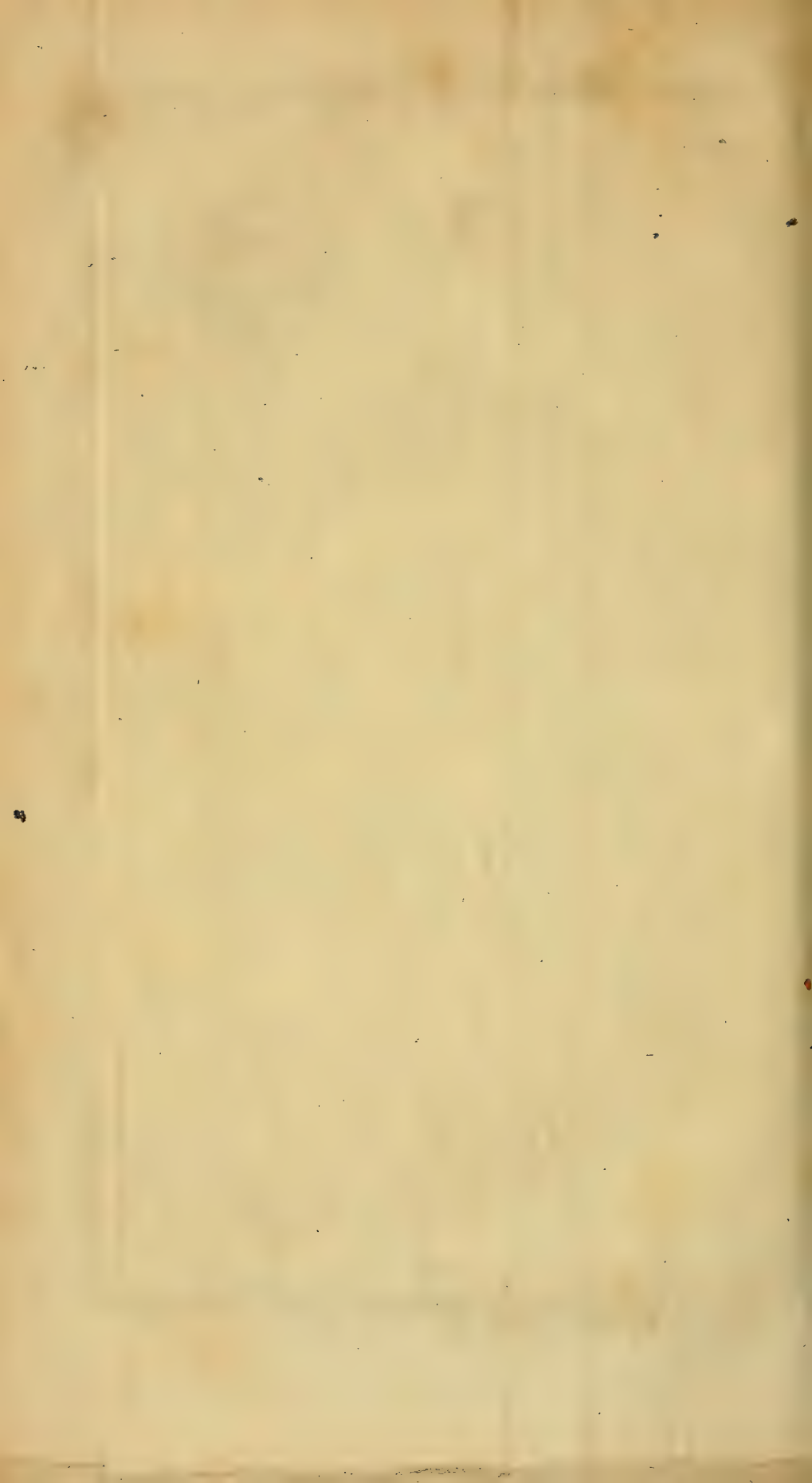


CLASS V.



CLASS VI.







the name of some town, or of some people ; and on the reverse Apollo playing on the harp, with CVNOBE.

2. Is also a silver coin ; and hath on the obverse the king's head helmeted, with CVNOBELINE ; and on the reverse a hog, with TASCIOVANIT ; though it is imagined that the III in the middle was originally an N, which will make the legend on the reverse of this coin nearly the same with that on the obverse of the preceding one.

3. A fine copper coin ; having on the obverse the king on horseback at full gallop, with CYNO ; and on the reverse the king on foot, with a helmet on his head, a spear in his right-hand, and a round target in his left, with TASCNO.

4. This coin doth not differ much from the first one in this class. 5. Is a copper coin ; having the king's head, with CVNOBELIN on the obverse ; and a centaur blowing a horn, with TASCIOVANIT on the reverse. 6. Is a silver coin ; with a figure believed to be Hercules, and CUNO on the obverse ; a woman riding sideways on an animal which hath very much the appearance of a dog, with TASCNOVA on the reverse.

The fifth class contains six coins. 1. Is a fine silver coin ; with a Roman head laureated, supposed to be that of the emperor Augustus, and TASCIA on the obverse ; and a bull pushing with his horns on the reverse. 2. A gold coin, having the king on horseback, with TASCIO on the obverse ; the reverse is crowded with figures, which are not now understood. 3. A fine silver coin, with a griffin on the obverse ; and a pegasus and TAS on the reverse. 4. This coin is of gold, and differs very little from the second. 5. A silver coin ; having a horse with a shield in the form of a lozenge hanging on his side on the obverse ; and TASC within a compartment on the reverse. 6. This coin is of electrum, with a horse on the gallop, and TASC on the obverse ; and TASCIO on the reverse. There is a coin in Mr. Theresby's Museum, p. 338, which might also be ranged in this class ; having a head on the obverse, and a dog, with TA under a man on horseback, on the reverse.

The sixth class contains only two coins. 1. Is of silver ; with VER, supposed to be an abbreviation of Verulamium on the obverse ; a horse galloping with TASCIA on the reverse. 2. A fine gold coin ; having a man on horseback,

horseback, with a sword in his right-hand, and a target in his left-hand on the obverse; and **CEARATIC**, which Mr. Pegge supposes to be the name of some town in the territories of Cunobeline now unknown; but others, perhaps more truly, believe to be the name of the renowned Caratacus, or Caractacus; on the reverse an ear of corn, and **TASCIE**.

Meaning of  
the word  
**TASCIA**.

The word **TASCIO**, or **TASCIA**, which, or some abbreviation of it, appears on so many of these ancient British coins, hath greatly puzzled our antiquaries; who have formed several different opinions concerning its meaning. Mr. Camden, Mr. Baxter, Dr. Pettingal, and others, have imagined that this word is derived from **Task**, or **Tascu**, which in the original language of Britain signified any load, burthen, or tribute imposed by the **Tag**, or prince; and that all the money which had **Tascia**, or any of its abbreviations upon it, had been coined for no other purpose but to pay the tribute which had been imposed upon the Britons by Julius Cæsar, and the **Portaria** or duties upon merchandize, which had been exacted by Augustus and his successors (126).

Mr. Camden hath improved upon this thought, by supposing—"These coins were stamped for the payment of the tribute for the greater cattle with a horse, for the lesser with a hog, for woods with a tree, and for corn ground with an ear of corn (127)." But though these opinions are specious, and supported by great names, they are liable to strong objections. The derivation of **Tascio**, from **Tag**, a prince, by the intervention of **Tascu**, a burthen or task, is far from being clear. Money coined for the sole purpose of paying tribute, is a thing unknown in the history of mankind; and it is not probable that **Cunobeline**, who was a free and independent prince, the friend, but not the subject of the Roman emperors, would have admitted a word of such ignominious import as **Tascio** is in this sense, upon his coins (128).

(126) Camden, v. 1. p. cix. 351. Baxt. Gloss. Brit. voce **Tascia**.  
Dr. Pettingal's Dissert. on **Tascia**. London 1763.

(127) Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. exiii.

(128) Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins, p. 25, &c.



A modern author, dissatisfied with the above interpretation of the word *Tascio*, hath proposed another. He supposes that *Tascio* is an abbreviation of the name of some nation or people to whom this money belonged, and of which *Cunobeline* was king; and finding in *Pliny*, lib. 3. c. 4. a people of *Gallia Narbonensis*, called *Tascodunitari Cononiences*, in the MSS. *Tascoduni Taruconiences*, he conjectures that *Cunobelin Tascio* may mean *Cunobelin Tascodunorum* (129). But this is certainly a far-fetched and improbable conjecture. For these coins being found in *Britain* in great numbers, and having the name of *Cunobeline* upon them, who is well known to have been a great *British* prince, cotemporary with *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, and on some of them an abbreviation of *Camulodunum*, his royal seat, it amounts to a demonstration that they are *British* coins, and have nothing to do with so distant a country as *Gallia Narbonensis*, where no such coins have ever been found.

Another modern writer hath conjectured that *Tascio* was the name of *Cunobeline's* mint-master, who struck all these coins (130). This, it must be confessed, is a much more feasible notion than the former; though it is not without its difficulties. In particular, it is a little strange, that this word, if it was a proper name, should have been spelled by the owner of it in so many different ways, as *Tascio*, *Tascia*, *Tascie*.

Besides these numerous coins of *Cunobeline*, there are many others engraved and described in *Speed*, *Camden*, &c. which are supposed to have been coined by the authority of *Cassibelanus*, *Comius*, *Profutagus*, *Boadicia*, *Bericus*, *Cartimandua*, *Venutius*, *Caractacus*, and other ancient *British* princes (131).

Other coins besides *Cunobeline's*.

The greatest part of these coins are indeed so much defaced, and the faint traces of letters upon them are so variously read, that it is impossible to discover with certainty to whom they belong (132). We have sufficient reason, however, to conclude in general, that several other *British* princes who flourished between the first and second invasion of this island by the *Romans*, coined

(129) *Wise Dissert.* in *Numm. Bodl. Catalog.* p. 227.

(130) *Mr. Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins*, p. 55.

(131) *Speed's Chron.* p. 173, &c. &c. *Camd. Brit.* v. 1. p. cix. &c.

(132) *Pegge's Essay on Cunobeline's Coins*.

money as well as Cunobeline ; though as he reigned very long, and over that part of Britain which was richest, and had the greatest trade, he coined much greater quantities than any of the other princes ; which is one great reason why so many of his coins are still extant.

Observations on these coins.

The coins of Cunobeline above described, afford a convincing proof of that friendly and familiar intercourse which Strabo tells us subsisted between the Romans and Britons in the reign of Augustus ; and that the Roman arts, manners, and religion, had even then gained some footing in this island (133). For on these coins we see almost all the Roman letters, and many of the Roman Deities, which is a demonstration that some of the Britons at least could read these letters, and that they had some knowledge of, and some veneration for these Deities. Now, the legend of one of these coins (CUNOBELINVS REX) is in the Latin language, which seems to intimate that the Britons were not then ignorant of that language. For though these coins might be, and probably were struck by a Roman artist, yet we cannot imagine that Cunobeline would permit this artist to stamp letters, words, figures, and devices upon the current coin of this kingdom, which neither he nor his subjects understood.

Weight and value of the British coins.

Though the original weight and value of these ancient British coins cannot be exactly ascertained, yet when we consider that they were struck by Roman artists, and that one design of them was to pay the duties on merchandise to the Roman publicans, we shall be inclined to think that they were probably of the same weight and value, and bore the same proportion to each other, with the Roman coins of that age, which are well known.

Quantity of coin in Britain between the first and second invasion.

It is very difficult to form any computation of the quantity of money that circulated in Britain between the first and second invasion of the Romans ; though there are some things that seem to indicate that it was not inconsiderable. We have no fewer than forty coins of Cunobeline alone, in gold, silver, and copper, which are all of different dies or stamps. This is a proof that this prince had made forty coinages at least ; which must have produced a considerable quantity of coin ; to



say nothing of what was coined by other British princes in that period. Profutagus, who was king of the Iceni at the time of the second invasion, is represented by Tacitus as a prince renowned for his great wealth; a part of which, no doubt, consisted of his treasures of money (134). Caractacus, in his famous speech to the emperor Claudius, speaks in very high terms, not only of the abundance of his subjects, horses, and arms, but also of the greatness of his wealth in general (135). London is described as a very opulent trading city, inhabited by great numbers of wealthy merchants, in less than twenty years after the second invasion; which makes it probable, that it was rich in money and merchandize before that event (136). Nay, Tacitus tells us in plain terms, that Britain had sufficient quantities of gold and silver, amply to reward all the toils and dangers of its conquerors (137). Upon the whole, there is sufficient evidence that the commerce of this island, especially of the south coasts of it, was considerable; and that it did not want a sufficient quantity of current coin for answering all the purposes of that commerce, when it was invaded and subdued by the Romans under Claudius, A. D. 43.

The Roman conquest occasioned a total change in the coin of Britain, and in a little time very much increased its quantity. For as soon as Claudius and his generals had deprived the British princes of their authority, and reduced their dominions into the form of a province, their coin, and that of their predecessors, was no longer the current coin of the country; but the Roman money, stamped with the faces and titles of the Roman emperors, was substituted in its place. "It was enacted by an edict of the Roman emperors, enforced by very severe sanctions, that no person should use any money in Britain, but such as was stamped with the effigies of Cæsar (138)." This edict soon produced its full effect, and all the British money was either concealed or melted down, and nothing appeared in circulation but Roman money. "Britain (says Gildas) after it was subdued and rendered tributary by the Romans, ought

Change in  
the coin of  
Britain.

(134) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

(135) Id. l. 12. c. 37.

(136) Id. l. 14. c. 33.

(137) Id. vita Agric. c. 12.

(138) Sheringham, p. 391.

"rather

“ rather to have been called a Roman than a British island; as all the gold, silver, and copper money in it was stamped with the image of Cæsar (139).”

Quantity of coin increased.

That the Roman conquest not only changed the species, but very much increased the quantity of the current coin of this island, we have many reasons to believe. The pay of the Roman forces which were employed in subduing and keeping possession of it, must have brought into it a great mass of treasure, in a long course of years. Several of the Roman emperors not only visited this remote province of their empire, but some of them resided, and kept their courts in it for two or three years together; which must have brought in a great deal of money. Many wealthy Romans who had obtained civil or military employments here, or had come hither on account of trade, procured grants or purchased lands in this pleasant and fertile country, settled in it, and increased its wealth. So early as the reign of Nero, and only about twenty years after the conquest of Claudius, Tacitus speaks of London and Verulam as rich and populous cities, inhabited chiefly by Romans, of whom many were wealthy merchants (140). The great improvements that were made by the Britons, with the assistance, and under the direction of the Romans, in agriculture, arts, and commerce, gradually increased the treasures of their country, and not only enabled them to pay the several taxes levied by the Romans, but added, from time to time, to its riches. The great quantities of Roman coins which have been accidentally found in almost every part of Britain, serve to confirm the above conjectures, and afford a kind of ocular demonstration of their original abundance. Upon the whole, we have sufficient reasons to be convinced, that there were greater quantities of current coin in our country in the flourishing times of the Roman government, than at any period for more than a thousand years after their departure.

Wealth and commerce of Britain began to decline.

The wealth and prosperity of provincial Britain began to decline very sensibly about fifty years before the last retreat of the Romans. This was owing, partly to the

(139) Gildæ Hist. in Pref.

(140) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.



incurfions of the Scots and Picts, in the north, and the depredations of the Saxon pirates in the fouth; by which much wealth, in money and other things, was carried off, and more destroyed, or buried in the ruins of thofe towns and cities which they laid in afhes. The two unfortunate expeditions of the ufurpers Maximus and Conftantine to the continent, the former of which happened A. D. 383, and the latter A. D. 408, were alfo very fatal to the wealth, as well as to the power of the provincial Britons (141). For thefe two adventurers collected and carried off with them great fums of money to fupport their armies, and profecute their pretentions to the imperial throne. In this period likewife, many of the richeft inhabitants of the Roman province, finding no fecurity for their perfons or poffeffions in this ifland, converted their eftates into money, with which they retired to the continent (142).

But the final and almoft total departure of the Romans out of Britain, drained it of the greateft quantities of coin, and reduced it almoft to the fame ftate of poverty in which they had found it. For nothing can be more improbable than the conjecture of fome writers, that the Romans at their departure did not carry their money with them, but buried it in the ground, in hopes of their returning back (143). It is certain they entertained no fuch hopes, but left this ifland with a declared and pofitive refolution never to return. Their departure was neither forced nor precipitate, but voluntary and gradual, which gave them opportunities of carrying off with them whatever they thought proper. We may therefore conclude that the Romans, when they took their leave of this ifland, carried with them almoft all their cash, and even many of their moft precious and portable effects; and left little behind them that could be conveniently transported.

As the great end of commerce is to fupply the wants of one diftrict or country out of the fuperfluities of another for their mutual benefit, fome means of conveying commodities from one country to another are abfolutely neceffary to anfwer this end. For this reason, the

Destroyed  
by the de-  
parture of  
the Ro-  
mans.

Means of  
transporte-  
ing goods  
of great  
importance  
in com-  
merce.

(141) See Chap. I.

(142) Ibid. Zofim. l. 6.

(143) Speed's Chron. p. 187. Kennet's Paroch. Antiq. p. 11.

carriage of goods from place to place is a matter of the greatest moment in commerce, and is performed either by land or water.

Land-carriage.

The carriage of goods from one place to another by land, which is called land-carriage, is performed in the first stage of society by the mere bodily strength of men; in the next, by the assistance of such tame animals as are stronger than men; and in the last and most improved state, by the help of wheel machines, yoked to these animals, which enable them to draw a much greater weight than they could carry. The ancient Britons were not unacquainted with this last and most perfect method of land-carriage yet discovered, long before they were invaded by the Romans. For they had not only great numbers of war-chariots, but also many other wheel-carriages for other purposes, and particularly for conveying their goods and merchandize from one place to another. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that the Britons who dwell near the promontory Belerium (Land's-end), after they had refined their tin, and cast it into square blocks, carried it to the Isle of Wight in carts or waggon; the space between that isle and the continent being in these times dry land, when the tide was out (144).

Roads and bridges.

But though the ancient Britons were not unacquainted with the construction and use of wheel-carriages for the purposes of commerce, yet their conveyance of goods from one part of the country to another must have been retarded, by their want of solid roads, and interrupted by their want of bridges over rivers. Both these obstructions were removed by the art and industry of the Romans, who, by making the most firm, dry, and spacious roads in all parts, and building bridges where they were necessary, rendered land-carriage as easy and convenient as it is at present.

Origin and progress of water-carriage.

In the first stage of society, great rivers, lakes, and seas must have appeared insurmountable obstacles to all intercourse between those who inhabited their opposite banks and shores. But when mankind became a little better acquainted with their properties, and observed that many bodies, and particularly the largest trees, floated

(144) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. §. 22. p. 347.



on their waters, and were carried along their streams with great rapidity and ease; they would by degrees change their opinion of them, and begin to entertain a notion, that they might be made the means of communication between one country and another. Some men of bold and daring spirits, would adventure to commit themselves to the streams of smaller, and afterwards of larger rivers, upon two or three trees fastened together; and finding that they carried them with ease and safety, and that when they joined a greater number of trees, they became capable of supporting a greater number of men, and a greater quantity of goods; they learnt to transport themselves and their effects from one place to another on floats or rafts. This is believed by many authors to have been the first kind of water-carriage (145). To these rafts succeeded canoes, made of one very large tree excavated, to secure its freight from being wetted or washed away (146). But as these canoes could neither contain many men nor much merchandise, it would soon be found necessary to construct artificial vessels of greater capacity and burthen, by joining several pieces of wood together, by different means, so compactly as to exclude the water. For want of proper tools for sawing large trees into planks, the most ancient vessels or boats in several countries were made of osiers, and the flexible branches of trees interwoven as close as possible, and covered with skins (147).

It was probably in such slender vessels as these, that some bold adventurers first launched out from the nearest coasts of Gaul, and passing the narrow sea that flows between, landed, in an auspicious moment, on the shore of this inviting island; and being followed by others of both sexes in their successful attempt, began to people the country which they had discovered. This much at least is certain, from the concurring testimony of many authors, that the most ancient Britons made use of boats

Ancient  
British  
boats and  
ships.

(145) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 288. and the authors there quoted.

(146) Tunc alios primum fluvii sensere cavatas.

Then first on seas the hollow alder swam.

Virg. Georg. I. v. 136.

(147) *Cod. de Bel. Civ. l. 1. c. 54.* Plin. *Hist. Nat. l. 7. § 57.*

of

of this construction for several ages. Pliny tells us, that Timæus, a very ancient historian, whose works are now lost, had related, that the people of Britain used to sail to an island at the distance of six days sailing, in boats made of wattles, and covered with skins (148). These kind of boats were still in use here in Cæsar's time, who acquaints us, that he transported his army over a river in Spain, in boats made in imitation of those that he had seen in Britain, which he thus describes: " Their keels  
" and ribs were made of slender pieces of wood, and  
" their bodies woven with wattles, and covered with  
" skins." These boats were so light that they were carried in carts no less than twenty-two miles.

These ancient British vessels are also described by Lucan and Festus Avienus, in the verses quoted below (149). Solinus gives the same account of the boats in which the ancient inhabitants of Ireland and Caledonia used to pass the sea which divides these two countries. " The sea  
" which flows between Britain and Ireland is so unquiet  
" and stormy, that it is only navigable in summer;  
" when the people of these countries pass and repass it in  
" small boats made of wattles, and covered carefully  
" with the hides of oxen (150)." But though it is thus evident that the ancient British inhabitants, both of the south and north parts of this island, navigated their rivers, and even had the boldness to cross the narrow seas to Gaul and Ireland in these wicker boats, we cannot from hence conclude that they had no vessels of a larger size, better construction, and more solid materials. The singular and uncommon form of these boats, is perhaps the reason that they are so much taken notice of by ancient writers; while those of a better form, and more like the ships of other countries, are seldom mentioned.

(148) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 4. c. 16. § 30.

(149) Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam  
Texitur in puppini, cæsoque inducta juvenco  
Victoris patiens, tumidum circumnata amnem.  
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus  
Navigat Oceano . . . . . Luc. Pharfal. l. 4.  
. . . . . rei ad miraculum  
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,  
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt Salum.

Fest. Avienus in Oriæ Marit.

(150) Solin. c. 35. p. 166.



It is however very probable that they were not altogether destitute of such ships, even before they were invaded by the Romans. For we are told by Cæsar, "That the sea-coasts of Britain were possessed by colonies which had lately come from Gaul, and still retained the names of the several states from whence they came (151)." Now as these colonies came with a design to make war, in order to force a settlement (as the same author acquaints us), they must have brought with them great numbers of armed men, together with their wives and children, and perhaps their most valuable effects. This could not be done without fleets of ships of greater capacity and strength than the wicker-boats above described. When they had made good their settlements on the sea-coast of Britain, they would certainly preserve their communication with their countrymen on the continent, for their mutual safety and advantage. Accordingly Cæsar says directly, that the Gauls had constantly received auxiliaries from Britain in all their wars with the Romans, and he gives this as the only reason, why he was so impatient to invade this island at so improper a season of the year (152).

The Veneti, who inhabited that promontory of Gaul which is now called Brittany, excelled all the nations on the continent in their knowledge of maritime affairs, and in the number and strength of their ships; and yet, when they were preparing to fight a decisive battle against the Romans by sea, they asked and obtained auxiliaries from Britain; which they certainly would not have done, if the Britons could have assisted them only with a few wicker-boats, covered with skins (153). It is therefore probable, that the people of Britain had ships much of the same form and construction with those of their friends and allies the Veneti, with which they joined their fleet on that occasion. These ships of the Veneti are described by Cæsar as very large, lofty, and strong, built entirely of thick planks of oak, and so solid, that the beaks of the Roman ships could make no impression upon them (154). The combined fleets of the Veneti and

(151) Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(153) Ibid. l. 3. c. 8, 9.

(152) Ibid. l. 4. c. 20.

(154) Ibid. l. 3. c. 13.

Britons, in the famous sea-fight off the coast of Arimorica, now Brittany, against the Romans, consisted of two hundred and twenty of these large and strong ships, which were almost all destroyed in that unfortunate engagement; by which the naval power both of Gaul and Britain was entirely ruined (155). This great disaster is believed, by some of the best of our antiquaries and historians, to have been the reason that the Britons never attempted to make any opposition to Cæsar by sea, when the very year after it he invaded their country (156).

Proofs of  
these facts  
from the  
poems of  
Ossian.

These conjectures (for we shall call them nothing more) concerning the naval power of the ancient Britons, are very much confirmed by many passages in the works of Ossian. For the poems of that venerable bard are not only valuable for their poetical beauties, but also for the light which they throw on the history and antiquities of our country; and their authority will be most satisfactory to those who are best acquainted with them.

The poems of Homer are often quoted as the most authentic evidences of facts, especially respecting arts, customs, and manners; and why should not those of our British Homer be intitled to an equal degree of credit? The very name of the British prince who was believed to be the inventor of ships, and the first who conducted a colony out of Britain into Ireland, is preserved in these poems. "Larthod, the first of Bolga's race, who travelled on the winds—Who first sent the black ship through ocean, like a whale through the bursting of foam. He mounts the wave on his own dark oak in Cluba's ridgy bay. That oak which he cut from Lomon, to bound along the sea. The maids turn their eyes away, lest the king should be lowly laid. For never had they seen a ship, dark rider of the waves (157)." This expedition of Larthon must have happened two or three centuries before the first Roman invasion; and from that period the intercourse between Caledonia and Ireland was frequent; which must have made the people of both countries gradually improve in

(155) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. c. 14, 15, 16.

(156) Selden's *Mare Clausum*, l. 2. c. 2. p. 131. &c. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, v. 1. p. 7.

(157) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 129, 131.



the arts of building and conducting ships. These arts were so far advanced in the days of Fingal, the illustrious father and favourite hero of Ossian, that he made several expeditions, accompanied by some hundred of his warriors, not only into Ireland, but into Scandinavia, and the islands of the Baltic (158). The ships, however, of the Caledonian and Irish Britons, in the age of Fingal, were far from being large. Three mariners are represented as sufficient to navigate one of them; which we can hardly suppose capable of carrying more than thirty warriors, with their arms and provisions (159). For though, if we may believe Solinus, they made it a rule never to eat while they were on their passage between Britain and Ireland, it is not to be imagined that they would undertake a Scandinavian voyage without some provisions (160). These vessels went both by the help of sails and oars, which were used separately or together, as occasion required; the mariners singing all the while they rowed. "Spread now (says Fingal to the dejected Cuchullin) thy white sails for the isle of Mist, and see Bargela leaning on her rock. Her tender eye is in tears, and the winds lift her long hair from her heaving bosom. She listens to the winds of night to hear the voice of thy rowers, to hear the song of the sea (161)." We are not informed of what the sails of these ships were made: if the epithet white was not often bestowed upon them, we should be apt to conjecture that they were made of skins, like those of the Veneti in Gaul (162). However this may have been, it appears that they made use of thongs of leather instead of ropes. "They lifted up the founding sail; the wind whistled through the thongs of their masts (163)." Though the nature of Ossian's work led him only to sing of ships employed in military expeditions, yet we have good reason to believe that they were also employed by merchants in these times and places in carrying on their commerce. For there is no example in history of a people who abounded in ships of war, without sea-trade or merchantships.

(158) Ossian's Poems, passim.

(160) Socinus, c. 35. p. 166.

(162) Cæf. de Bel. Gal. l. 3. c. 13.

(163) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 106.

(159) Id. v. 1. p. 39.

(161) Id. vi. 1. p. 83, 84.

**Navigation.** The arts of constructing and navigating ships are so intimately connected together, that they constantly keep pace with each other in their improvements.

As the ancient Britons had not the art of building ships of a form, capacity, and strength proper for very long voyages, so neither have we any reason to believe that they had sufficient skill in navigation, to be capable of conducting them into very distant countries. This last is one of the most difficult and complicated of all the arts, and requires the greatest length of time to bring it to any tolerable degree of perfection.

As long as the trade of Britain was in the hands of the Phœnicians and Greeks, it was certainly carried on entirely in foreign bottoms; and the Britons probably knew little or nothing of navigation. But when that trade fell into the hands of their neighbours the Gauls, some part of it would, by degrees, come to be carried on in British ships. This might happen either by some of the Gallic merchants and mariners settling in this island, for the conveniency of trade and ship-building, where all the most necessary materials for that purpose abounded; or by some of the most ingenious and enterprising among the Britons learning these arts from the Gauls, in order to share with them in the profits of the trade of their own country. By one or both of these means, some of the Britons who inhabited the sea-coasts opposite to Gaul, began to build small vessels, and to export their own tin, lead, skins, and other commodities to the continent. It is impossible to discover, with certainty and precision, when this happened, though it is most probable, on several accounts, that it was at least a century before the first Roman invasion.

**Observed  
the stars.**

The first trading voyages of the most ancient Britons were, no doubt, performed with great caution and no little terror, from that part of the island that lay nearest to the continent, that they might never lose sight of land. By degrees, however, they became bolder, and launched out from other parts of the coasts; and by storms they were sometimes driven into latitudes where they beheld nothing but the seas around them, and the heavens above them. In this situation, having no compass to direct their course, they naturally fixed their eyes on the  
heavenly



heavenly bodies, as the only objects capable of affording them any direction; and by degrees they acquired such a knowledge of the situation and appearances of certain stars, as was sufficient to guide them in their voyages to several parts of the continent which could not be seen from any part of the British coasts.

We learn from the poems of Ossian, that the ancient Britons of Caledonia steered their course by certain stars, in their voyages to Ireland and Scandinavia. "I bade  
 " my white sails (says Fingal) to rise before the roar of  
 " Cona's wind—When the night came down, I looked  
 " on high for fiery-haired Ul-crim, Nor wanting was  
 " the star of Heaven; it travelled red between the clouds:  
 " I pursued the lovely beam on the faint-gleaming  
 " deep (164)."

In another passage of these poems, no fewer than seven of these stars, which were particularly observed by the British sailors, are named and described, as they were embossed on the shield of Cathmor, chief of Atha,  
 " Seven bosses rose on the shield—On each boss is placed  
 " a star of night; Can-mathon with beams unshorn;  
 " Colderno rising from a cloud; Uloicho robed in mist—  
 " Cathlin glittering on a rock; Reldurath half sinks its  
 " western light—Berthen looks through a grove—Ton-  
 " thena, that star which looked, by night, on the course  
 " of the sea-tossed Larthon (165)."

When a fleet of the ancient Britons sailed in company Sea signals.  
 under the command of one leader, the commander's ship was known by his shield hung high on the mast, and the several signals were given by striking the different bosses of that shield, which were commonly seven, each yielding a different and well-known sound. "Three hundred youths looked from their waves on Fingal's bossy  
 " shield. High on the mast it hung, and marked the  
 " dark blue sea.—But when the night came down, I  
 " struck at times the warning boss—Seven bosses rose  
 " on the shield; the seven voices of the king, which his  
 " warriors received from the wind, and marked over all  
 " their tribes (166)."

(164) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 66.

(165) Id. *ibid.* v. 2. p. 128, 129.

(166) Id. *ibid.* p. 66. 128, 129.

Sailed to a  
considerable  
distance.

By these and the like arts (however imperfect they appear to us) the ancient Britons were capable of conducting fleets to a considerable distance from their own coasts. We cannot with certainty mark the utmost limits of their navigation; but it is highly probable, from what is said by Strabo, that the Britons of the south never sailed further southward than to the mouth of the river Garonne in Gaul (167): and it is no less probable, from the works of Ossian, that those of the north never sailed further northward than the north of Norway; or south, than the south of Denmark; which are in these poems called by the name of Lochlin (168). But between these two pretty distant points, there were perhaps few sea-ports of eminence, to which the ancient British mariners were not capable of sailing.

British  
shipping in-  
creased  
after the  
Roman  
conquest.

As the trade of Britain gradually and greatly increased after it was subdued by the Romans, we may be almost certain that its shipping increased also by the same degrees, and in the same proportion. For as soon as the Romans were convinced, by their wars with the Carthaginians, of the great importance and absolute necessity of a naval force, they applied with much ardor to maritime affairs, and in a little time became as formidable by sea as they had been by land; and excelled all other nations in the arts of building and navigating ships (169). Though they were so jealous of these arts, that they punished, first with perpetual imprisonment, and afterwards capitally, such as were found guilty of teaching the barbarians (as they called their enemies) the art of building ships; yet they were very ready to instruct and encourage all their subjects in the practice of that art (170). The emperor Claudius in particular, by whom the south parts of Britain were reduced into a Roman province, bestowed several privileges by law, on those who built ships for trade (171). These privileges were confirmed and augmented by many succeeding emperors, which occasioned a great increase of shipping in all the maritime

(167) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(168) The Works of Ossian, passim.

(169) Polyb. l. 1. c. 2.

(170) Cod. Theod. tom. 3. l. 9. tit. 40. l. 24. p. 322.

(171) Sueron. in Claud. c. 18, 19.



and trading provinces of the empire, and amongst others in Britain (172). These privileges, however, were confined to those who built ships capable of carrying ten thousand Roman modia, or about three hundred and twelve English quarters of corn (173). This may enable us to form some idea of the ordinary size and capacity of the merchant ships of those times.

I. is impossible to find out, at this distance of time, from the slender hints remaining in history, either the number or tonnage of the merchant ships belonging to Britain in the Roman times; though we have sufficient reason to conclude, in general, that they were considerable. When the city of London, in the reign of Nero, A. D. 61. had become, so soon after the Roman conquest, a great city, abounding in merchants and merchandize, it certainly abounded also in shipping (174): and when, A. D. 359, no fewer than eight hundred ships were employed in the exportation of corn, the whole number employed in the British trade must have been very great (175).

Besides the merchant ships which were necessary for carrying on the trade of Britain in these times, the Romans employed a considerable fleet of ships of war, in making and securing the conquest of this island, and protecting its trade. For that wise people were very sensible, that without a fleet sufficient to procure and preserve the dominion of the British seas, it would be impracticable either to conquer Britain, or to keep it under their authority. To obtain the dominion of these seas, seems to have been one of the chief objects which they had in view in all their attempts on this island; and the acquisition of that dominion gave them the greatest pleasure, and was chiefly celebrated by their poets, orators, and historians (176). When the emperor Claudius triumphed

(172) Cod. Theod. tom. 5. l. 13. tit. 5.

(173) Id ibid. l. 28. p. 81, 82.

(174) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33.

(176) ——— paruit liber diu

Oceanus, & recipit invitus ratis.

(175) Zosim. Hist. l. 3.

triumphed with great pomp for the conquest of Britain, one of the chief ornaments of his triumph was a naval crown placed on the top of the Palatine palace, in honour his having (as the historian expresses it) subdued the Ocean (177). “ It was a more glorious exploit (said the orator to the same emperor) to conquer the sea by your passage into Britain, than to subdue the Britons. For what resistance could they make, when they beheld the most unruly elements, and the ocean itself, submit to the Roman yoke (178)?” The great Agricola enlarged the Roman conquests in Britain, and made the most hardy and intrepid nations of Caledonia despair of being able to preserve their liberty, more by the terror of his fleet than by the valour of his army. “ The first step (says Tacitus) that Agricola took in his sixth campaign, was to explore the coasts of those powerful nations which dwell beyond the Forth, by his fleet, which constantly attended him, and made a most glorious and formidable appearance.---The Britons, as we learnt from our prisoners, were struck with consternation and despair, when they saw that the fleet had penetrated into the most secret recesses of their seas, and rode triumphant on their coasts (179).”

Romans kept a fleet for the protection of their trade.

When the Romans had, by their fleets and armies, reduced provincial Britain to an entire and quiet submission to their authority, they still kept a fleet of ships of war stationed in its harbours and on its coasts, for securing their conquest, preserving the dominion of the sea, and protecting the trade of their subjects. This fleet was commanded in chief by an officer of high rank, who was stiled Archigubernus classis Britannicæ, or high admiral of the British fleet (180). Seius Saturninus filled this important office in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Enqui Britannis primus imposuit jugum,  
Ignota tantis classibus texit freta.

Seneca de Claudio in Octavia, Act. I.

Iussit et ipsum  
Nova Romanæ  
Jura securis

Fumere Oceanum.

Idem de eodem in Apocolocyntosi.

(177) Sueton, in Claud. c. 17.

(178) Hegisippus de Excidio

Hierosolym. l. 2. c. 9.

(179) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25.

(180) Selden Mare Clausum, l. 2. c. 5.

When



When the Frank and Saxon pirates began to infest the British seas (which was towards the end of the third century), it became necessary to reinforce the British fleet, in order to enable it to protect the merchants from the insults of these daring rovers. This was accordingly done, and the command of it given to Carausius, an officer of undaunted courage, and of great experience and skill in maritime affairs; who finding himself at the head of such a powerful fleet, began to entertain higher views, and to form the design of assuming the imperial purple. This design he soon after put in execution, and chiefly by the strength of his fleet, he constrained the other two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximianus, to make peace with him, and admit him to a share of the imperial dignity, in which he supported himself for about seven years, when he was treacherously slain by one of his own officers (181). During all this period Carausius reigned the unrivalled sovereign of the seas, and (as Ossian poetically styles him) the king of ships; setting the whole naval power of the Roman world at defiance (182). We may form some idea of the greatness of the British fleet under Carausius, and his successor Aleætus, by observing the greatness of the preparations that were made against them for several years. The emperor Constantius did not think it safe to put to sea, or to attempt the recovery of Britain, until he had collected a fleet of no fewer than a thousand sail; and after all, his success in that enterprise is ascribed more to his good fortune in passing the British fleet in a thick fog, without being observed, than to his superior force (183). The prodigious praises that were bestowed on Constantius, for this exploit of recovering Britain, afford another proof of its great importance, on account of its naval force. "O happy victory! (cries his panegyrist) comprehending many victories and innumerable triumphs. By it Britain is restored; the Franks exterminated; and many nations which had conspired together are constrained to make submission. Rejoice, O invincible Cæsar! for thou hast conquered

(181) See Chap. I.

(182) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 96. Pomponius Lætus, c. 2.

(183) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, v. 1. p. 21, &c.

"another

“ another world ; and by restoring the glory of the national power of Rome, hast added to her empire a greater element than the whole earth (184).

Count of  
the Saxon  
shore,

Soon after the re-union of Britain to the Roman empire, her seas and coasts began to be again infested by the Saxon pirates ; who not only seized ships at sea, but frequently landed and plundered the country. This obliged the Romans not only to keep a strong fleet in the British seas and ports, for cruising against these rovers, but also to build and garrison several forts on the coasts, to prevent their descents. This fleet and those forts were put under the immediate command of an officer of high rank, who had the title of the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain (185). By these prudent arrangements, the British trade and marine were protected, and flourished as long as the Roman power continued in its vigour.

Trade and  
shipping of  
Britain de-  
stroyed by  
the depar-  
ture of the  
Romans.

The Britons suffered as much in their maritime affairs, as they did in any other respect, by the departure of the Romans. The Roman fleets and garrisons being withdrawn, the British ships became an easy prey to the Frank and Saxon pirates at sea, and were not secure even in their harbours. This obliged all the most wealthy merchants to retire, with their ships and effects, into the interior provinces of the empire ; and left this island, divested of its most natural and only secure defence, a powerful maritime force, capable of maintaining the dominion of the surrounding seas, supported by a flourishing and extensive commerce.

(184) Eumen. Panegy. si mihi Cæsar.

(185) See Chap. III. sect. 3.



THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

---

B O O K I.

C H A P. VII.

*The history of the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions of the people of Great Britain, from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, A. A. C. 55. to the arrival of the Saxons, A. D. 449.*

**T**HE history of manners will probably be esteemed, by many readers, the most agreeable and entertaining part of history. Those who are much amused with observing the various humours, passions, and ways of mankind in real life, or with the just and lively representations of them upon the stage, will peruse with pleasure a delineation of the manners, customs, and characters of nations in their several ages, if it is faithfully drawn by the pen of the historian. For by such a delineation, a people are brought again upon the field, as they were in the successive periods of their history; and are

History of manners entertaining.

are made to pass in review before the reader, who hath thereby an opportunity of hearing their language, seeing their dress, diet, and diversions; and of contemplating their virtues, vices, singular humours, and most remarkable customs; which cannot fail to afford him an agreeable entertainment.

Useful.

This part of history is also the most useful and interesting; especially to those who are concerned in the administration of public affairs, and the government of states and kingdoms. It is of much greater importance to princes and politicians to be intimately acquainted with the real characters, the virtues, vices, humours, and foibles of the nations which they govern, and of those with whom they have political connections, than to be perfect masters of the most minute detail of all the battles they had ever fought. This is so certain and evident, that it needs neither proof nor illustration.

The most difficult.

But this most agreeable and important part of history is by many degrees the most difficult, and on that account hath been the most neglected, and the worst executed. It is extremely difficult for the most intelligent and sagacious travellers, after they have spent several years in a country, visited all its provinces and cities, learnt its language, and conversed familiarly with its inhabitants of all ranks, to form just and clear conceptions of its national character and manners; especially if it is a country where the people enjoy much freedom of thinking, speaking, and acting, according to their various humours and dispositions. How difficult must it then be for an historian to give a precise, extensive, and well-supported description of the character and manners of a nation, in a very ancient period, of which there are few remaining monuments; and at the distance of seventeen and eighteen centuries from the age in which he lives? This observation is made with a view to bespeak the indulgence of the public, to the mistakes and imperfections that may be discovered in the following delineation of the national character and manners of the ancient Britons when they were first invaded by the Romans.

Climate of Britain.

The climate of a country hath so great an influence on the constitutions, tempers, and manners of its inhabitants, that it is proper to pay some attention to the accounts which are given us by the most ancient writers, of the



the climate of this island in their times (1). This is the more necessary, because it appears from these accounts, that the comparative degrees of heat and cold in this island, and on the opposite continent of Gaul, were very different in those times from what they are at present; so that a considerable change must have happened in the climate of one of these countries, perhaps of both.

Several ancient authors of the best authority speak in very strong terms of the coldness of the climate in Gaul, and of the extreme rigour of its winters. "Colder than a Gallic winter," was a kind of proverb among the Romans (2); and if the following description of one of these winters by Diodorus Siculus, be a just one, it was a very expressive proverb. "Gaul is grievously infected with frost and snow. For in winter, when the air is cloudy, snow falls instead of rain; and when it is clear, the waters of the greatest rivers are so strongly frozen, that the ice forms a natural bridge; over which not only a few travellers, but whole armies, with all their loaded waggons, pass without danger.—But as the ice on these rivers is extremely smooth and slippery, they cover it with straw, that they may go over it with the greater safety.—Such, in a word, is the excessive severity of the winter, and the piercing coldness of the air in Gaul, that it produceth neither vines nor olives (3)."

Coldness of  
Gaul, and  
warmness of  
Britain.

If there was any truth in this description, which is in part confirmed by the testimony of other writers, the climate of Gaul must have been much colder in these times than it is at present (4). On the contrary, the climate of Britain seems to have been remarkably mild and temperate in that remote period. Julius Cæsar, who made two expeditions into Britain, and spent the greatest part of several years in Gaul, says in express terms, "That the climate of Britain is milder than that of Gaul, and the cold not so intense (5)." This is confirmed by the testimony of Tacitus, who (if he did not reside some time in Britain himself) received his information from his father-in-law Agricola, who lived six

(1) L'Esprit des Loix, l. 14, 15, 16, 17.

(2) Petron. Satyr. p. 10.

(3) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 25, 26.

(4) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. c. 12. p. 120.

(5) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

whole years in this island, visited almost every corner of it, and was therefore very capable of forming a right judgment of its climate (6). It belongs rather to the naturalist than the historian, to account for this change in the comparative state of the atmosphere of these two countries. We may however observe, that the mildness of the air of Britain was no small happiness to its inhabitants in those times, when they were so imperfectly clothed; and contributed not a little to its being so well peopled. The air of this island was not so remarkable in this period for its serenity, as for its mildness. On the contrary, the rains were very frequent, and the air was much loaded with vapours, and obscured with mists and fogs (7). This observation of Tacitus is confirmed by almost every page of the poems of Ossian; in which there are innumerable allusions to the fogs, mists, and clouds of Caledonia (8).

Upon the whole, the climate of Britain, in the period we are now considering, appears to have been moderately warm in summer, and not excessively cold in winter; but rather more rainy, damp, and cloudy than it is at present, when its woods are cut down, and its lakes and marshes drained (9). Such a temperature of the air was not unfavourable to the growth and strength of the bodies of men and other animals.

Face of the  
country  
covered  
with  
woods.

The face of this country made a very different appearance when it was first invaded by the Romans from what it doth at present. For though the position of its vales and mountains hath always been the same, yet so many of these were then covered with woods, that the whole island was said to have been *Horrida Sylvis* (10). Some of these woods were of immense extent, and in a manner covered whole countries (11). The famous forest of *Anderida* was no less than one hundred and twenty miles in length, and thirty miles in breadth: and the *Saltus Caledonius* was probably still more extensive. The very towns of the ancient Britons, and their places of worship, were a kind of forests; so much did the

(6) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 12.

(7) Id. *ibid.*

(8) Poems of Ossian, *passim*. Dr. Blair's Dissertation, p. 53, 56—59.

(9) Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(10) Leland's Itinerary, v. 6. p. 104.

(11) *Camd. Brit.* v. 1. p. 195. Mr. Pegge's Dissertation on the *Coritani*, p. 123, 124, &c.

country



country abound with them, and so greatly did the people delight in them (12). One of the chief difficulties the Romans met with in pushing their conquests in this island, was that of making their way through these woods, and guarding against the sallies of the Britons from their forests (13). This obliged them to make cuts through the woods as they advanced, so broad, that they might be in no danger of a surprize; and they afterwards cleared away much greater quantities of them for the sake of agriculture.

Many parts of Britain, when it was first invaded by the Romans, were full of bogs and marshes, or covered with standing waters. This had probably been occasioned in some places by inundations of the sea, and in others by accidental obstructions, and overflowings of rivers; by which the waters being spread over the face of the country, and allowed to stagnate, formed either pools or marshes. However this might be, these extensive fens and marshes presented another great obstruction to the progress of the Romans, and gave the Britons a considerable advantage against them; by their being better acquainted with them, and more accustomed to pass them. This the Romans felt very sensibly in one of the first battles with the Britons, in the reign of Claudius. This action happened not far from the mouth of the Thames, at a place where the overflowing of that river had made a large marsh: "This the Britons passed, being acquainted with these places that were firm at bottom, and fordable; but the Romans ran a great risk in following them; and many pursuing too rashly, fell among unpassable bogs, and lost their lives (14)."

After this, the Romans, as they advanced, drained many of these fens, and made the most solid roads through them, with bridges, where they were necessary. The emperor Severus, in his famous expedition into Caledonia, met with little opposition from the enemy, but with almost insurmountable obstacles from the woods and fens, with which the country was covered. "Severus

(12) See Chap. II. Chap. V.

(13) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 5. 15. 19.

(14) *Dio Cass.* l. 60.

“ entered Caledonia, where he had endless fatigues to  
 “ sustain; forests to cut down, morasses to drain, and  
 “ bridges to build. The waters too extremely incom-  
 “ moded his troops, insomuch that some of the soldiers,  
 “ being able to march no farther, begged of their com-  
 “ panions to kill them, that they might not fall alive  
 “ into their enemies hands. In a word, Severus lost  
 “ no fewer than fifty thousand men in this expedition;  
 “ though he fought no battle, and saw no enemies in a  
 “ body (15).” It is observed that Northumberland, the  
 Merse, Tiviota-dale, and the Lothians, the countries  
 through which Severus marched his army, are, to this  
 day, remarkably clear of wood, and very little incom-  
 moded with marshes. Such a mighty change did the  
 Romans make in the natural, as well as political state of  
 the countries which they conquered! For, by these  
 salutary works of cutting down forests, and draining  
 lakes, fens, and marshes, they not only made a most  
 agreeable alteration on the face of the country, and gain-  
 ed great quantities of ground for pasturage and agricul-  
 ture, but they even rendered the very air and climate  
 more serene and dry; and made this island, in all respects,  
 a more pleasant and healthful residence than it had been  
 in its natural and uncultivated state.

Persons of  
 the ancient  
 Britons.

Though we have sufficient reason to believe that all  
 mankind are of one species, and descended from one  
 original pair, yet it cannot be denied that there is now,  
 and hath long been, a most prodigious difference between  
 the inhabitants of different countries in the colour, sta-  
 ture, shape, and strength of their bodies, as well as in  
 the faculties of their minds (16). It is not the province  
 of the historian to account for this difference; but as the  
 personal accomplishments of a people form an essential  
 part of their national character, they merit our particular  
 attention in a history of their manners.

Persons of  
 the Ger-  
 mans,  
 Gauls, and  
 Britons,  
 very much  
 alike.

It hath been observed by several authors, that the an-  
 cient inhabitants of Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Bri-  
 tain, bore a very great resemblance to each other, both  
 in their persons and manners: and this observation is  
 confirmed by many testimonies of Greek and Roman

(15). Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

(16) Histoire Naturelle, par M. De Buffon, 8vo. Paris 1769. tom. 5.



writers (17). This was more particularly true of the Gauls and South Britons, who appear to have been the very same kind of people in all respects; so that whatever is said of the persons, manners, and customs of the one, may be applied to the other, with little variation, and few exceptions (18). "Those Britons who live nearest Gaul, are very like the Gauls; which is probably owing to their being descended from the same original stock, and their dwelling almost in the same climate (19)." A modern writer hath been at great pains to prove, that the Caledonians, or Britons of the North, bore a greater resemblance to the Germans than to the Gauls (20). This had also been observed by Tacitus, with respect to their persons; and probably proceeded from the greater similarity of their climate and way of life (21). The truth seems to be, that all the Celtic nations who inhabited the western provinces of Europe, were originally the same people; and in process of time differed a little from each other, according to their different degrees of civilization and intercourse with strangers, and the different climates of the country which they possessed.

The ancient Britons were remarkable for the largeness of their bodies and tallness of their stature. "The Britons (says Strabo) exceed the Gauls in stature; of which I had ocular demonstration. For I saw some young Britons at Rome, who were half a foot taller than the tallest men (22)." The Caledonians, or North Britons, seem to have been most remarkable for their large limbs and high stature; and in that respect bore the greatest resemblance to the Germans, who are allowed, by all the Greek and Romans authors, to have exceeded all the rest of mankind in the size and stature of their bodies (23). The ancient Britons are not so much celebrated for the elegance of their shape and figure, as for their bulk. Strabo describes the British youths which he saw at Rome, as of a loose contexture of body; not

Persons of the Britons large, tall, and fair.

(17) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 14. p. 92. Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes, l. 2. c. 1. p. 196.

(18) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12. (19) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

(20) M'Pherson's Dissertation, 12. p. 154.

(21) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

(22) Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

(23) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11. Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 197.

standing very straight or firm on their legs, nor having any thing very fine in their features, or the turn of their limbs (24). This appearance might, perhaps, be partly owing to their youth. The ancient Gauls were very famous for the softness, plumpness, and whiteness of their bodies, and for the fairness of their complexions: in all which they were at least equalled by such of the ancient Britons as were clothed, and did not paint (25). The British ladies, in particular, greatly excelled in fairness, and in the whiteness and softness of their persons. The bosom of one of these British beauties is compared by Ossian, to the down of the swan, "when slow she sails the lake, and sidelong winds "are blowing (26)." The Britons had also fair or yellow hair, though in many various gradations; and in general not so white as that of the Gauls (27). The hair of the Caledonians is said to have been for the most part of a reddish cast; and that of the Silures, or people of South Wales, most commonly curled (28). All the Celtic nations had blue eyes; which seems to have been esteemed a great beauty by the ancient Britons in both sexes (29). Their enemies observed that they had an uncommon fierceness in their looks, especially when they advanced to battle, that was apt to strike terror into those who beheld them (30). Their voices too, when they exerted them with a design to excite terror, were exceedingly loud, horrid, and frightful (31). "Now Fingal arose "in his might, and thrice he reared his voice. Cromla "answered around, and the sons of the desert stood "still (32)."

Strong and  
swift, and  
patient of  
toil and  
hunger.

The Britons and other Celtic nations were no less remarkable for the great strength, than for the great bulk of their bodies (33). The following description of Fingal and Swaran wrestling, must give us a high idea of the prodigious strength of these two chieftains. "Their sinewy arms bend round each other; they turn

(24) Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

(25) Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 198.

(26) Poems of Ossian, v. I. p. 58.

(27) Strabo, l. 5. p. 200.

(28) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

(29) Pelloutier, l. 1. p. 203. Ossian's Poems, v. I: p. 37. v. 2. p. 36.

(30) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 39.

(31) Claver. German. Antiq. p. 96.

(32) Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 56.

(33) Vegetius de Re Militari, l. 1. c. 1.



“ from side to side, and strain and stretch their large  
 “ spreading limbs below. But when the pride of their  
 “ strength arose, they shook the hill with their heels ;  
 “ rocks tumble from their places on high ; the green  
 “ headed bushes are overturned (34).”

For though this description is highly poetical, it was certainly intended to express the extraordinary strength, as well as art, of these royal wrestlers. The ancient Britons were likewise very swift of foot, and excelled in running, swimming, wrestling, climbing, and all kinds of bodily exercises, in which either strength or swiftness were required (35). They were also very patient of pain, toil, and hardships of various kinds. “ The Maeatae and  
 “ Caledonians are accustomed to fatigues, to bear hun-  
 “ ger, cold, and all manner of hardships. They run  
 “ into the mountains up to the neck, and live there sever-  
 “ ral days without eating (36).” But what many of the Roman historians have observed concerning the Gauls and Germans, was probably true likewise of the Britons: that they were not capable of bearing much heat or thirst; and that they exerted their strength with so much violence on their first assault upon an enemy, that it was soon exhausted (37). In a word, the ancient Britons appear to have been, in general, a tall, strong, nimble, and comely people; and having good constitutions, and living in a simple and frugal manner, we need not be surprised that many of them lived to a very great age. “ Some of the people of Britain, says Plutarch,  
 “ live one hundred and twenty years (38).”

As the following poetical picture of an ancient Briton, Poetical  
picture of  
an ancient  
Briton. in the prime of his strength and beauty, was drawn from the life by the hand of a master, and corresponds with the representation given above, it may not be improper to set it before the reader: “ Was he white as  
 “ the snow of Ardven? Blooming as the bow of the  
 “ shower? Was his hair like the mist of the hill, soft  
 “ and curling on the day of the sun? Was he like the

(34) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 62, 63.

(35) Id. v. 1. p. 40, 42. Herodian, l. 3. c. 47.

(36) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(37) Liv. Hist. l. 35. c. 5. Tacit. de Morib. Ger. c. 4. Florus,  
 l. 2. c. 4.

(38) Plutarch, apud Camd. Brit. v. 1. p. xliv.

“thunder of heaven in battle? Fleet as the roe of the  
“desert (39).”

Genius of  
the ancient  
Britons.

Nature seems to have been no less liberal to the Celtic nations, and in particular to the Gauls and Britons, in the natural powers and faculties of their minds, than in the formation of their bodies. The Gauls are represented, by all the ancient authors who speak of them, as an acute and ingenious people, very capable of acquiring any art or science to which they applied (40). But the Britons, if we may believe one who was well acquainted with both nations, and very well qualified to form a judgment of them, were still more acute than the Gauls, and had a happier genius for the acquisition of the sciences. Julius Agricola loaded the noble youths of Britain, who applied to the study of the Roman language and learning, with praises; and declared that they excelled the youths of Gaul in genius (41). Though we should suppose, that the memories of the ancient Britons were not naturally better than those of other men, yet they must have become very strong and tenacious, by continual exercise; as they were their only books and records, and the repositories of all their knowledge of every kind (42). The imaginations of a people who delighted so much in poetry as the ancient Britons, and who courted the Muses with so much ardour, and (if we may judge from their few remains) with so much success, must have been very warm and lively (43).

Reigning  
passions of  
the ancient  
Britons.

It is very difficult to discover the natural passions and dispositions of the hearts of a highly refined and polished people; but these appear conspicuous, and without disguise, in those who are but emerging from the savage state, and in the first stages of civilization. It was this that enabled the Greek and Roman writers to describe, so distinctly as they have done, the reigning passions of the ancient Gauls and Britons.

Pride.

All the Celtic nations are represented as intolerably proud and vain (44). These passions are said to have appeared in many different ways. They were apt to break

(39) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 90.

(40) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 31. p. 354. Strabo, l. 4. p. 195.

(41) Tacit. vitæ Agric. c. 21.

(42) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 14.

(43) Ossian's Poems.

(44) Arrian. exped. Alex. p. 11.



out into vain and boastful language: magnifying their own prodigious valour and wonderful exploits, in the most hyperbolic strains; and at the same time depreciating and reviling others, especially their enemies, with as little reserve or decency (45). But this might, perhaps, be as much owing to the natural frankness of their tempers, and the manners of the times, as to any extraordinary degree of vanity. This passion too, it is said, made them often engage in very rash and desperate enterprises, through a presumptuous confidence in their own strength and courage; and rendered them also insolent and overbearing in prosperity. In a word, their vanity appeared in a way we could hardly have expected; in their fondness for finery, and pride of dress and ornament (46).

As the ancient Gauls and Britons were of a sanguine Anger. complexion and temperament of body, so they were naturally of a choleric and fiery spirit, subject to sudden and violent transports of rage and passion (47). This made them very impatient of contradiction, and extremely apt to engage in broils and quarrels; especially when the natural warmth of their temper was inflamed with intoxicating liquors (48). They then set no bounds to their rage and fury, but proceeded to the most bloody extremities on the most trifling provocations. This passion had even a great influence in their public councils and national conduct, by precipitating them into unnecessary wars, and making them prosecute these wars as they were prompted by blind impetuous rage, and not under the direction of prudence. "In this manner," says Seneca, these barbarians engage in war. As soon as their fiery passionate spirits apprehend they have received the smallest injury, they fly to arms, and rush upon their enemies, without order, fear, or caution (49)."

All the Celtic nations were naturally of a bold, intrepid, and fearless spirit, despising and even courting dan- Courage and contempt of danger.

(45) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 29. p. 352.

(46) Strabo, l. 4. p. 196. Tacit. Annal. l. 2. c. 14. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. 27. p. 351. Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

(47) Seneca de Ira, l. 1. c. 2.

(48) Ammian. Marcel. l. 15. c. 12.

(49) Seneca de Ira, l. 3. c. 3. Polyb. l. 2. p. 122.

gers. If we may believe some ancient authors, they carried this contempt of danger to an extravagant height. "I am informed (says Ælian) that the Celtæ are of all mankind the most forward in exposing themselves to dangers. They reckon it so ignominious and shameful a thing to fly, that they will not retire from an inundation of the sea, or from a falling or a burning house. Nay, some of them are so fool-hardy as to take arms, and rush into the sea in a storm, brandishing their swords and spears, as if they designed to wound and terrify the very waves (50)." Strabo thinks this account fabulous and incredible; but it is hard to say what a ferocious people, who esteem the encountering of danger their greatest glory, will or will not do (51).

The following description of daring and intrepidity in an ancient British chieftain, is parallel to the most incredible and romantic part of the above account. "My soul brightens in danger—I am of the race of steel; my fathers never feared—Cormar was the first of my race. He sported through the storms of the waves. His black skiff bounded on ocean, and travelled on the wings of the blast. A spirit once embroiled the night. Seas swell, and rocks resound. Winds drive along the clouds. The lightning flies on wings of fire. He feared, and came to land: then blushed that he feared at all. He rushed again among the waves, to find the son of the wind. Three youths guide the bounding bark; he stood with the sword unsheathed. When the lowhung vapour passed, he took it by the curling head, and searched its dark womb with his steel. The son of the wind forsook the air. The moon and stars returned (32)." Such was the boldness and intrepidity of the ancient Gauls and Britons, that they despised even death itself in its most frightful forms (53).

Ferocity.

The ancient inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were accused, by the Greek and Roman writers, of being ferocious, cruel, and sanguinary in their dispositions; and there seems to have been some appearance of truth in this

(50) Ælian. var. Hist. l. 12. c. 23.

(51) Strabo, l. 7. p. 293.

(52) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 39.

(53) Lucan. Pharsal. l. 1.

accusation.



accusation (54). When they were greatly heated with resentment and flushed with victory, it cannot be denied that they were apt to pursue their vengeance too far, and to be guilty of unnecessary and shocking cruelties. The behaviour of the Britons under Boadicia, at the beginning of their insurrection, as it is described by Tacitus and Dio, affords an example of this, too offensive to humanity to be here related (55). But the cruel and provoking treatment which they had received from their insolent conquerors, may be justly pleaded as some extenuation of the excesses of which they were guilty on that occasion; and the commonness of such excesses among all bold and warlike nations before they are thoroughly civilized, is a proof that there was nothing peculiarly atrocious and bloody in the dispositions of our British ancestors. On the contrary, the poems of our most ancient British bard abound with sentiments of the greatest gentleness and humanity expressed by his heroes towards their vanquished enemies. “The lightning of my sword is against the strong in battle: but peaceful it lies by my side when warriors yield in war—I am no fire to low-laid foes: I rejoice not over the fall of the brave (56).”

The ancient Gauls are represented by Cæsar as a people of the most impatient and insatiable curiosity, and at the same time extremely credulous: and it is not improbable that the ancient Britons, who were in all respects so like them, had the same dispositions. “It is a custom in Gaul to stop travellers, and oblige them to tell all they know or have heard; and the common people gather in crowds about merchants in the streets, and force them to declare whence they came, and to communicate all their news; and so much are they affected with these news (which are often no better than mere fictions), that in consequence of them they engage in the most precipitate undertakings, of which they have soon reason to repent (57).” It is plainly enough insinuated by Tacitus, that the Britons were infected with the same political curiosity and credulity, and

Curiosity  
and credu-  
lity, rash-  
ness and  
incon-  
stancy.

(54) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 18. p. 556.

(55) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 33. Dio in Neron.

(56) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 75. v. 2. p. 148.

(57) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 5.

thereby

thereby easily precipitated into rash enterprises and wars. Fickleness is also said to have been one of the natural and national foibles of the ancient Gauls and Britons (58). This indeed is a necessary consequence and constant concomitant of credulity and rashness. For those who believe hastily and engage rashly, are apt to abandon their opinions and enterprises with equal levity.

Their good  
dispositions  
and virtues.

It is no small disadvantage, that we are under a necessity of taking our accounts of the natural temper and dispositions of our British ancestors, for the most part, from those who neither esteemed nor loved them; and who evidently discover a greater propensity to censure, than to commend. These unfavourable judges, however, at the same time that they represent them as naturally proud, passionate, cruel, curious, credulous, rash, and fickle, cannot help acknowledging that they were a brave and ingenious people, strangers to duplicity and malignity of spirit; of a grateful, tractable, and docile disposition, when they were well treated; and, in a word, that many of them wanted neither greatness nor goodness of heart (59).

Such were the natural dispositions and prevailing passions of the ancient Britons. It is now time to take a short view of their moral qualities, their most conspicuous virtues, and most notorious vices.

The ancient Britons were no less remarkable than the other Celtic nations for their love of liberty and abhorrence of slavery, and for the bravery which they exerted in preserving the one, and defending themselves from the other. They submitted with pleasure to the government of their own princes, which was mild and legal; but they were struck with horror at the thought of being reduced to servitude. It was to this well-known passion of theirs for liberty, that their leaders constantly addressed themselves in all their harangues, to excite them to fight bravely against the Romans; and it was this powerful passion that actually animated them to make so long and obstinate a resistance to that all-subduing people, as well as many bold attempts to shake off their yoke (60).

(58) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21. Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 2. c. 1. l. 4. c. 5.

(59) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 11. c. 13. p. 493, 494.

(60) Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 34. l. 14. c. 35. Vita Agric. c. 30, 31, 32. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.



So great an abhorrence had the Caledonians, of subjection to the Romans, that many of them put their own wives and children to death with their own hands, when they despaired of being able to preserve them from slavery by any other means (61). The character which Tacitus gives of the ancient Britons, even after they had submitted to the Roman government, but before they were enervated by Roman luxury, is probably very just, and is certainly very honourable. “The Britons are a  
 “ people who pay their taxes, and obey the laws with  
 “ pleasure ; provided no arbitrary illegal demands are  
 “ made upon them ; but these they cannot bear without  
 “ the greatest impatience. For they are only reduced  
 “ to the state of subjects, not of slaves (62).”

Valour in war was the most admired and popular virtue of the ancient Britons. Their natural courage, arising from the soundness and vigour of their constitutions, was raised to an enthusiastic height by many powerful incentives (63). They were accustomed, almost from their infancy, to handle arms ; and to sing the glorious actions of their ancestors. This inspired their young hearts with impatient desires to be engaged in war. “The sword of Aetho was in the hand of the king ;  
 “ and he looked with joy on its polished studs : thrice  
 “ he attempted to draw it, and thrice he failed—Althan !  
 “ he said with a smile, hast thou beheld my father ?  
 “ Heavy is the sword of the king ; surely his arm  
 “ was strong. O that I were like him in battle, when  
 “ the rage of his wrath arose !—Years may come on,  
 “ O Althan, and my arm be strong (64).” A great part of their youth was spent in martial exercises, in which they were carefully instructed by the ablest masters (65). As they advanced in years, they were made fully sensible that every thing in life depended on their valour : that the smiles of the fair, the favour of the great, the praises of the bards, and the applauses of the people, and even happiness after death, were only to be obtained by brave and daring exploits in war. “ Mine  
 “ arm rescued the feeble, the haughty found my rage  
 “ was fire—For this my fathers shall meet me at the gates

(61) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 38

(62) Id. ibid. c. 13.

(63) Id. ibid. c. 11. Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(64) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 18. (65) Id. v. I. p. 40.

“ of their airy-halls, tall, with robes of light, with  
 “ mildly-kindled eyes (66).” When they arrived at  
 manhood, arms were put into their hands, in the pub-  
 lic assembly of their countrymen, with much solemnity  
 and pomp; and from thenceforward war became the  
 chief delight and business of their lives, from whence  
 they derived their glory and their support. Those must  
 have been poltroons indeed, who were not rendered  
 brave by such an education, and by so many powerful  
 motives to valour (67).

**Hospitality.** Hospitality and kindness to strangers was another of  
 the most shining virtues of the ancient Britons, and of  
 all the other Celtic nations (68). As soon as they be-  
 held the face of a stranger, all their haughtiness and fe-  
 rocity were laid aside; they felt the sincerest joy at his ar-  
 rival, accosted him with the most friendly greetings, and  
 gave him the warmest invitations to enter their doors,  
 which flew open for his reception (69). It was even long  
 esteemed infamous by the ancient Britons, for a chieftain  
 to shut the door of his house at all; “ left (as the bards  
 “ expressed it) the strangers should come and behold his  
 “ contracted soul (70).” As soon as a stranger accepted  
 the friendly invitation, and entered the hospitable door,  
 water was presented to him to wash his feet; and if he  
 received and used it, and at the same time delivered his  
 arms to the master of the house, it was understood as an  
 intimation that he designed to favour him with his com-  
 pany for some time, at least one night (71). This dis-  
 fused joy over the whole mansion, the music of the harp  
 arose, and an entertainment was immediately prepared  
 and served up, as sumptuous and abundant as the enter-  
 tainer could afford (72). After the entertainment was  
 finished, the host might, without any breach of the laws  
 of hospitality, enter into a familiar conversation with his  
 guest, ask his name, from whence he came, whither he  
 was going, and such questions (73). As long as the

(66) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 149, 150.

(67) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 11, 15.

(69) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. p. 215.

(70) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 9.

(71) Giraldus Cambrensis Descript. Camb. c. 10.

(73) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28,

(68) Id. ibid.

(72) Id. ibid.

stranger



stranger staid, his person was esteemed sacred and inviolable, the season was devoted to festivity, and every amusement in the power of his host was procured for him, to make him pass his time agreeably, and prolong his stay (74). Before his departure, it was usual for the stranger to exchange a sword, spear, shield, or some piece of armour with his hospitable entertainer; and these they both preserved with religious care, as marks of mutual friendship, and the rights of hospitality established between them and their families and posterity (75). This virtue of hospitality continued to be practised long after this period, by the genuine posterity of the ancient Britons in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland (76); nor is it quite banished from some of the most unfrequented parts of these countries, where it is most necessary, even to this day (77).

It is a little uncertain whether or not we ought to reckon **Chastity** among the national virtues of the ancient Britons. If we could depend upon the truth of some anecdotes related of them by ancient authors, we should be led to think that they were not very delicate or scrupulous in that point. In particular, if we may believe Dio, the people of Caledonia, in the beginning of the third century, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus, had all their wives in common, and brought up all their children in common, as not knowing to what father any of them belonged (78). To confirm this account, he relates a pretended conversation between the empress Julia, and the wife of Argetocoxus, a British prince; in which the empress having upbraided the British ladies for this promiscuous intercourse, the other made a smart reply, not denying, but retorting the charge on the Roman ladies (79). Cæsar gives much the same account of the Britons of the South in his time, in this respect. “ Ten or twelve persons, who are commonly near relations, as fathers, sons, and brothers, all have their wives in common. But the children are

(74) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

(75) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 134.

(76) Girald. Cambren. Descript. Camb. c. 10.

(77) Dr M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 137.

(78) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Sever.

(79) Id. ibid.

“ presumed

“presumed to belong to that man to whom the mother was married (80).” There are several considerations, however, which may justly make us distrust the truth of these accounts. It is very probable that Cæsar, Dio, and others were deceived by appearances, and were led to entertain this opinion of the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes among the ancient Britons, by observing the promiscuous manner in which they lived, and particularly in which they slept. The houses of the Britons were not like ours at present, or like those of the Romans in those times, divided into several distinct apartments; but consisted of one large circular room or hall, with a fire in the middle: around which the whole family, and visitants, men, women, and children, slept on the floor, in one continued bed of straw or rushes (81).

This excited unfavourable suspicions in the minds of strangers, accustomed to a more decent manner of living; but these suspicions were probably without foundation. For the ancient Germans, who were in many respects extremely like the ancient Britons, and lived in the same promiscuous and crowded manner, were remarkable for their chastity and conjugal fidelity (82). Nay, though the posterity of the Britons continued to live in the same manner, both in Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, many ages after this period, it is well known to have had no ill effect on their morals (83). If we consult the poems of our most ancient British bard, who was cotemporary with the historian Dio, and much better acquainted with the manners of his country than any foreigner could be; they abound with the most beautiful descriptions of the modesty, innocence, and virtue of the British ladies, and the honour and conjugal affection of both sexes (84). It will perhaps be difficult to produce a more affecting example of the tenderness and warmth of wedded-love on both sides, when all circumstances are duly considered, than is contained in the

(80) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

(81) Girald. Cambren. Descript. Camb. c. 10.

(82) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 18, 19.

(83) Id. *ibid.* Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 140.

(84) Poems of Ossian, *passim*.

following



following short tale. They told to Son-mor of Clunar, " that his brother was slain by Cormac, in fight. Three " days darkened Son-mor over his brother's fall. His " spouse beheld the silent king, and foresaw his steps to " war. She prepared the bow in secret, to attend her " blue-shielded hero. To her dwelt darkness at Atha, " when he was not there—From their hundred streams, " by night, poured down the fons of Alnecma. They " had heard the shield of the king, and their rage arose. " In clanging arms they moved along towards Ullin of " the groves. Son-mor struck his shield, at times, the " leader of the war.

" Far behind followed Sul-allin (beautiful eye) over " the streamy hills. She was a light on the mountain, " when they crossed the vale below. Her steps were " stately on the vale, when they rose on the mossy " hill.—She feared to approach the king, who left her " in echoing Atha. But when the roar of battle rose; " when host was rolled on host; when Son-mor burnt " like the fire of Heaven in clouds; with her spreading " hair came Sul-allin; for she trembled for her king— " He stopt the rushing strife to save the love of he- " roes—The foe fled by night—Son-mor slept without " his blood; the blood which ought to be poured on the " warrior's tomb (85)." It is impossible that a people who were capable of such tender feelings, could be in general ignorant, or regardless of the laws of chastity and virtuous love; though some individuals amongst them might be brutal in their dispositions and manners.

The truth is, the laws of matrimony appear to have Conjugal fidelity. been held as sacred, and the violations of them as odious among the ancient Britons as among the Germans. The universal indignation of the Brigantes against their queen Cartismandua, on account of her gallantries, is a sufficient proof of this. " Cartismandua, queen of the Bri- " gantes, was a princess famous by the lustre of her race, " the greatness of her power, and the favour and pro- " tection of the Romans. But her manners being cor- " rupted by prosperity, she became wanton and luxu- " rious; and despising her husband Venutius, bestowed " her person and crown on Vellocatius, her armour-

(85) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 127, 128.

" bearer.

“ bearer. This flagitious deed proved the total ruin of her family; her enraged subjects embracing the party of her injured husband (86).”

## Frugality.

A frugal parsimonious simplicity in their way of life, hath been commonly reckoned among the virtues of uncivilized nations (who had made but little progress in the arts), and particularly of the ancient Britons (87). But this simplicity, in these circumstances, is not properly a virtue, as it is the effect of necessity, rather than of choice; and owing rather to their ignorance, than to their contempt of luxury. It will by-and-bye appear, that though the ancient Britons could, and very often did live upon little, they had no aversion to indulge their appetites when they had an opportunity. Accordingly the Romans did not find it a difficult task to draw them off from their boasted simplicity of living, and to give them a taste for luxury and magnificence. “ From using (says Tacitus) our language and dress, they proceeded, by degrees, to imitate our vices and luxuries, our porticos, baths, and sumptuous entertainments (88).”

## Sincerity.

Sincerity and plain-dealing are virtues to which the ancient Britons had probably a juster claim. Fawning, flattery, and deceit, are not the vices of a brave unpolished people, who are commonly frank and open-hearted, and speak their real sentiments without disguise. This is the character which is given by Diodorus Siculus of the ancient Britons. “ Their manners are plain and simple, and they are absolute strangers to the pernicious cunning and dissimulation of the men of our times (89).”

## Social affections.

The ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were famous for the warmth of their natural affections, their duty to their parents and superiors, and their inviolable attachment to their friends and family. All the young men of a clan or family treated the old men with the respect and duty due to parents; and those of the same age behaved toward one another as brethren (90). Nothing

(86) Tacit. Hist. l. 3. c. 45.

(87) Diod. Sicul. l. 9. c. 21, p. 347.

(88) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.

(89) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 21. p. 347.

(90) Nicol. Damascen. apud Stobaeum, Serm. 37. p. 118.

could



could equal the respect, affection, and inviolable attachment which every family bore to its head or chieftain. For his safety and honour every one of his friends and followers was always ready to expose his own life to the most imminent danger (91). In a word, all the members of a clan or family were animated, as it were, with one spirit; and whoever did an injury, or offered an affront to one of them, drew upon himself the resentment of the whole (92). This family affection or clan-ship reigned long among the posterity of the ancient Britons in the Highlands of Scotland, and is hardly yet extinguished (93).

Though it is most agreeable to contemplate the fair and beautiful side, either of national or particular characters; yet our regard to truth obliges us to reverse the medal, and take a short view of the most remarkable national blemishes and vices of our British ancestors.

Vices of the  
ancient Bri-  
tons,

The extravagant fondness of the ancient Britons, and of the other Celtic nations, for war, and the savage delight which they took in shedding the blood of those whom they thought proper to esteem their enemies for little or no reason, though it appeared to themselves a virtue, was certainly a most odious and pernicious vice. War was the chief business, delight and glory of the British chieftains and their martial followers, as well as of the petty princes of Gaul and Germany, and their attendants (94). These battling chiefs, and their ferocious myrmidons, thought all their time lost that they spent in peace, were unhappy when they were not engaged in some martial expedition, and transported with joy when they heard of an approaching foe (95). Far from being anxious about the justice of the quarrel, they desired only to fight and conquer, imagining that valour and victory rendered every thing right and honourable; agreeable; to their famous maxims—"That they carried all their rights on the points of their swords; and that all things belonged to the brave, who had courage

Fondness  
for war.

(91) Tacit. de mor. b. German. c. 14.

(92) Id. ibid. c. 21.

(93) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 107, 108.

(94) Pelloutier Hist. des Celt. l. 2. c. 11. p. 406.

(95) Id. ibid. p. 411.

“ and

“ and strength to seize them (96).” This fatal fondness for war, and this total perversion of all the most natural ideas of right and wrong, were the sources of innumerable crimes and calamities among the ancient Britons, and the other ancient nations of Europe.

## Robbery.

Robbery was another criminal practice to which the ancient Britons were too much addicted. Dio represents this as one of the chief employments of the Mæatae and Caledonians, on which they very much depended for their subsistence (97). Like the ancient Germans, they did not esteem it either criminal or disgraceful, but rather a brave and honourable action to rob and plunder the territories of the neighbouring states; especially if any national feud or rivalry subsisted between them, and these states (98). In a time of peace, it was usual for the British chieftains to engage in some plundering expedition, to prevent the people from forgetting the use of arms: and it was chiefly with the booty which they collected in these expeditions, that they supported and rewarded their followers (99). These ideas and manners, so destructive to the security of property, and to the peace and good order of society, subsisted too long among the posterity of the ancient Britons (100).

## Sloth.

Sloth, or want of industry, was one of the most prevailing vices of the ancient Britons, and of all the other Celtic nations. This did not proceed from natural inactivity of spirit, or unwieldiness of body (for they were remarkable for the vivacity of the one, and the agility of the other), but from their mistaken notions of what was great and honourable. Educated in the midst of arms, and accustomed from their infancy to hear nothing admired or celebrated but valiant deeds in war, they looked upon every profession but that of arms as dishonourable; and on every employment but war, as unworthy of a man of spirit (101). To such an extravagant height did the ancient Caledonians and other Britons carry these absurd and pernicious notions of honour, that they ima-

(96) Tit. Liv. l. 5. c. 35.

(97) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicaeo in Sever.

(98) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 23.

(99) Id. ibid. Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

(100) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 138.

(101) Pelloutier. Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 8. II.



gined that those who followed any other employment but that of arms, not only lived despised, and died unlamented, but that their souls after death hovered in the lower regions, among fens and marshes, and never mounted the winds, nor mingled with the souls of warriors in their airy halls. "To fight is mine—I rush forth, on eagle wings, to seize my beam of fame—In the lonely vale of streams, abides the little soul—Years run on, seasons return, but he is still unknown.—In a blast comes cloudy death, and lays his grey head low. His ghost is rolled on the vapour of the fanny field. Its course is never on hills, or mossy dales of wind (102)." Accordingly, the British chieftains and their martial followers thought it far below them to put their blood-stained hands to any useful labour. When they were not employed in their destructive trade of war; in the chace, the image of war; or in some predatory expedition; they (though not so unactive as the ancient Germans) spent too much of their time in shameful indolence, or more shameful riot (103). Nay, not only were the industrious labourers despised, but also plundered, by these sons of violence, who seized the fruits of their labours as their lawful prey. "My pointed spear, my sharp sword, and shining shield, (said an old Celtic warrior) are my wealth and riches. With them I plough, with them I reap, with them I make my wine, with them I procure universal homage and submission. Whoever dare not resist my pointed spear, my sharp sword, and shining shield, falls prostrate on his knees before me, and adores me as his lord and king (104)." Where such sentiments and manners as these prevailed, it is no wonder that labour languished, and that the most necessary and useful arts were much neglected.

Drunkenness, or an excessive fondness for intoxicating liquors, is represented by many Greek and Roman authors to have been the predominant and reigning vice of all the Celtic nations (105). As the ancient Britons were of the same origin, and had the same national spirit

(102) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 76.

(103) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 15.

(104) Athenæus, l. 15. c. 14.

(105) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 2. l. 2. c. 18.

and manners with the Germans, Gauls, and other Celtes, they were probably infected also with this vice. The following account which is given of the drunkenness of the Gauls, and their intemperate love of wine, by Diodorus Siculus, may therefore, without injustice, be applied to those Britons who had come from Gaul and settled in this island, and to their posterity for several generations. “ The excessive coldness and badness of  
 “ the climate is the reason that Gaul produceth neither  
 “ grapes nor olives. The Gauls being destitute of these  
 “ fruits, make a strong liquor of barley, which they  
 “ call Zithus. They also, make a kind of drink of  
 “ honey, diluted with water. Of wine, which is im-  
 “ ported to them by merchants, they are fond to dis-  
 “ traction; and drink it to excess, until they are either  
 “ overpowered with sleep, or inflamed with a kind of mad-  
 “ ness—Quarrels often arise amongst them when they  
 “ are over their cups, and they start up and fight in a  
 “ most furious manner, without the least regard to their  
 “ safety, or even to life (106).” The Caledonians seem to have delighted greatly in strong exhilarating liquors, called, in the poetical language of their bards, “ the joy  
 “ and strength of the shell,” because they drank it out of shells. “ Now on the side of Mora, the heroes ga-  
 “ thered to the feast. A thousand aged oaks are burning  
 “ to the wind.—The strength of the shells goes round.  
 “ And the souls of the warriors brighten with joy (107).” In the western islands of Scotland, which are seldom visited by strangers, many of the customs of the ancient Britons were long preserved; and amongst others, the manner and excess of their drinking; which are thus described by one who was well acquainted with them:  
 “ The manner of drinking used by the chief men of  
 “ the isles, is called in their language Streak, i. e. a round,  
 “ for the company sat in a circle; the cup-bearer filled  
 “ the drink round to them, and all was drunk out,  
 “ whatever the liquor was, whether strong or weak.  
 “ They continued drinking sometimes twenty-four,  
 “ sometimes forty-eight hours. It was reckoned a piece  
 “ of manhood to drink until they became drunk: and

(106) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 29, 30. p. 352.

(107) Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 74.



“ there were two men with a barrow attending punctually on such occasions. They stood at the door until some became drunk, and they carried them upon the barrow to bed, and returned again to their post, as long as any continued fresh; and so carried off the whole company one by one, as they became drunk (108).” The truth is, that mankind in all ages, especially in cold climates, have been at great pains to procure for themselves exhilarating and intoxicating liquors, which cheered their spirits, warmed their hearts, and filled their minds with joy (109). In the first stages of civilization, when arts and commerce were in their infancy, such liquors were obtained with much difficulty; and therefore, when they had procured them, they swallowed them with much eagerness, and little moderation.

Besides the virtues and vices of a people, strictly so called, there are certain customs, habitudes, and ways of acting in the common affairs of life, which are indifferent as to their morality, but claim our attention as they distinguish one nation from another, and discover their various circumstances and characters. Of this kind are—The different ranks and classes into which a people are divided—The modes in which they accost each other, and express their civilities—The manner in which the sexes treat one another—The ceremonies of their marriages—The way of bringing up their children—The rites of sepulture—The solemnities of their declaring war, and making peace, &c.

Remarkable customs of the ancient Britons.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country are formed into states and kingdoms, they must be divided into different ranks and classes. In the first and simplest stages of society, the distinctions of rank and degrees of subordination are but few. This was the case both in Gaul and Britain, when these countries were first invaded by the Romans. “ In Gaul (says Cæsar) there are only two classes of men who enjoy any considerable degree of honour and distinction; which are the nobles, and the Druids (110).” It was exactly the same

Ranks.

(108) Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 106.

(109) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 109.

(110) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

in Britain. The distinguished honours and immunities of the Druids have been already described (112). The nobles were the chieftains or heads of the several clans or families of which each little kingdom consisted. These chieftains were all equal in dignity, though different in power, according to the number of their followers. The common people were all nearly upon a level; and, if we may believe Cæsar, so submissive to the will, and dependent upon the power and bounty of the nobles, that their condition was not many degrees better than that of slaves (113). In the lowest rank were such as had been taken in war, or by some other means reduced to actual slavery. These unhappy persons were the property of their respective masters, and were either sold or given in presents, like any other property (114). In the following speech of Bosmina, the daughter of the famous Fingal, an hundred captive maids are given away with as little ceremony as an hundred horses, or an hundred hawks. “ Son of the distant Sora, begun the  
 “ mildly blushing maid, come to the feast of Morven’s  
 “ king, to Selma’s shaded walls. Take the peace of  
 “ heroes, O warrior, and let the dark sword rest by  
 “ thy side.—And if thou chusest the wealth of kings,  
 “ hear the words of the generous Aldo.---He gives to  
 “ Erragon an hundred steeds, the children of the  
 “ reign; an hundred maids from distant lands; an  
 “ hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly along the  
 “ sky (115).”

Modes of  
 address.

As soon as the inhabitants of any country begin to live in society, they adopt certain modes of address, by which they express their attention, respect, and good-will to each other, according to their various ranks. These modes of address and civility have been very different in different countries, and in the same country at different times. The same action or gesture which in one country, at one period, hath passed for the highest refinement of politeness, and as expressive of the greatest respect, in another country, or at another time, hath been esteem-

(112) See Chap. II.

(113) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(114) Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(115) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 115.



ed the most shocking rudeness, and unpardonable affront (116). This is indeed the proper province of fancy and fashion, in which they reign with arbitrary sway, and discover their whimsical capricious natures uncontrolled by reason. Though the observation of these modes and fashions of behaviour is of no small importance, as long as their authority subsists, yet they are of so fickle and fleeting a nature, so apt to raise and reign for a time, and then to decay and be forgot for ever, that it is quite impossible to give a regular historical deduction of them in any country; and therefore we must be contented with a very brief account of some few of the most remarkable of them in every period.

It hath been a very ancient custom, which hath prevailed almost in all countries, for men to approach their superiors, especially persons of very high rank, and to express their respect for them with gestures and ceremonies very much resembling those with which they approached their altars, and expressed their veneration for the objects of their religious worship. The affections which they intended to express towards their different objects being of the same kind, they were naturally led to express them in the same manner. Of this, examples might be brought from the history of every age and country, if it were necessary; but the following very remarkable one from the history of Britain in this period, will be sufficient. The temples of the ancient Britons were all circular; and the Druids, in performing the public offices of their religion, never neglected to make three turns round the altar, accompanied by all the worshippers (117). This practice was so habitual to the ancient Britons, that it continued in some places many ages after the Druids and their religion were both destroyed. "In the Scottish isles, the vulgar never come to the ancient sacrificing and fire-ballowing Karns, but they walk three times round them, from east to west, according to the course of sun. This sanctified tour, or round by the south, is called Deiscal, from Deas or Des, the right-hand and Soil, or Sul, the sun; the right-hand being ever next the heap

(116) Origin of Laws, Arts; and Sciences, v. 1. p. 328.

(117) Dr. Borlase's Hist. Cornwall, l. 2. c. 19.

“ or cairn (118).” In the same isles it is the custom and fashion of the people to testify their respect for their chieftains, the proprietors of their several isles, and other persons of distinction, by performing the Deifcal round them in the same manner. A gentleman giving an account of his reception in one of the western islands, of which he was proprietor, describes the ceremony of the Deifcal in this manner, “ One of the natives would “ needs exprefs his high esteem for my person, by making a turn round about me sun-ways, and at the same “ time blessing me, and wishing me all happiness. But “ I bid him let alone that piece of homage, telling him “ I was sensible of his good meaning towards me. But “ this poor man was very much disappointed, as were “ also his neighbours; for they doubted not but this ancient ceremony would have been very acceptable to “ me; and one of them told me that this was a thing “ due to my character from them, as to their chief and “ patron; and that they could not, and would not fail “ to perform it (119).” It is highly probable, that the superstitious and ceremonious Deifcal were both of the same origin and antiquity; and that both had been universally practised by the ancient Britons; the one as an act of worship to their Gods, and the other as a piece of politeness to their princes and chieftains.

Behaviour  
to the fair  
sex.

The fair sex have, in all ages, and almost in all countries, except among mere savages, been treated with some peculiar marks of attention and politeness, expressive of the esteem and tender regards of the other sex. This was remarkably the case among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations of Europe, even when they were in the lowest stages of civilization, and but little removed from savages in some other respects. These brave, rough, unpolished nations treated their women with much attention and respect, as the objects of their highest esteem and most sincere affection (120). They allowed them to enjoy the regal dignity, when it fell to them of right; and their greatest heroes did not disdain to fight under their command (121). They paid great

(118) Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 117.

(119) *Id.* p. 20.

(120) Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarck, p. 196.

(121) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 16.



regard to their advice in their most important affairs, esteeming them a kind of oracles, endued with more than human sagacity and foresight (122). The beauties and virtues of the fair were the favourite themes of the ancient British bards, and their good graces were regarded as the most glorious rewards of their heroes. “ At foamy Cruruth’s source, dwelt Rurmar, hunter of boars. His daughter was fair as a sun-beam; white-bosomed Strina-dona. Many a king of heroes, and hero of iron shields, many a youth of heavy locks came to Rurmar’s echoing hall. They came to woo the maid, the stately huntress of Tormoth wild.— But thou lookest careless from thy steps, high bosomed Strina-pona. If on the heath she moved, her breast was whiter than the down of Cana; if on the sea-beat shore, than the foam of the rolling ocean. Her eyes were two stars of light; her face was heaven’s bow, in showers; her dark hair flowed round it, like the streamy clouds; thou wert the dweller of souls, white-handed Strina-dona (123).” Their bravest warriors felt the most generous compassion for the sufferings of the sex, and flew like lightning to their relief. “ We came to the silent bay, and heard the maid of night.—How long will ye roll around me, blue-tumbling waters of ocean? My dwelling was not always in caves, nor beneath the whistling tree. The feast was spread in Forthoma’s hall; my father delighted in my voice. The youths beheld me in the steps of my loveliness, and blessed the dark-hair’d Ninathoma. It was then thou didst come, O Uthal! like the sun of Heaven. The souls of the virgins are thine, son of generous Lathmor; But why dost thou leave me alone, in the midst of roaring waters?—The tear started from my eye, when I heard the voice of the maid. I stood before her in my arms, and spoke the words of peace.—Lovely dweller of the cave, what sigh is in that breast? Shall Ossian lift his sword in thy presence, the destruction of thy foes (124)?” Any insults offered to the persons or to the honour of

their

(122) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 8.

(123) Ossian’s Poems, v. 2. p. 198.

(124) Ibid. v. 1. p. 262, 263.

their women, excited the greatest indignation and the keenest resentment in the minds of the ancient Britons. The brutal behaviour of the Romans to Boadicia and her daughters, seems to have inflamed the rage of her own subjects, and of the other British nations, more than all their other injuries and oppressions (125). In a word, the people of Britain in this period, though they have been often represented as no better than savages and barbarians, were truly polite in their sentiments and behaviour to the tender sex; and animated with no small portion of that generous and virtuous gallantry, which appeared, accompanied with many extravagancies, in the knight-errantry of the middle ages.

Ceremonies  
of marriage.

As marriage is the nearest and most endearing tie, and the foundation of all other relations, certain ceremonies have been used at the celebration of it in almost every country. These ceremonies, in the first stages of society, were commonly few and simple; when little more was necessary in contracting marriages, than the mutual affection of the parties, and a few presents, expressive of that affection, delivered to each other in the presence of their friends, at the marriage feast. This was the case among the ancient Britons. “To the husband the wife gives no dowry, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relations of both are present, and declare their approbation of the presents. These presents are not adapted to flatter the vanity or adorn the person of the bride; but commonly consist of a certain number of oxen, a bridled horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. The bride too, makes the bridegroom a present of some arms. By the delivery of these mutual presents, the marriage is solemnized. This they esteem the most indissoluble tie, the most sacred bond of union, and the connubial Gods (126).” Tacitus observes, that the reason why the bridegroom made a present of oxen, horses, and arms, rather than of female ornaments to his bride, was to intimate to her that she was to partake in his toils and dangers, as well as his pleasures (127). It was a custom among the ancient Britons on these occasions, that the father of the

(125) Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 31.

(126) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 18.

(127) Id. *ibid.*

bride



bride made a present of his own arms to his son-in-law (128). As the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, delighted much in feasting, no marriage was solemnized among them without a great feast, to which all the relations of both parties, who were within the third degree of kindred, were invited by the bridegroom, at his own house, on the day when the bride was conducted thither by her friends. When the parties were rich, they made presents to their friends at this marriage-feast; but when they were poor, each of their friends made them some small present, according to their ability and generosity. At the conclusion of the feast, the parties were conducted to the marriage-bed by the whole company, with music, dancing, shouting, and every demonstration of joy (129). On the morning after the marriage, before they arose from bed, the husband made his wife a present of considerable value, according to his circumstances, which became her peculiar property, and was entirely at her own disposal (130). There is not the least probability, that the shocking custom of the kings enjoying the wives of the nobility, and the nobility those of their vassals, the first night after their marriage, ever prevailed in any part of Britain; though it is mentioned by several very grave historians (131).

The wives of the ancient Britons, especially of their warriors, had not only the management of their domestic affairs devolved upon them, but they had the care and direction of the whole concerns of the family without doors, as well as within, committed to them; the husbands being almost constantly employed either in war or hunting; and even when they were not so employed, they were too lazy, or too proud to labour. For what Tacitus says of the ancient Germans, might with equal truth have been said of their cotemporaries in Britain.

“ Those who are bravest and most warlike among them,  
 “ never do any work or mind and business; but when  
 “ they are not engaged in war or hunting, spend their  
 “ whole time in loitering and feasting; committing the  
 “ management of their houses, lands, and all their

Business of  
their wives.

(128) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 167.

(129) Vide Joh. O. Stiernhook, l. 2. c. 1.

(130) Id. ibid. Vid. Leges Wallicæ, p. 80. 88. 315.

(131) Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertations, p. 192, &c.

“ affairs,

“ affairs, to their women, old men, and children (132).” These haughty warriors not only disliked, but despised labour, and imagined that they would ~~have~~ have been dishonoured for ever, if they had stooped to do any useful work.

Birth and  
education  
of their  
children.

As the women among the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were generally of robust and healthy constitutions, and led simple, innocent, and rural lives, they are said to have brought forth their children with little pain or danger, and often without any assistance, or interruption to their business (133). When a birth was attended with any difficulty, they put certain girdles, made for that purpose, about the women in labour, which they imagined gave immediate and effectual relief. These girdles, which were believed to facilitate the birth of heroes, are reckoned in the poems of Ossian, among the treasures of kings (134). Such girdles were kept with care, till very lately, in many families in the Highlands of Scotland. They were impressed with several mystical figures; and the ceremony of binding them about the women’s waists, was accompanied with words and gestures, which shewed the custom to have been of great antiquity, and to have come originally from the Druids (135). It was the custom of all the Celtic nations, to plunge their new-born infants into some lake or river, even in the winter season, with a view to try the firmness of their constitutions, and to harden their bodies (136). The Britons might therefore, on this account, have adopted the boastful speech of Numanus, the Rutilian, who was of the Celtic race.

Durum a stirpe genus : natos ad flumina primum  
Deferimus ; fævoque gelu duramus & undis (137).

Strong from the cradle, of a sturdy brood,  
We bear our new-born infants to the flood;  
There bath’d amid the stream, our boys we hold,  
With winter harden’d, and inur’d to cold (138).

(132) Tacit. de morib. Ger. c. 15.

(133) Cluver. de German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21.

(134) Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 115.

(135) Id. v. 1. p. 115. in a note.

(136) Cluver. German. Antiq. l. 1. c. 21. p. 150.

(137) Virg. Æn. ix. v. 604.

(138) Dryden’s Virg. Æn. 9. v. 820.



The ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia are said to have had a custom, long before they had any knowledge of Christianity, of pouring water upon the heads of their children as soon as they were born, and giving them a name (139). But we have no certain evidence that this custom prevailed in Britain; and if we may depend upon the testimony of a modern writer, who seems to be well acquainted with the customs of the ancient inhabitants of the northern parts of this island, the Britons, before the introduction of Christianity, did not give names to their sons till after they had performed some brave action (140), and given some indication of their disposition and character (141). This much at least is certain, that all the names of the ancient Britons, preserved by the Greek and Roman writers, as well as by their own bards, are significant in the British language (142). Some of the ancient Britons, if we may believe Solinus, had a custom of putting the first meat into the mouth of every male child, on the point of his father's sword; praying at the same time, that he might prove a brave warrior, and at last fall in battle; which was esteemed by them the only honourable and desirable kind of death (143). Every mother among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, as well as of Germany, not excepting those of the highest rank, nursed all her own children, without having the least idea that it was possible for any other woman to perform that parental office (144).

We may be very certain that the ancient Britons did not bring up their children in a tender and delicate manner. A people who were themselves so ill accommodated, and so rough and hardy, could have no opportunity, and even no conception, of giving their youth such an education, which would have rendered them quite unfit for the way of life for which they were designed. The following description of the manner in which the ancient Germans reared their children, may be applied, with truth and justice, to the people of this island, before

(139) Introduction l'Histoire de Dannemarc, p. 209.

(140) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 33. in a note.

(141) See Baxter's Glossarium Britan. and Ossian's Poems, passim.

(142) Solinus, c. 35.

(143) Id. ibid.

(144) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20.

their manners were changed by their subjection to and intercourse with the Romans. "The children of the nobility are brought up with as little delicacy and tenderness as those of the common people. In every house you see the little boys, the sons of lords and peasants, equally fordid and ill clothed, lying and playing promiscuously together upon the ground, and among the cattle, without any visible distinction. In this manner they grow up, without care or cockering, to that prodigious strength and stature which we behold with admiration (145)." The sons of the ancient Germans, Gauls, and Britons, of all ranks, were allowed to run, wrestle, jump, swim, climb, and, in a word, to do what they pleased, without almost any restraint, till they began to advance towards manhood. To this continual exercise and perfect liberty, together with the simplicity of their diet, Cæsar ascribes the great strength of body, and boldness of spirit, to which the youth of these nations attained (146).

When the youth of Germany, Gaul, and Britain began to approach the manly age, some more attention seemed to be paid to them, both by their parents and the public; for before that period it was accounted a shame for a father to be seen in company with his son; and they were not considered as members of the state (147). Such of them as were designed for the priestly order, were then put under the direction of the Druids, for their instruction in the sciences, and in the principles of law, morality, and religion; and those who were intended for the warlike life, had arms put into their hands by their fathers, or nearest kinsmen, in a public assembly of the whole warriors of the clan or state (148). Some vestiges of this last custom continued till within the memory of man, especially with respect to the eldest sons of their lairds or chieftains, in some parts of the Highlands, and western isles of Scotland (149). From this period, which was commonly between the fifteenth and eighteenth years of their age, the youth applied with zeal and spirit

(145) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 20.

(146) Cæs. de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 1.

(147) Ibid. l. 6. c. 18.

(148) Id. ibid.

(149) Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 101, &c.



to qualify themselves for performing with honour the duties of that profession which they had embraced with the consent of their friends and family.

As war was the favourite profession of the ancient Britons, they had many remarkable customs in the prosecution of it; of which it will be sufficient to mention only a very few. When an unfortunate chieftain implored the protection and assistance of another, he approached the place of his residence with a shield all bloody in one hand, to intimate the death of his friends; and a broken spear in the other, to represent his own incapacity to revenge them (150). A prince having immediate occasion for the assistance of his warlike followers, to repel some sudden invasion, or engage in some expedition, besides striking the shield and sounding the horn, to give warning to those who were within hearing; he sent the Cran-tara, or a stick burnt at the end and dipped in the blood of a goat, by a swift messenger, to the nearest hamlet, where he delivered it, without saying one word, but the name of the place of rendezvous. This Cran-tara, which was well understood to denounce destruction by fire and sword, to all who did not obey this summons, was carried with great rapidity from village to village; and the prince in a little time, found himself surrounded by all his warriors, ready to obey his commands (151). When one chieftain entered the territories of another on a friendly visit, he and his followers carried their spears inverted, with their points behind them; but when they came with a hostile intention, they carried them with the points before (132). An invading army never neglected to draw blood from the first animal they met with on the enemy's ground, and sprinkle it upon their colours (153). When two hostile armies lay near to each other, it was the constant custom of the commanders of both, to retire from their troops, and spend the night before a battle, each by himself alone, meditating on the dispositions he intended to make in the approaching action (154). When a British prince gained a victory, he seldom neglected to erect some trophy or

(150) Poems of Ossian, v. 2. p. 160.

(151) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 160.

(152) Id. *ibid.* p. 5.

(153) Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 103.

(154) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 108.

monument on the field of battle, to perpetuate the memory of his success, and speak to other years (155). These monuments consisted commonly of one large stone placed erect in the ground, without any inscription; of which there are many still standing in different parts of Britain; though they have proved unequal to their charge, and have not been able to preserve the names or memories of those who erected them. As the British warriors had their arms put into their hands in public, and with various ceremonies, so they resigned them, when they became old and unfit for the toils of war, in the same public manner, and with equal ceremony (156). When two British kings or chiefs made peace after a war, or entered into an alliance, they commonly confirmed the peace or alliance by feasting together, by exchanging arms, and sometimes by drinking a few drops of each other's blood; which was esteemed a most sacred and inviolable bond of friendship (157).

Rites of  
sepulture.

That tender and sincere affection which subsists among near relations and dear friends through life hath, in all ages and countries, disposed the survivors to pay certain honours to their deceased friends, and to commit their remains to the earth with some peculiar rites and ceremonies. These funeral rites have been very different in different ages and countries, and have sometimes varied considerably in different parts of the same country. This appears to have been the case in this island in the period we are now considering. The British nations in the south had certainly the same funeral rites with their neighbours the Gauls; which are thus very briefly described by Cæsar. The funerals of the Gauls, considering their circumstances, were sumptuous and magnificent. It was their custom to throw into the funeral pile on which the body was burnt, those things, and even those animals in which the deceased had most delighted; nay, some ages ago they threw into the flaming pile such of his servants and friends as had been his greatest favourites, and all were reduced to ashes

(155) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 220.

(156) Ibid. v. 1. p. 162. v. 2. p. 150.

(157) Ibid. v. 1. p. 74. Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Isles, p. 109.

“ together



“ together in the same fire (158).” Pomponius Mela gives the same account of the funeral rites of the ancient Gauls, with these additional circumstances: “ That  
 “ when they burnt the bodies of their dead, and buried  
 “ their ashes, they buried likewise with them their books  
 “ of accounts, and the notes of hand for the sums of mo-  
 “ ney which they had lent whilst alive, that they might  
 “ exact the payment of them in the other world. That  
 “ sometimes also their near relations and friends have  
 “ flung themselves into the funeral pile, that they might  
 “ go and live with them in a future state (159).” That the ancient nations in the south parts of Britain burnt the bodies of their dead in the same manner, is not only probable, from their great affinity with, and great resemblance to the Gauls, but is unquestionably evident from the great number of urns, evidently of British workmanship, which have been found in several places full of ashes, and human bones half burnt (160). For it is well known to have been the custom of those nations who burnt their dead, carefully to gather their ashes, and particularly their bones, and to put them into urns, with various rites and ceremonies. If the arms, or other things belonging to the deceased, had been thrown into the funeral pile (which was common), the remains of these were also collected and preserved, in the same manner with the bones and ashes (161). These urns, with their various contents, were deposited in sepulchres, caves, or barrows, according to the prevailing custom of the country. The sepulchral urns of the ancient Britons were, for the most part, deposited under barrows, or large circular heaps of earth and stones (162). But as the bones of men lying at full length, and without any marks of burning, have been found in some barrows, it appears, that on some occasions the ancient Britons of the south buried their dead without burning (163). This was the constant practice of the Caledonians, or Britons of the north; whose manner of burying their dead is thus described, by one who had the best opportunities of being acquainted with their customs: “ They opened a

(158) *Cæsar de Bel. Gal.* l. 6. c. 19. (159) *Mela*, l. 3. c. 2.(160) *Dr. Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall*, p. 234, 235.(161) *Id. ibid.*(162) *Id. ibid.*(163) *Id. ibid.*, p. 235.

“ grave six or eight feet deep ; the bottom was lined  
 “ with fine clay, and on this they laid the body of the  
 “ deceased ; and if a warrior, his sword, and the heads  
 “ of twelve arrows by his side. Above they laid ano-  
 “ ther stratum of clay, in which they placed the horn  
 “ of a deer, the symbol of hunting. The whole was  
 “ covered with a fine mould, and four stones placed on  
 “ end, to mark the extent of the grave (164).” There  
 are many allusions in the poems of Ossian to this manner  
 of burying the dead ; from which we learn these further  
 particulars :—That the bows of warriors, as well as their  
 swords and arrows, were deposited in their graves :—  
 That these graves were marked sometimes only with one,  
 and sometimes with two stones ; and that sometimes a  
 cairn or barrow was raised over them : the favourite  
 dogs of the deceased were often buried near them (165).  
 But the most important and essential rite of sepulture  
 among the ancient Britons, was the funeral song, con-  
 taining the praises of the deceased ; sung by a number of  
 bards, to the music of their harps, when the body was  
 deposited in the grave (166). To want a funeral song  
 was esteemed the greatest misfortune and disgrace ; as  
 they believed that, without it, their spirits could enjoy  
 no rest or happiness in a future state (167).

Language  
 of the an-  
 cient Bri-  
 tons.

Though the use of speech, or the faculty of communi-  
 cating their thoughts to each other by articulate sounds,  
 hath always been common to all mankind in all coun-  
 tries ; yet the sounds which the people of different coun-  
 tries, and of the same country in different periods, have  
 employed for that purpose, have been extremely  
 different, according to the ancestors from whom they  
 descended ; the neighbours with whom they mixed ; the  
 arts they practised ; the sciences they cultivated ; the cli-  
 mates they inhabited ; and the degrees of knowledge they  
 attained. This makes the language of every nation in  
 every period an interesting and curious part of its history,  
 from whence many useful deductions may be drawn, con-  
 cerning its origin and circumstances.

(164) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 7. in a note.

(165) Ibid. v. 1. p. 55. 153. 182. 204.

(166) Ibid. v. 1. p. 153.

(167) Ibid. v. 2. p. 35.



The language of the ancient Britons, when they were first invaded by the Romans, was a dialect of the Celtic (168); which had been the language of all the nations of Europe descended from Gomer, and still continued to be spoken by the people of Gaul, and several other countries (169). This is undeniably evident from the nature and reason of things; from the testimony of ancient authors; from the names of rivers, lakes, mountains, &c. in Britain being significant and descriptive in the Celtic tongue; and from the remains of that most ancient and venerable language in some parts of Britain, as well as in some countries on the continent.

Can any thing be more natural and reasonable than to suppose, that the first colonies which came from Gaul and took possession of Britain, and that those which followed them at different periods, brought with them the language of their native country; and that they and their posterity continued to speak it in their new settlements in this island, of which they were the first inhabitants, and where they had no opportunity of learning any other? The nations of Gaul and Britain, in that period, were indeed as much the same people in all respects, and particularly in their language, as the English and Scots now settled in Ireland; and the British colonies are the same with those who reside in this island. If they had not understood each other perfectly well, the Gauls would not have sent their youth into Britain, as we know they did, to finish their education (170.) This is confirmed by the plain and express testimony of Tacitus, an author of the best credit, who was well acquainted with both countries: "One who duly considers all circumstances, would be convinced that the Gauls were the first who inhabited the adjacent isle of Britain. For the religion, or rather superstition of the Gauls and Britons, is perfectly the same; and there is hardly any difference between their languages (171)." The small differ-

(168) Pelloutier Histoire des Celtes. l. 1. c. 15.

(169) See Mr. Bullet Memoires sur la Langue Celtique. Mr. Pelloutier Dictionnaire de la Langue Bretonne, Preface. Mr. Jepron. Antiq. Celtes.

(170) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 13.

(171) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 11.

ence which Tacitus intimates then subsisted between the languages of the Gauls and Britons, could amount to no more than this, that they spoke two different dialects of the same language; and, in this respect, the several nations of the Gauls on the continent differed as much from each other as they did from the Britons. Cæsar says plainly, that the people of the three grand divisions of Gaul spoke different languages, or rather dialects; which is both confirmed and explained by Strabo, who acquaints us, “That the Gauls did not all speak exactly the same language, but varied a little in their pronunciation (172).” But this is at present, and always hath been, the case of the different provinces both of France and Britain.

It is a further proof, or rather demonstration, that the Celtic tongue was the language spoken by the first inhabitants of this island, that the names of very many rivers, brooks, hills, mountains, towns, and cities, in all parts of it, are significant in that language, and descriptive of their situations, properties, and appearances. For the first inhabitants of every country are under a necessity of giving names immediately to those objects about which they have daily occasion to converse; and these primitive names are naturally no other than brief descriptions of the most striking appearances and obvious properties of these objects in their native tongue. When another nation conquers this country, settles in it, and mingles with the primitive inhabitants, finding names already affixed to all the most conspicuous places and objects in it, they, for the most part, retain these names, with some slight alteration to adapt them to the genius of their own language. This was evidently done by the Romans in this island, as might be made appear by an induction of almost innumerable particulars; but as such a detail would be dry and tedious to many readers, it may be sufficient to refer those who are desirous of further information and satisfaction in this particular, to the authors quoted below (173).

(172) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 1. c. 1. Strabo, l. 4.

(173) Baxter's Glossar. Antiq. Britan. passim. Edwardi Luidii de Fluv. Mont. Urb. in Britan. Nomen. Mr. Bullet Memoires sur la Langue Celtique, l. 1. p. 338—406.



Dialects of the Celtic language, once the universal language of Britain, and perhaps of all Europe, still continue to be spoken in Wales, the Highlands, and the western islands of Scotland (to say nothing of Ireland), as well as in some places on the continent. For though the Romans endeavoured to introduce not only their laws and government, but also their language, into all the countries which they conquered, they miscarried in this last attempt in several provinces of their empire, and particularly in Britain (174). Some of the noble youth of the provincial Britons were, indeed, prevailed upon to learn the Latin tongue, and study the Roman eloquence (175). But even these youth did not forget nor discontinue the use of their native language; and the body of the people neither understood nor spoke any other. The longer the Roman government continued, the fashion of learning their language became more and more general; but as the number of the Romans who resided in this island was at all times very inconsiderable in comparison of the other inhabitants, they never could render their language the vernacular tongue of Britain. In a word, nothing can be more certain than this, that the language which was spoken by the great body of the provincial Britons, during the whole period of the Roman government, was the same in substance with that which had been spoken by their ancestors, before they were invaded by the Romans, and which is still spoken by their posterity in Wales; though there can be no doubt but that this very ancient language hath suffered very considerable changes in so long a course of years, and in a country which hath undergone so many revolutions. As the Romans never conquered the Caledonians, or northern Britons, they cannot be supposed to have made any change at all in their language; which is still spoken by their posterity in the Highlands, and western islands of Scotland, with less variation from the original Celtic (if we may believe some of the best judges in these matters) than in any other part of Europe (176).

(174) *Bullet Memoires sur la Langue Celtique*, l. 1. c. 9. p. 12.

(175) *Tacit. vita Agric. c. 21.*

(176) *Dr. M'Pherson's Dissertation*, p. 123, &c.

Dress of  
the ancient  
Britons.

However surprising and incredible it may appear to us, there is hardly any one fact in ancient history better attested than this:—That the first inhabitants of every country in Europe, and particularly of this island, were either naked or almost naked (177). But by degrees, the decent and comfortable custom of wearing clothes of some kind or other prevailed in all these countries; and had become very general, if not universal, in Britain before it was invaded by the Romans. It is true, that both Dio and Herodian seem to intimate that the *Mæzatæ* and *Caledonians* were naked, in the beginning of the third century, when they were invaded by the emperor Severus (178). But both these authors probably meant no more than that these people were very imperfectly clothed, or almost naked; and the expressions which they use will admit of this interpretation. For Dio only says that they lived naked in their tents, which may imply that they had some clothing when they went abroad; and in the very same chapter where Herodian speaks of their nakedness, he says, “That they run through the fens and marshes up to the waist in mud; because the greatest part of their bodies being naked, they regarded not the dirt (179).” As the Romans hardly ever saw the *Caledonians* but in a warlike posture, or engaged in some military expedition, they might imagine them to be much more imperfectly clothed than they really were; because it was the constant custom of that people, which was long retained by their posterity, to throw off almost all their clothes before they advanced to battle, that they might not be incumbered by them in the action (180). It is very common, both in writing and conversation, to say a person is naked, who is very meanly or thinly clothed.

It would be very difficult, or rather impossible, to give any tolerable account of the dress of the ancient Britons in this distant period, if it had consisted of as many different parts as ours, or if their fashions had

(177) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 6. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

(178) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever. Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(179) Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(180) M'Pherson's Dissertation, p. 164.



been as variable as they are at present. But this was not the case; for besides the strong attachment which all nations, in the first stages of civilization, have to the customs of their ancestors, the clothing arts were but in their infancy in this island; and the Britons had not skill to provide themselves with a variety of different kinds of garments, or to change their fashions. This will appear from the following very brief detail.

The upper garment of the ancient Britons, and of <sup>The plaid.</sup> all the other Celtic nations, was the mantle or plaid. This was a piece of cloth of a square form, and sufficiently large to cover the whole trunk of the body, both behind and before (181). It was fastened upon the breast, or one of the shoulders, with a clasp; or, for want of that, with a thorn, or sharp pointed piece of wood (182). As this garment succeeded the mantles made of the skins of some of the larger animals, which had formerly been worn by all the Celtic nations, it was made to imitate these skins in their shape and form; and in several countries, as particularly in Britain, those who were poor, or less civilized, still continued to wear skins, while those who were more wealthy or more improved, were clad in plaids (183). Not only did the plaids, or mantles of cloth which were used by the ancient Britons at first, resemble the mantles of skins, which they had used before, in their shape, but also in their appearance in other respects; being all of one colour; smooth on the inside; with long hair, either straight or curled, on the outside; not unlike the rugs which are still used in some parts of Britain by the common people on their beds (184). These plaids, or rather rugs, when they were first introduced, were esteemed so precious, and so great a piece of luxury, that they were only used by persons of rank and wealth; and that only in the winter season, when they went abroad, being carefully laid aside in summer, or when they were within doors (185). By degrees this garment

(181) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 1. p. 301. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

(182) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

(183) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14.

(184) Strabo, l. 4. p. 196. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16.

(185) Id. ibid.

became

became more common, and was worn by persons of all ranks, and at all seasons, at home as well as abroad; the mantles of skins being no longer used (186). As these most ancient plaids were made of coarse wool, ill dressed, and spun into yarn of a great thickness, they were only one degree more comfortable than the skins to which they succeeded; and were particularly inconvenient in the summer season, on account of their great weight. This put the British weavers, now become a little more expert in their business, upon making others of finer wool, better dressed, and woven the same on both sides. These did not, indeed, so effectually guard the body from rain and snow as the former coarse and heavy rugs; but they were much softer and lighter, and were at first worn by persons of distinction, in summer and fair weather; though they afterwards became more common. Both the winter and summer mantles of the ancient Britons, and of the other Celtic nations, were originally each of one uniform colour, most commonly black or blue (187). But when the Gauls and Britons became acquainted with the arts of dyeing wool, yarn, and cloth many different colours, they began to make their light summer mantles striped chequer-wise, which formed small squares, some of one colour and some of another, very much resembling the tartan plaids which are still used in the Highlands of Scotland (188). By such slow and gentle steps do mankind commonly advance in their improvements of the most useful and necessary arts.

Other garments.

For a considerable time the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, had no other garments but their plaids or mantles; which being neither very long nor very broad, left their legs, arms, and some other parts of their bodies, naked (189). As this defect in their dress could not but be sensibly felt, it was by degrees supplied. It is indeed uncertain, whether the tunick or doublet, for covering more closely the trunk of the body, or breeches and hose, for covering the thighs and legs, were first invented and used by these nations;

(186) Dr. McPherson's Dissertation, p. 166.

(187) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 33. p. 356.

(188) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 8. c. 48. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 30. p. 353.

(189) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

though



though the limbs being quite naked, while the trunk was tolerably covered by the plaid, it is probable that these last were most ancient, as they were most necessary. But however this may be, it is abundantly evident, from the testimonies of many ancient authors (which have been carefully collected by the two modern writers quoted below (190). that the ancient Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, wore a garment which covered both their thighs and legs, and very much resembled our breeches and stockings united. This garment was called, in the Celtic tongue, the common language of all these nations, *Braxe*, or *Bracce*; probably because it was made of the same party-coloured cloth with their plaids, as *Breac*, in that language, signifies any thing that is party-coloured (191). These *Braxe*, or close trowsers, which were both graceful and convenient, and discovered the fine shape and turn of their limbs to great advantage, were used by the genuine posterity of the Caledonian Britons in the Highlands of Scotland till very lately, and are hardly yet laid aside in some remote corners of that country.

Though the plaid, when it was wrapped about the body, covered the whole trunk of it, yet, as it was fastened only at one place about the neck, upon the least motion of the arms it flew loose, and left the fore-part of the body, as well as the arms, naked. This made it a very imperfect and inconvenient covering in time of action, when a free motion of the arms and a full exertion of strength were required; and therefore on such occasions it was commonly thrown off. It was impossible, therefore, but the ancient Britons and other Celtic nations must have very soon discovered that they wanted some more convenient covering for the body, which might serve them for that purpose when they were in action, without impeding the motion of their limbs and the exertion of their strength; and we have sufficient evidence that a garment of this kind was used by them in this period (192). This garment was

(190) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 6. b. r. p. 307, &c. Clav. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. c. 16. p. 115, &c.

(191) M Pheron's Dissertation, p. 166.

(192) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 1. p. 309. Clav. Germ. Antiq. p. 114.

a vest, or tunic, adjusted exactly to the shape and size of the body; fastened before with clasps, or some such contrivance, and reaching no lower than the groin. These vests had also sleeves, which covered the arms, at first only as far as the elbows, but afterwards down to the wrists (193). For some time after this garment was invented, it was used only by persons of rank and wealth; but by degrees it came into common use (194).

Covering  
for their  
heads and  
feet.

As long as the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, only covered their bodies with their plaids or mantles, leaving their arms, thighs, and legs naked, it is not to be imagined that they had any covering either for the head or the feet: but after they had provided garments for all the other parts of the body, they would naturally begin to think of some kind of covering for its extremities. Some of these nations, and perhaps the Britons, had no other shoes but a piece of the skin of a horse, cow, or other animal, tied about the feet, with the hair outwards (195). In the time of war, the British kings and chieftains wore helmets on their heads, adorned with plumes of eagles feathers (196). It seems probable, from the figure of a British captain on a Roman monument in the college of Glasgow, that the common people wore a kind of cap on their heads, very like the bonnet which is still used in the Highlands of Scotland (197).

Dress of  
the Druids.

The dress of the Druids of Gaul and Britain was, in some respects, different from that of the other inhabitants of these countries. In particular, their mantles were not of various colours, like the plaids of others, but entirely white, and probably of linen cloth (198). This was, no doubt, intended as an honourable mark of distinction, and perhaps as an emblem of sanctity, to which they were great pretenders.

Dress of  
the wo-  
men.

It hath been the custom of all countries, in all ages, to make some distinction in the dress of the different

(193) Cluv. German. Antiq. p. 114. Strabo, l. 4. p. 196. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 30. p. 353.

(194) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

(195) Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 117.

(196) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 39. 57.

(197) Horsley's Britan. Rom. p. 195.

(198) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 16. c. 44.



sexes. While the ancient Britons, of both sexes, had no other garments but mantles made of skins, or even of cloth, this distinction could not be very great; but when they had invented several pieces of dress, it became more conspicuous. What Tacitus says of the difference between the dress of the men and women among the ancient Germans, may probably be applied to the Britons of this period. "The difference of the dress of the sexes is not very great, and consists chiefly in this; that the women make more use of linen in their dress than the men; and that the sleeves of their tunicks do not reach to their wrists, but leave their arms bare; as is also some part of their bosoms (199)." This tunick, which was worn by the British women, was plaited in the under part, and descended much lower than that of the men, probably below the knee. Their mantles or plaids were also large, and worn loose and flowing, almost reaching the ground. This account is confirmed by the following description, given by Dio, of the dress of the famous British heroine Boadicia: "She wore a tunick of various colours, long and plaited, over which she had a large and thick mantle. This was her common dress which she wore at all times; but on this occasion she also held a spear in her hand (200)."

There is one observation which may be made concerning the clothing of both the men and women among the ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations—Their bed-clothes. That the same garments, whatever they were, which served them for their clothing in the day, served them also for their covering in their beds by night (201). It seems, however, to have been a custom among the Britons and others, to lay the skins of animals under them upon their beds, long after they had left off wearing them as mantles. The bard Carril awaked Swaran, king of Lochlin, and invited him to the feast in the following words; which show that the king was sleeping on the skins of wild beasts which he had slain in the chase: "Old Carril went with softest voice, and called the king of dark-brown shields. Rise

(199) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

(200) Xiphilin. ex Dione Nicæo in Neron.

(201) Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 119.

“ from

“ from the skins of thy chace, rise Swaran, king of groves—Cuchullin gives the joy of shells (202).” This custom of sleeping on skins continued till very lately, among the common people in some parts of Germany (203).

Fond of  
finery.

Though it must be confessed that the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, were very meanly and imperfectly clothed, yet this was not owing to their love of plainness and simplicity, or contempt of ornament, but to the imperfect state of the arts amongst them. For some of these nations are represented by the Greek and Romans authors, as remarkably fond of dress and finery. While the Germans, and probably other nations, were clad in mantles made of skins, they adorned these mantles with patches of different kinds of skins, and of various colours (204). The Gauls, who had made greater progress in the arts than the Germans, were much delighted with gold chains, bracelets, and other ornaments of that precious metal. “ By this means (says Diodorus Siculus) the Gauls obtain great quantities of gold, of which they make various ornaments for the dress, both of men and women; as bracelets, chains, and rings, for adorning their arms, necks, hands, and breast-plates (205).” The Gauls abounded so much in these ornaments, a considerable time before this period, that Polybius acquaints us, “ That there were very few soldiers to be seen in the foremost ranks of their armies, who had not their necks and arms adorned with gold chains and bracelets (206).” The Britons were no less fond of these ornaments than the Gauls, and had also considerable quantities of them. In the description given by Dio, of the dress of Boadicia, we are told, that she had a very massy chain of gold about her neck; and we learn from Tacitus, that a great number of such chains which Caractacus had taken from his neighbouring princes and chieftains in war, were carried before him when he was led in triumph into Rome (207).

(202) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 16.

(203) Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 120.

(204) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 17.

(205) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 27. p. 351.

(206) Polyb. l. 3.

(207) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron. Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 36.



Nay, so fond were the Britons of ornaments of this kind, that those who could not procure them of gold, wore rings and chains of iron, of which they were not a little vain (208).

The ancient Britons, and all the other Celtic nations, were extremely proud of the length and beauty of their hair; and were at much pains in dressing and adorning their heads. Some of them carried their fondness for, and admiration of their hair to an extravagant height (209). It is said to have been the last and most earnest request of a young warrior, who was taken prisoner and condemned to be beheaded, that no slave might be permitted to touch his hair, which was remarkably long and beautiful, and that it might not be stained with his blood (210). We hardly ever meet with a description of a fine woman or beautiful man, in the poems of Ossian, but their hair is mentioned as one of their greatest beauties (211). Not contented with the natural colour of their hair, which was commonly fair or yellow, they made use of certain washes to render it still brighter. One of these washes was a composition of lime, the ashes of certain vegetables, and tallow (212). They made use of various arts also to make the hair of their heads grow thick and long; which last was not only esteemed a great beauty, but was considered as a mark of dignity and noble birth. Boadicia, queen of the Iceni, is described by Dio with very long hair, flowing over her shoulders, and reaching down below the middle of her back (213). The Britons shaved all their beards, except their upper-lips; the hair of which they, as well as the Gauls, allowed to grow to a very inconvenient length (214). Upon the whole, the ancient Britons of both sexes, when they were completely dressed, according to the fashion of their age and country, were tolerably secured against

Manner of  
dressing  
their hair.

(208) Herodian. l. 3. c. 47.

(209) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 7. p. 323. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. l. 1. 16. p. 105.

(210) M. Mallet's *Introduction à l'Histoire de Dannemarc*, p. 134.

(211) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 90. v. 2. p. 70.

(212) Cluv. Germ. Antiq. p. 105.

(213) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

(214) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 14. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28. p. 351.

the injuries of the climate; and made not only a decent, but an agreeable appearance.

Change in  
dress by  
the Roman  
conquest.

The Roman conquest made a considerable change in the dress and clothing of the people of this land, as well as in their other circumstances. For we learn from the best authority, that not a few of them, and particularly of their young nobility, adopted the dress as well as the language and manners of their conquerors, in order to recommend themselves to their favour. “After this (says Tacitus), the sons of the British chieftains began to affect our dress, and the use of the Roman gown became frequent amongst them (215).” But as this never became the common and prevailing dress even of the provincial Britons, the description of it doth not properly belong to the British history of antiquities.

Diet of the  
ancient  
Britons.

The diet of a nation, or the substance of their meats and drinks, together with their manner of preparing and using them, are objects of still greater importance, and more worthy of attention than their dress, as affording still clearer indications of their real state and circumstances. For as nothing is so necessary to the preservation of life as meat and drink, and no appetites are so frequent and importunate in their solicitations as hunger and thirst, we may be certain, that the providing for the gratification of these appetites, by increasing the quantity, and improving the taste and quality of their necessary food, would engross much of the attention of the first inhabitants of every country; and that they would employ the greatest part of their skill and industry to these purposes.

Whether  
the Britons  
were canibals or not.

It hath been already observed, that the most ancient inhabitants of this island, as well as of many other countries, probably lived, for some time, on the spontaneous productions of the earth, in their natural state, with little or no preparation (216). But if we may give credit to the testimony of several authors, some of the ancient British nations lived in a still more barbarous and savage manner, and did not abstain from devouring human flesh. “I can affirm nothing with certainty (says Strabo) concerning those British tribes

(215) Tacit. vita Agric. c. 25.

(216) See Chap. V.



“ which inhabit Ireland, only it is reported that they  
 “ are much greater savages than the other Britons—  
 “ that they are prodigious gluttons, devouring great  
 “ quantities of human flesh, and even esteeming it  
 “ honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased pa-  
 “ rents. But though we have mentioned these reports,  
 “ it must be confessed that we have not sufficient evi-  
 “ dence of their truth (217).” “ Those Gauls (says  
 “ Diodorus Siculus) who dwell in the north, and are  
 “ near neighbours to the Scythians, are such savages  
 “ that they devour human flesh; as do also those Bri-  
 “ tish nations which inhabit Ireland (218).” But the  
 most positive, and at the same time the most incredi-  
 ble testimony to this purpose, is the following one of  
 St. Jerom:—“ To say nothing of other nations, when  
 “ I was a young man, I saw in Gaul the Attacotti, a  
 “ British nation who fed on human flesh. When they  
 “ find in the woods herds of hogs and cattle, and  
 “ flocks of sheep, they use to cut off the buttocks of  
 “ the herdsmen, and the breasts of the women, esteem-  
 “ ing these parts of the body the greatest dain-  
 “ ties (219).”

That there was a time when some men were so sa-  
 vage as to make human flesh their food, is a fact so  
 well attested, that it can admit of no dispute. Nay,  
 there are still some nations, both in Africa and Ame-  
 rica, to whom this kind of food is familiar, and who  
 hunt men, as we do wild beasts, in order to feed upon  
 them (220). Nor is it impossible that some of the first  
 savage inhabitants of this island, in cases of great ex-  
 tremity, had recourse to this horrid expedient, to sus-  
 tain their lives. But it is far from being probable,  
 that in the first century of the Christian æra, when  
 Strabo wrote, any of the British tribes who inhabited  
 Ireland were in this deplorable state of barbarism. At  
 any rate, it is quite incredible that a British people  
 should be permitted to commit such barbarities in Gaul,  
 one of the most civilized and best regulated countries

(217) Strabo, l. 4. p. 201.

(218) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 32. p. 355.

(219) Hieronym. adver. Joven. l. 2.

(220) Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences, v. 1. p. 3, 4. and authors  
there quoted.

in the world, about the middle of the fourth century, when St. Jerome was a boy. That there was a British nation, in this period, called the Attacotti; and that there were several cohorts of that nation in the Roman armies, both in Gaul and Italy, are facts very well attested (221). That these made an uncommon appearance, and were more fierce than the Roman troops in Gaul; and that on these accounts such reports were spread concerning them, perhaps with a design to frighten children, is not improbable: St. Jerome being a little boy (*adolescens*) when he was in Gaul, and hearing these terrible stories of the Attacotti, they seem to have been too hastily believed by him, and to have made too deep an impression on his imagination. Whoever gives a better solution of this difficulty, will do as great a service to the memory of St. Jerome, as to the character of our countrymen the Attacotti.

Britons of the south had variety and plenty of provisions.

At the time of the first Roman invasion, the British nations in the south parts of this island did not want both a sufficient quantity and variety of provisions, but lived on the same things, prepared in the same manner with their neighbours on the continent. They understood and practised husbandry, which furnished them with corn for bread and other purposes; and gardening, which provided them with roots, herbs, and fruits of all kinds, except grapes and olives (222). They had great herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep, whose flesh and milk yielded them a variety of substantial dishes. The Gauls, Britons, and other Celtic nations, prepared the flesh of animals for eating in three different ways; by boiling, broiling, and roasting. "Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher (says Athenæus), in those historical pieces which he composed, and which are not inconsistent with the philosophy which he professed, relating the laws and customs of many different nations, says, concerning the Celtæ, that they used little bread at their entertainments, but a great deal of flesh; which they either boiled in water, broiled on the coals, or roasted on spits (223)." This is confirmed by Diodorus Sicu-

(221) Ammian. Marcel. l. 26. c. 5. *Camd. Brit.*

(222) See Chap. V. artic. husbandry and gardening.

(223) Athenæi *Deipnosoph.* l. 4. c. 13. p. 151.



lus, in the following passage: "Near to the place  
 " where an entertainment is to be, they kindle very  
 " great fires, on which they place pots, and near them  
 " spits, with which they boil and roast large joints of  
 " flesh of different kinds (224)."

The Gauls and Britons were not ignorant of the <sup>Salt of the</sup> art of salting flesh, in order to preserve it from putre- <sup>Gauls and</sup> faction, and fit for use (225). But their salt had a very <sup>Britons.</sup> different appearance, and was made in a very different manner from ours. The process by which it was made, is thus described by several ancient authors. They raised a pile of trees, chiefly oaks and hazels, set it on fire, and reduced it to charcoal; upon which, while it was still red-hot, they poured a certain quantity of salt water, which converted the whole mass into a kind of salt, of a black colour (226). The Britons had also venison, game, and poultry of all kinds, and in great abundance; though they were restrained, by some superstitious fancy, from using either hares, hens, or geese as food (227).

The Britons not only used the milk of their herds <sup>Milk.</sup> and flocks in its natural state, but also when it was coagulated, and made into butter. "Of milk (says Pliny) butter is made, which is the most delicious and favourite food of the barbarous nations, especially of those amongst them who are most wealthy (228)." By barbarous nations, this author most commonly means the Germans and Britons, because they were not thoroughly subjected to the Roman government, nor instructed in the Roman arts. When Strabo says, "That some of the ancient Britons were so ignorant, that though they had abundance of milk, they did not understand the art of making cheese (229);" he seems to insinuate, that they were not all equally unacquainted with this art. After the richer and more oily parts of the milk were made into cheese or butter, they did not throw away what

(224) Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28. p. 351.

(225) Strabo, l. 4. p. 197.

(226) Tacit. Annal. l. 13. c. 57. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 13. c. 7. Varro de Re Rustic. l. 1. c. 8.

(227) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 5. c. 12.

(228) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 28. c. 9. § 35.

(229) Strabo, l. 4. p. 200.

was left; but used it in several different ways: one of which is very distinctly described by Pliny, and appears to be the same with that which is still practised in some parts of the Highlands and islands of Scotland (230).  
 “ Oon, which in English signifies froth; is a dish used  
 “ by several of the islanders, and some on the opposite  
 “ main land, in time of scarcity, when they want  
 “ bread. It is made in the following manner: A  
 “ quantity of whey is boiled in a pot, and when it is  
 “ wrought up to the mouth of the pot with a long  
 “ stick of wood, having a cross at the lower end, it is  
 “ turned about like the stick for making chocolate;  
 “ and being thus made, it is supped with spoons: it  
 “ is made up five or six times in the same manner;  
 “ and the last is always reckoned best, and the first  
 “ two or three frothings the worst (231).”

Britons of  
 the north  
 had not  
 such variety  
 of provi-  
 sions.

The British nations which inhabited the interior and northern parts of this island, at the time of the first Roman invasion, had neither so great plenty nor so great variety of provisions as those of the south; nor did they understand so well the arts of preparing them for use. Strangers to husbandry and gardening, they were in a great measure strangers to those grains, herbs, and fruits which are produced by those most useful arts. Restrained by some principle of superstition, or by their ignorance of the arts of catching them, they made no use of that great variety, and almost infinite multitude of fishes, with which their rivers, lakes, and seas abounded (232). By this means, they were reduced to live, like the ancient Germans, on the spontaneous productions of the earth; on milk, and the flesh of their flocks and herds, and of such animals as they caught in hunting (233). This was their condition even in the beginning of the third century, as we learn from the following testimony of Dio Nicæus. “ The Maetæ and Caledonians inhabit barren mountains or marshy plains, have no cultivated or manured lands, but feed on the milk and flesh of their flocks; on what they get by hunting, and on

(230) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 28. c. 9. § 35.

(231) Mr. Martin's Description of the Western Islands.

(232) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

(233) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 23.



“ some wild fruits. They never eat fish, though they  
 “ have great plenty of them. When they are in the  
 “ woods they feed on roots and leaves (234).”

As these nations had no great variety of provisions, Cookery  
of the Ca-  
ledonians. neither had they much art in preparing them for use. Some of the Celtic nations had the art of roasting their acorns and other wild fruits, grinding them into meal, and making them into a kind of bread; but we are not informed whether or not the Macatæ and Caledonians were acquainted with this art (235). They were ignorant of the art of making cheese, nor is it very certain that they understood that of making butter (236). The following account of their manner of dressing venison for a feast may be taken for a sufficient specimen of their cookery. “ A pit, lined with smooth  
 “ stones, was made; and near it stood a heap of  
 “ smooth flat stones of the flint kind. The stones, as  
 “ well as the pit, were properly heated with heath.  
 “ Then they laid some venison in the bottom, and a  
 “ stratum of stones above it; and thus they did al-  
 “ ternately, till the pit was full. The whole was co-  
 “ vered over with heath, to confine the steam (237).”  
 This was evidently a very laborious process, and re-  
 quired the assistance of many hands. Accordingly, the  
 greatest heroes did not disdain to assist in preparing the  
 feast of which they were to partake. “ It was on  
 “ Cromla’s shaggy side, that Dorglas placed the deer;  
 “ the early fortune of the chace, before the heroes  
 “ left the hill—A hundred youths collect the heath,  
 “ ten heroes blow the fire; three hundred chuse the  
 “ polished stones. The feast is smoking wide (238).”  
 These nations however, if we may believe Dio, were  
 possessed of a very valuable secret, which he thus de-  
 scribes: “ They make a certain food, that so admir-  
 “ ably supports the spirits, that, when they have taken  
 “ the quantity of a bean, they feel no more hunger  
 “ or thirst (239).” All the conjectures which have

(234) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

(235) Strabo, l. 3. p. 155.

(236) Id. ibid. p. 200.

(237) Ossian’s Poems, v. 1. p. 15. note.

(238) Id. ibid.

(239) Xiphilin. ex Dione in Sever.

been formed by modern writers concerning this food, are vague and uncertain (240).

Drinks of  
the ancient  
Britons.

Water was the only drink of the most ancient inhabitants of this island, as it was of those of many other countries. But it was probably not long before they began to drink the milk, and perhaps the blood of animals, as more warm, pleasant, and nourishing than water. That many ancient nations were accustomed to drink the blood of animals warm from their veins, either by itself or mixed with milk, is so well attested, that it can admit of no dispute (241). If we could believe Solinus, some of the Britons who inhabited Ireland were such horrid savages, that they even drank the blood of their enemies which they had slain in war (242). But this, it must be confessed, is hardly credible, as are several other things which this writer says of the extreme barbarism of the people of Ireland, with whom the Romans were but very little acquainted. However this may be, it is abundantly evident from history, that very few nations continued long unacquainted with some kind of fermented liquor, which served to warm and strengthen their bodies, to exhilarate and even intoxicate their spirits (243). The ancient Britons were so far from being strangers to such liquors, when they were invaded by the Romans, that intemperance in the use of them was one of their national vices.

Mead.

Before the introduction of agriculture into this island, mead, or honey diluted with water, and fermented, was probably the only strong liquor known to its inhabitants, as it was to many other ancient nations in the same circumstances (244). This continued to be a favourite beverage among the ancient Britons and their posterity, long after they had become acquainted with other liquors. The mead-maker was the eleventh person in dignity in the courts of the ancient princes of Wales, and took place of the phy-

(240) Sibbald. *Scotia Illustrata*, l. 1. c. 17, 18, 19. p. 33, &c.

(241) Virg. *Georg.* l. 3. v. 463. *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, v. 1. p. 110.

(242) Solin. c. 35. p. 166. edit. Basilæ.

(243) *Origin of Laws, Arts, and Sciences*, v. 1. p. 109.

(244) Diod. *Sicul.* l. 5. § 26, p. 350. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 14. c. 18.



fician (245). The following ancient law of that principality shews how much this liquor was esteemed by the British princes: "There are three things in the court which must be communicated to the king before they are made known to any other person: 1. Every sentence of the judge. 2. Every new song; and, 3. Every cask of mead (246)." This was perhaps the liquor which is called, by Ossian, the joy and strength of shells, with which his heroes were so much delighted (247).

After the introduction of agriculture, ale or beer Ale, became the most general drink of all the British nations who practised that art, as it had long been of all the Celtic people on the continent (248). "All the several nations (says Pliny) who inhabit the west of Europe, have a liquor with which they intoxicate themselves, made of corn and water. The manner of making this liquor is somewhat different in Gaul, Spain, and other countries, and is called by many various names; but its nature and properties are every where the same. The people of Spain, in particular, brew this liquor so well, that it will keep good a long time. So exquisite is the cunning of mankind, in gratifying their vicious appetites, that they have thus invented a method to make water itself intoxicate (249)." The method in which the ancient Britons, and other Celtic nations, made their ale, is thus described by Isidorus and Orosius: "The grain is steeped in water, and made to germinate, by which its spirits are excited and set at liberty; it is then dried and grinded; after which it is infused in a certain quantity of water; which being fermented, becomes a pleasant, warming, strengthening, and intoxicating liquor (250)." This ale was most commonly made of barley, but sometimes of wheat, oats, and millet.

(245) *Leges Hoeli Dha*, l. 1. c. 22. p. 43.

(246) *Id. ibid.* p. 311. (247) *Ossian's Poems*, v. 1. p. 16. 74.

(248) *Pelloutier Hist. Celt.* l. 1. p. 216. *Cluv. Germ. Antiq.* l. 1. c. 17. p. 125.

(249) *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. 14. c. 22. § 29.

(250) *Isidor. Orig.* l. 20. c. 2. p. 1317. *Oros.* l. 5. p. 259.

*Geopon.* l. 7. c. 34. p. 203.

Wine.

If the Phœnicians or Greeks imported any wine into Britain, it was only in very small quantities; that most generous liquor was very little known in this island before it was conquered by the Romans. After that period, wine was not only imported from the continent in considerable quantities, but some attempts were made to cultivate vines, and make wine in Britain (251).

Two meals a day.

The ancient Britons eat only twice a day; making a slight breakfast in the forenoon, and a supper towards evening, when the labours and diversions of the day were ended (252). The last was their chief meal; at which, when they had an opportunity, they eat and drank with great freedom, or even to excess. On these occasions, the guests sat in a circle upon the ground, with a little hay, grass, or the skin of some animal under them (253). A low table or stool was set before each person, with the portion of meat allotted to him upon it. In this distribution, they never neglected to set the largest and best pieces before those who were most distinguished for their rank, their exploits, or their riches (254). Every guest took the meat set before him in his hands, and tearing it with his teeth, fed upon it in the best manner he could. If any one found difficulty in separating any part of his meat with his hands and teeth, he made use of a large knife, that lay in a particular place for the benefit of the whole company (255). Servants, or young boys and girls, the children of the family, stood behind the guests, ready to help them to drink, or any thing they wanted (256).

Manner of eating.

Dishes.

The dishes, in which the meat was served up, were either of wood, or earthen-ware, or a kind of baskets made of osiers (257). These last were most used by the Britons, as they very much excelled in the art of making them, both for their own use and for exportation (258). The drinking vessels of the Gauls, Bri-

(251) See Chap. V.

(252) Sibbald. Scotia Illustrata, p. 35.

(253) Athenæus, l. 4. c. 13. p. 151.

(254) Ibid. l. 4. c. 13. p. 152.

(255) Id. ibid. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. § 28. p. 351.

(256) Id. ibid.

(257) Athenæus, l. 4. c. 13. p. 152.

(258) Musgrave Belg. Britann. c. 18. p. 166, 167.



tons, and other Celtic nations were, for the most part, made of the horns of oxen and other animals (259); but those of the Caledonians consisted of large shells, which are still used by some of their posterity in the Highlands of Scotland (260).

As the ancient Britons, especially those of them who were unacquainted with agriculture, enjoyed leisure, so they spent much of their time in diversions and amusements of various kinds; particularly in feasting, accompanied with music and dancing, in hunting and in athletic exercises.

Diversions  
of the an-  
cient Bri-  
tons.

Feasting seems to have been the chief delight of the Germans, Gauls, Britons, and all the other Celtic nations; in which they indulged themselves to the utmost, as often as they had an opportunity. "Among these nations (says an author who had carefully studied their manners) there is no public assembly, either for civil or religious purposes, duly held; no birth-day, marriage, or funeral properly celebrated; no treaty of peace or alliance rightly cemented, without a great feast (261)." It was by frequent entertainments of this kind that the great men, or chieftains, gained the affections and rewarded the services of their followers; and those who made the greatest feasts were sure to be most popular, and to have the greatest retinue (262). These feasts (in which plenty was more regarded than elegance) lasted commonly several days, and the guests seldom retired until they had consumed all the provisions, and exhausted all the liquors (263). Athenæus describes an entertainment that was given by Arcamnes, a very wealthy prince in Gaul, which continued a whole year without interruption; and at which all the people of Gaul, and even all strangers who passed through that country, were made welcome (264). At these feasts they sometimes consulted about the most important affairs of state, and formed resolutions relating to peace and war; imagining that men spoke their real sentiments with

Feasting.

(259) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 2. p. 227.

(260) Ossian's Poems, passim.

(261) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 463.

(262) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 14.

(263) Id. ibid. c. 22.

(264) Athenæus, l. 4. c. 13. p. 150.

the greatest freedom, and were apt to form the boldest designs, when their spirits were exhilarated with the pleasures of the table (265). The conversation at these entertainments very frequently turned on the great exploits which the guests themselves, or their ancestors, had performed in war; which sometimes occasioned quarrels, and even bloodshed (266). It was at a feast that the two illustrious British princes, Carbar and Oskar, quarrelled about their own bravery, and that of their ancestors, and fell by mutual wounds (267).

Music and dancing.

As the ancient Britons greatly excelled, and very much delighted in music, all their feasts were accompanied with the joys of song, and the music of harps. In the words of Ossian, "whenever the feast of shells is prepared, the songs of bards arise. The voice of sprightly mirth is heard. The trembling harps of joy are strung. They sing the battles of heroes, or the heaving breasts of love (268)." Some of the poems of that illustrious British bard appear to have been composed in order to be sung by the hundred bards of Fingal at the feasts of Selma (269). Many of the songs of the bards which were sung and played at the feasts of the ancient Britons, were of a grave and solemn strain, celebrating the brave actions of the guests, or of the heroes of other times; but these were sometimes intermixed with more sprightly and cheerful airs, to which the youth of both sexes danced, for the entertainment of the company (270).

Martial dance.

The Germans, and probably the Gauls and Britons, had a kind of martial dance, which was exhibited at every entertainment. This was performed by certain young men, who, by long practice, had acquired the art of dancing amongst the sharp points of swords and spears, with such wonderful agility and gracefulness, that they gained great applause to themselves, and gave great delight to the spectators (271). In one word, feasting,

(265) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 22.

(266) Id. ibid. Diod. Sicul. l. 5. c. 28. p. 353.

(267) Ossian's Poems, v. 2. p. 8, &c.

(268) Ibid. v. 2. p. 9. v. 1. p. 37.

(269) Ibid. v. 1. p. 87. 209.

(270) Ibid. v. 2. p. 132. Pelloutier Hist. Celt. p. 479.

(271) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 24.

accompanied



accompanied with songs, music, and dancing, seems to have been the chief, if not the only domestic amusement of the ancient Britons.

Hunting was a favourite diversion of the ancient Britons, especially of those who were unacquainted with agriculture. Many things concurred to make them fond of this exercise; in which, like all the other Celtic nations, they spent the greatest part of their time, when they were not engaged in war (272). Hunting was a kind of apprenticeship to war; and in it the British youth acquired that courage, strength, swiftness, and dexterity in handling their arms, which they afterwards employed against their enemies. By hunting they delivered their country from many destructive animals, and slew others for their own subsistence, and for those feasts in which they so much delighted. Nay, by hunting, the young chieftains paid their court to the fair objects of their love; displaying their bravery and agility in that exercise before them, and making them presents of their game. "Lovely daughter of Cormac (says a British prince), I love thee as my soul.—I have slain one stately deer for thee—High was his branchy head; and fleet his feet of wind (273)." So strong and universal was the passion for this diversion among the ancient Britons, that young ladies of the highest rank and greatest beauty spent much of their time in the chace. "Comhal was a son of Albion; the chief of an hundred hills. One was his love, and fair was she! the daughter of mighty Conloch.—Her bow-string founded on the winds of the forest. Their course in the chace was one, and happy were their words in secret (274)."

The Britons, and other Celtic nations, employed almost the same instruments of death in hunting that they used in war; viz. long spears, javelins, and bows and arrows (275). Besides these, they had dogs to assist them in finding, pursuing, and running down their game. "From the hill I return, O Morna, from the hill of the dark-brown hinds. Three have I slain

Instruments in hunting.

(272) Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 449.

(273) Ossian's Poems, v. 1. p. 8.

(274) Ibid. v. 1. p. 32.

(275) Strabo, l. 4. p. 196.

" with

“ with my bended yew. Three with my long bounding dogs of the chace (276).” A royal hunting is thus poetically described by the same illustrious bard: “ Call, said Fingal, call my dogs, the long bounding sons of the chace. Call white-breasted Bran; and the furlly strength of Luath.—Fillan and Fergus, blow my horn, that the joy of the chace may arise; that the deer of Cromla may hear, and start at the lake of roes.—The shrill sound spreads along the wood. The sons of healthy Cromla arise.—A thousand dogs fly off at once, gray-bounding through the divided heath. A deer fell by every dog, and three by the white-breasted Bran (277).” The British dogs excelled so much in the exquisiteness of their smelling, their swiftness, strength, and fierceness, that they were admired and purchased by foreign nations, and made no inconsiderable article of commerce (278). They were of several different kinds, which were called by different names; and were so highly valued by all the Celtic nations, that very severe, or rather comical penalties were inflicted on those who were guilty of stealing them; as appears from the remarkable law quoted below (279).

Athletic  
exercifes.

When the British youth were neither engaged in war nor hunting, they did not (like the less lively and active Germans) spend their time in sleep and indolence, but in swimming, leaping, running, wrestling, throwing the stone, darting the lance, riding, driving the chariot, and such exercise as fitted them for the field and for the chace. Both Herodian and Dio take notice of the swiftness, and of the great dexterity of the Britons, particularly of the Caledonians, in swimming over rivers, and passing fens and marshes (280). “ If we fly (says Boadicia to her army), we are so swift of foot that the Romans cannot overtake us; if they fly,

(276) Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 8.

(277) Ossian's Poems, v. I. p. 81, 82.

(278) See Chap. VI. Strabo, l. 4. p. 199.

(279) Si quis canem veltraum aut segutium, vel petrunculum, præsumserit involare, jubemus ut convictus coram omni populo, posteriora ipsius osculetur.—Pelloutier Hist. Celt. l. 2. c. 12. p. 462.

(280) Herod. l. 3. c. 47. Xiphilin. ex. Dione in Neron.

“ they



“ they cannot escape our pursuit. We can pass over rivers by swimming, which they can hardly pass in boats (281).” It is not to be imagined, that the Britons could have arrived at that wonderful dexterity in managing their horses, and driving their chariots, described by Cæsar, without having been almost constantly engaged in these exercises from their youth (282). It was natural for the British youth, who lived so much in the open fields, among rivers, woods, and mountains, to vie with each other in leaping, climbing, running, wrestling, and other rural sports. In the Highlands and islands of Scotland, where old customs maintained their ground long after they had been abolished in other parts of this island, those athletic exercises were held in high repute, till of late years. Every chieftain kept a band of brave and active young men about his person, who, in times of peace, were constantly employed in manly exercises. Throwing the stone was one of these exercises; for which purpose a large round stone was placed at the gate of every chieftain’s house, at which every stranger was invited to try his strength and skill. Wrestling was the favourite diversion of these youths, in which they were trained up from their childhood, and stimulated by prizes suited to their age (283).

Some readers will perhaps be surprised, that games of chance have not been mentioned among the amusements of the ancient Britons. It is very certain that these were not unknown to the Celtic nations in very ancient times. The Germans, in particular, were excessively addicted to these dangerous amusements; and such abandoned, desperate gamesters, that when they had lost all their goods, they staked their very persons (284). This might perhaps be owing to that state of indolence in which the Germans sunk when they were not employed in war or hunting: and as the ancient Britons were more active, and delighted more in manly and athletic exercises, they were probably so happy as to have no taste for the sedentary and pernicious

(281) Herod. l. 3. c. 47. Xiphilin. ex Dione in Neron.

(282) Cæsar de Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 33.

(283) Dr. M’Pherfon’s Dissertation, p. 142.

(284) Tacit. de morib. German. c. 24.

scious games of chance. This much at least is certain, that there is not the most distant allusion to games of this kind in all the works of Ossian, which exhibit such a natural picture of the manners and amusements of the ancient Britons.

Character  
of the an-  
cient Bri-  
tons.

Readers of different tastes and dispositions will probably form very different opinions of the character, virtues, and vices of the people of this island in the period which hath been now delineated. Some will be charmed with their simplicity, frugality, bravery, hospitality, and other virtues: others will be shocked with their ferocity, rapacity, and rude intemperance; while those who are free from prejudice, and view them with philosophic and impartial eyes, will neither be such blind admirers of their virtues, nor such severe censurers of their vices. They will not deny that they were possessed of the same passions, and subjected to the same evil tendencies of a corrupted nature with the rest of mankind. If some of these passions, particularly those of the sensual kind, were not so much indulged by them as they are in the present age, candid enquirers will not impute this so much to a principle of virtuous self-denial, of which they had little or no idea, as to the want of temptations to inflame, and means to gratify these passions. On the other hand, if some of their passions, particularly those of the vindictive and ferocious kind, were more violent and more freely indulged than they are at present, philosophers will consider, that these passions were under fewer restraints from religion and government, and more inflamed by the unsettled state of society; and will impute their greater ferocity to their circumstances, rather than to their natures. In a word, every candid and intelligent enquirer into the manners and characters of nations will be convinced, that they depend very much upon their circumstances. He will pity and bewail the unhappy state of those nations who were involved in moral and involuntary ignorance, under fewer restraints from religion and government, and at the same time possessed of the means, and exposed to the temptations of gratifying their criminal passions; he will despise none but those who are carefully instructed in the nature, and strongly impressed with convictions of the obligations,

beauties,



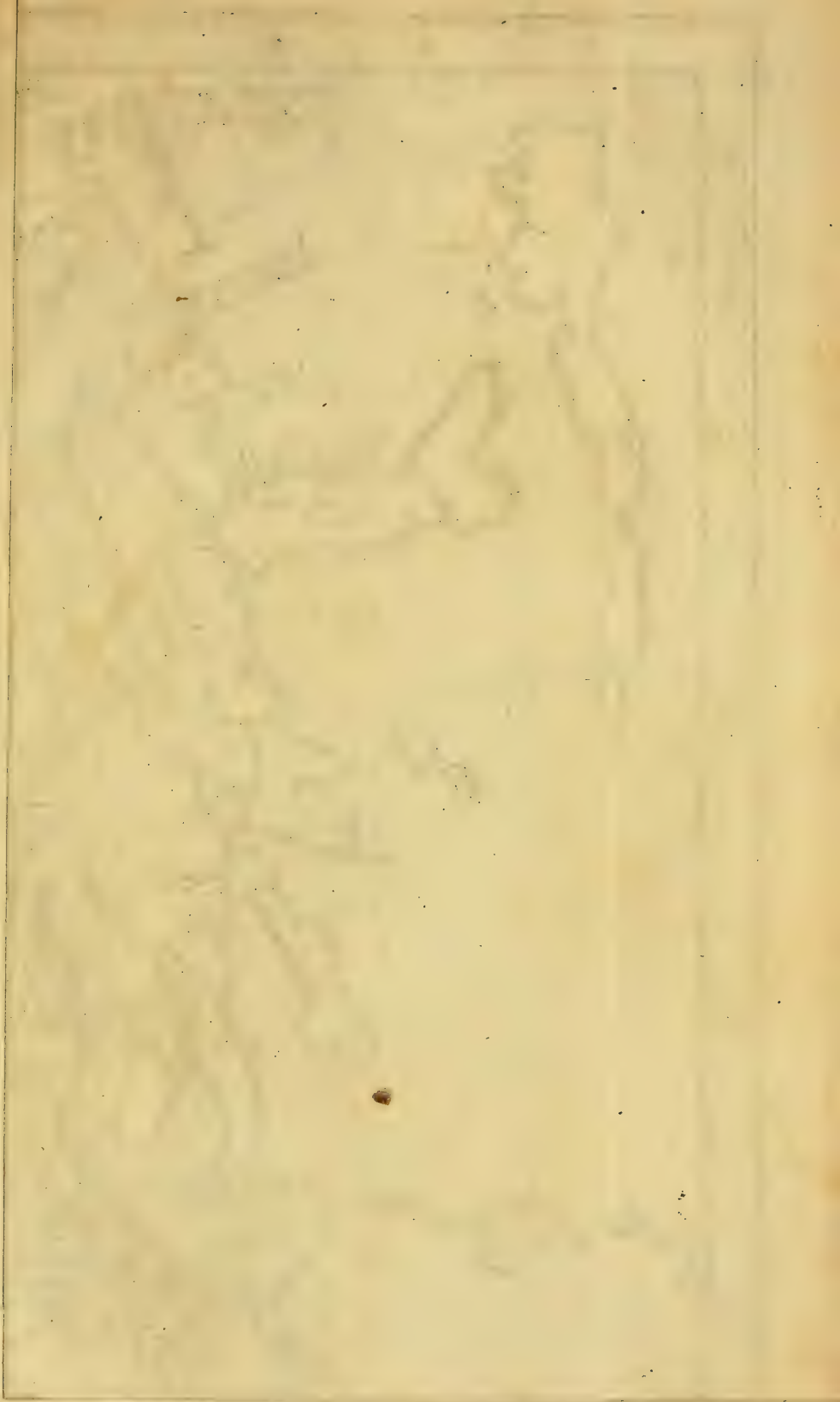
beauties, and advantages of virtue, and yet abandon themselves to vice; and will reserve his admiration for those who preserve the vigour of their spirits, and the innocence and purity of their manners, in the midst of strong temptations and great opulence.

There will probably be as great a diversity of opinions about the enjoyments as about the virtues of the ancient Britons. The enthusiastical admirers of antiquity will be delighted with that ease, freedom, and independency which they enjoyed; the healthful plainness and simplicity in which they lived; and the rural sports and amusements in which they spent their time. To such readers Britannia, in this period, will appear another Arcadia, peopled with happy shepherds and shepherdesses, tending their flocks and herds in peace, free from all cares and pains but those of love; and making the hills and dales resound with their melodious songs; never reflecting on the many wants and inconveniencies to which the swains and nymphs were exposed, by their ignorance or very imperfect knowledge of the most useful arts. On the other hand, those who are enchanted with the opulence, magnificence, and refinements of modern times, will view, with contempt and pity, the humble cottages, the mean dress, the coarse and scanty fare, and the rustic gambols of the ancient Britons: not considering that nature is satisfied with little, and that if they did not possess, neither did they feel the want of the admired enjoyments of the present age.

Circumstances of the ancient Britons.









**BRITISH PEOPLE**  
mentioned by PTOLEMY.

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| I Atrebatii.      | XIX Durotriges.     |
| II Belgae.        | XX Epidii.          |
| III Brigantes.    | XXI Gadeni.         |
| IV Caledonii.     | XXII Logi.          |
| V Cantae.         | XXIII Mertae.       |
| VI Cantii.        | XXIV Novantae.      |
| VII Cereni.       | XXV Ordovices.      |
| VIII Carnonacae.  | XXVI Ortadeni.      |
| IX Catyuechlamii. | XXVII Parisi.       |
| X Ceronas.        | XXVIII Regni.       |
| XI Coritani.      | XXIX Selgovae.      |
| XII Cornavii.     | XXX Silva Caledonia |
| XIII Cornavii.    | XXXI Silures.       |
| XIV Creones.      | XXXII Simeni.       |
| XV Damntii.       | XXXIII Texali.      |
| XVI Demetae.      | XXXIV Irucoantes.   |
| XVII Doburni.     | XXXV Vacomagi.      |
| XVIII Dumnonii.   | XXXVI Venicones.    |

A MAP of  
**GREAT BRITAIN**  
according to  
PTOLEMY'S  
*Geography*  
**RECTIFIED**

OCEANVS  
VERGINIVS

50  
58  
57  
56  
55  
54  
53  
52  
51  
50

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2



# A P P E N D I X

T O T H E

F I R S T B O O K.

N U M B E R I.

**T**HIS map is that of Ptolemy's Geography rectified in p. 356 of Horsley ; with the addition of the names of the British nations, taken from the map before the first page of Horsley.

Vol. I.

2

## N U M B E R II.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY, *so far as it relates to*  
BRITAIN, *with a Translation and Commentary.*

No. II.

**P**TOLEMY of Alexandria, who flourished in the former part of the second century, under the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, is one of the most ancient geographers whose works are now extant. His description of Great Britain was composed not long after the Romans had subdued the south parts of this island, and while the British nations, even in these parts, retained their ancient names, and possessed their native territories. It cannot therefore but be agreeable to the reader, and assist him in forming right conceptions of the preceding history, to see a distinct and authentic delineation of the state of this island, and of the several nations by which it was inhabited in this early period. To give him this satisfaction, he is here presented with a map of Great Britain, according to Ptolemy's geography of it; the original Greek text of that geography, with a literal translation, on the opposite page; to which is subjoined a short commentary, pointing out the situation of the several British nations, and the modern names of the places mentioned by Ptolemy.

It must be confessed and regretted, that the writings of this ancient geographer abound with errors and mistakes. These errors were partly owing to the imperfect state of geography in his time, and the wrong information he had received concerning those countries which he had not visited in person; and partly to the blunders of his transcribers. Besides many mistakes as to the situation of particular places in Britain, there are two general errors, which affect the whole of his geography of this island. The first of these general errors is this: that he hath made all England decline from the true position as to the length of it; and entirely changed the position



of Scotland, making its length from east to west, instead of from south to north. The other general error is, that the whole of South Britain is placed too far north, by two or three degrees; the error being greatest in the north parts. Both these general errors are rectified in the annexed map, which makes the degrees of longitude and latitude of places in the map different from those of Ptolemy; who computes the longitude from Alexandria in Egypt, the place of his residence.

No. II.



PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

B O O K II.

Κ Ε Φ. γ.

Α Α Ο Τ Ι Ω Ν Ο Σ νήσε Βρετανικῆς θέσις.

Ευρώπης πίναξ α.

No. II.

Ἀρκτικῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφὴ, ἣς ὑπέρικειται Ὀκεανὸς καλέμεται<sup>Ⓢ</sup> Δανακαλιον<sup>Ⓢ</sup>.

|                                                      |   |    |    |       |
|------------------------------------------------------|---|----|----|-------|
| Νηαντῶν <sup>b</sup> χερσόνησος, καὶ φημάνυμον ἄκρον | - | κα | ξ  | γθ    |
| Ρεξιγόνι <sup>Ⓢ</sup> κόλπ <sup>Ⓢ</sup>              | - | κ  | λ' | ξ λ'γ |
| Ουΐδογαρα <sup>c</sup> κόλπος                        | - | κα | γ  | ξ λ'  |
| Κλώτα εἴχυσις <sup>d</sup>                           | - | κβ | δ  | ιβ γθ |
| Λελαανώνι <sup>Ⓢ</sup> ε κόλπ <sup>Ⓢ</sup>           | - | κδ | ξ  | γθ    |
| Ἐπιδίου ἄκρον                                        | - | κε | ξ  | γθ    |
| Λόγγου ποτ. ἐκβολαί                                  | - | κε | ξ  | γθ    |
| Ἴτυ <sup>Ⓢ</sup> ποτ. ἐκβολαί                        | - | κζ | ξ  |       |
| Οουλας κόλπ <sup>Ⓢ</sup>                             | - | κθ | ξ  | λ'    |
| Ναυαίς ποτ. ἐκβ. <sup>f</sup>                        | - | λ  | ξ  | λ'    |
| Ταριδοίμ ἢ χ Ὀρκὰς ἄκρα <sup>z</sup>                 | - | λα | γ  | ξ δ   |

Δυσμηκῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφὴ, ἣ παρᾶκειται ὁ, τε Ἰουδέρι<sup>Ⓢ</sup> Ὀκεανὸς καὶ ὁ Ουιεργιού<sup>Ⓢ</sup>, μετα τὴν Νηαντῶν χερσόνησιν ἢ ἐπέχει

|                                     |   |    |   |    |
|-------------------------------------|---|----|---|----|
| Αύραβάνου <sup>h</sup> ποτ. ἐκβολαί | - | ιβ | γ | ξα |
| Ἰνῶ εἴχυσις <sup>i</sup>            | - | ιβ | ξ | λ' |

<sup>z</sup> Pal. habet λλ.

<sup>b</sup> Pal. Νοβάντων.

<sup>c</sup> P. Ουιδόγαρα.

<sup>d</sup> P. Κλωταίς χύσις.

<sup>e</sup> Palat. Λεμαανώνι<sup>Ⓢ</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> P. Ναβαίς.

<sup>z</sup> Palat. Ταρούεδομ.

<sup>h</sup> Pal. Ἀβραβάνου.

<sup>i</sup> P. Ἰνναίς χύσις.



PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

B O O K II.

C H A P T E R III.

The position of the British island ALBION.

Europe, TABLE I.

THE description of the northern side, beyond <sup>a</sup> which is the ocean called Deucelethion.

No. II.

Peninsula Novantium <sup>b</sup>, with a promontory of the same name

| name                                         | " | " | 21°.00' | 61°.40' |
|----------------------------------------------|---|---|---------|---------|
| Rerigionian bay                              | " | " | 22.30   | 60.50   |
| Bay of Vidotara                              | " | " | 21.20   | 60.30   |
| Estuary of Clota                             | " | " | 22.15   | 59.40   |
| Lelannonian bay                              | " | " | 24.00   | 60.40   |
| Promontory of Epidium                        | " | " | 23.00   | 60.40   |
| Mouth of the river Longus                    | " | " | 24.00   | 60.40   |
| Mouth of the river Itsy                      | " | " | 27.00   | 60.00   |
| Bay Volfas                                   | " | " | 29.00   | 60.30   |
| Mouth of the river Nabaeus                   | " | " | 30.00   | 60.30   |
| Promontories Tarvidum and Orcas <sup>c</sup> | " | " | 31.20   | 60.15   |

The description of the western side, which lies along the Irish and Vergivian seas, after <sup>d</sup> the peninsula Novantium, which hath (as above)

|                               |   |   |       |       |
|-------------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Mouth of the river Abravannus | " | " | 19.20 | 61.00 |
| Estuary Jena                  | " | " | 19.00 | 60.30 |

<sup>a</sup> N. B. ὑπόκειματ, with Ptolemy, signifies a more southern situation, ἐπέκειματ a more northern.

<sup>b</sup> Νεαντῶν or Νοβάντων χερσονήσος must, I think, be the peninsula of the Novantae (a people named afterwards), but yet I see it usually called Novantium, and I have complied with the custom.

<sup>c</sup> "Tarvidum, which is also called Orcas promontories." So Ptolemy. I suppose they have been too near together, but promiscuously called by one name, either Tarvidum or Orcas.

<sup>d</sup> After, i. e. next on the other side, or after we pass it.

No. II.



|                                     |   |   |   |       |        |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|--------|
| Διοία ποτ. ἐκβολαί                  | - | - | - | ιη    | ξ      |
| Νοτιά ποτ. ἐκβολαί                  | - | - | - | ιη γ  | ιθ λ'  |
| Ἰτένα εἰχυσίς <sup>k</sup>          | - | - | - | ιη λ' | ιη λ'δ |
| Μορικάμνη εἰχυσίς <sup>l</sup>      | - | - | - | ιζ λ' | ιη γ   |
| Σελαντίαν λίμνη <sup>m</sup>        | - | - | - | ιζ γ  | ιζ λ'δ |
| Βελίσσαμα εἰχυσίς <sup>n</sup>      | - | - | - | ιζ λ' | ιζ γ   |
| Σετηία εἰχ. <sup>o</sup>            | - | - | - | ιζ    | ιζ     |
| Τοισόβι⊙ ποτ. ἐκβολαί               | - | - | - | ιε γο | ις γ   |
| Καγκανῶν ἄκρον <sup>p</sup>         | - | - | - | ιε    | ις     |
| Σίεμια ποτ. ἐκβολαί                 | - | - | - | ιε γ  | ις λ'  |
| Τερεβί⊙ ποτ. ἐκβολαί                | - | - | - | ιε    | ις     |
| Ὀκλαπίταρον ἄκρον                   | - | - | - | ιδ γ  | ιθ λ'  |
| Τοβία <sup>q</sup> ποτ. ἐκβολαί     | - | - | - | ιε λ' | ιθ λ'  |
| Ῥατοςαδυσίε ποτ. ἐκβολαί            | - | - | - | ις λ' | ιθ λ'  |
| Σαβριάνα εἰσχυσίς <sup>r</sup>      | - | - | - | ιζ γ  | ιθ λ'  |
| Ουέξαλα εἰσχυσίς <sup>s</sup>       | - | - | - | ις    | ιγ λ'  |
| Ηρακλέες ἄκρον                      | - | - | - | ιδ    | ιγ     |
| Ἀντιουέσταιον ἄκρον τὸ καὶ Βολέριον | - | - | - | ια    | ιβ λ'  |
| Δαμνόνιον τὸ καὶ Ὀκρινον ἄκρον      | - | - | - | ιβ    | ιι λ'  |

Τῆς ἐφεξῆς μεσημβρινῆς πλευρᾶς περιγραφῆ, ἣ ὑπόκειται Βρετανικὸς Ὠκεανός, μετὰ τὸ Ὀκρινον ἄκρον.

|                                    |   |   |   |       |        |
|------------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|--------|
| Κενίονος ποτ. ἐκβολαί <sup>t</sup> | - | - | - | ιδ    | ιι λ'δ |
| Ἰαμάρεη ποτ. ἐκβολαί               | - | - | - | ιε γο | ις γ   |
| Ἰσάνα ποτ. ἐκβολαί                 | - | - | - | ιζ    | ιβ γ   |
| Ἀλαίνα ποτ. ἐκβολαί                | - | - | - | ιζ γο | ιβ γο  |
| Μέγας λιμνη                        | - | - | - | ιβ    | ιγ     |
| Τρισάλιον⊙ ποτ. ἐκβολαί            | - | - | - | κ γ   | ιγ     |
| Καινός λιμνη                       | - | - | - | κα    | ιγ λ'  |
| Κάβιον ἄκρον                       | - | - | - | κβ    | ιθ     |

Τῶν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς ἑῷ καὶ μεσημβριανὴν πλευρῶν περιγραφῆ, αἷς παρακαίεται Γερμανικὸς Ὠκεανός, μετὰ τὸ Ταρουεδουμ ἄκρον ἢ Ὀρμας, ὅπερ εἰρηται,


|                                |   |   |   |       |       |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|-------|-------|
| Ὀυιερεδρον ἄκρον               | - | - | - | λα    | ξ     |
| Βερεβίμ <sup>u</sup> ἄκρον     | - | - | - | λ λ'  | ιθ γο |
| Ἰλα ποτ. ἐκβολαί               | - | - | - | λ     | ιθ γο |
| Ὀχθη ὑψηλή                     | - | - | - | κθ    | ιθ γο |
| Λίξα ποτ. ἐκβολαί <sup>x</sup> | - | - | - | κη λ' | ιθ γο |

<sup>k</sup> P. Ἰτεναίης χύσις. <sup>l</sup> Pal. Μορικαμνήης χύσις. <sup>m</sup> Palat. Σεγαλίον. <sup>n</sup> Pal. Βελισσαμαίης χύσις. <sup>o</sup> P. Σεγηνατάτης χύσις. <sup>p</sup> Palat. Καγκανῶν. <sup>q</sup> P. Τοβία. <sup>r</sup> Pal. Σαβριανοῦς χύσις. <sup>s</sup> Pal. Ουεξαμαίης χύσις. <sup>t</sup> Hic et in sequentibus habet Pal. singulariter ἐκβολαί. <sup>u</sup> Pal. Ὀυερ. <sup>x</sup> Pal. singulariter ἐκβολαί.



# A P P E N D I X.

|                                                   |   |   |       |       |
|---------------------------------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Mouth of the river Deva                           | - | - | 18.00 | 60.00 |
| Mouth of the river Novius                         | - | - | 18.20 | 59.30 |
| Estuary Ituna                                     | - | - | 18.30 | 58.45 |
| Estuary Moricambe                                 | - | - | 17.30 | 58.20 |
| Haven of the Setantii                             | - | - | 17.20 | 57.45 |
| Estuary Belifama                                  | - | - | 17.30 | 57.20 |
| Estuary Seteia                                    | - | - | 17.00 | 57.00 |
| Mouth of the river Toisobius                      | - | - | 15.40 | 56.20 |
| Promontory of the Cancani                         | - | - | 15.00 | 56.00 |
| Mouth of the river Stucia                         | - | - | 15.20 | 55.30 |
| Mouth of the river Tuerobius                      | - | - | 15.00 | 55.00 |
| Promontory of Octapitarum                         | - | - | 14.20 | 54.30 |
| Mouth of the river Tobius                         | - | - | 15.30 | 54.30 |
| Mouth of the river Ratostathybius                 | - | - | 16.30 | 54.30 |
| Estuary Sabriana                                  | - | - | 17.20 | 54.30 |
| Estuary Vaxala                                    | - | - | 16.00 | 53.30 |
| Promontory of Hercules                            | - | - | 14.00 | 53.00 |
| Promontory Autivestæum, sometimes called Bolerium | - | - | 11.00 | 52.30 |
| Promontory Damnonium, called also Ocrinum         | - | - | 12.00 | 51.30 |

No. II.  


A description of the next side, lying towards the south, and bounded by the British ocean, after the promontory Ocrinum.

|                              |   |   |       |       |
|------------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Mouth of the river Cenion    | - | - | 40.00 | 51.45 |
| Mouth of the river Tamarus   | - | - | 15.40 | 52.10 |
| Mouth of the river Ifaca     | - | - | 17.00 | 52.20 |
| Mouth of the river Alaenus   | - | - | 17.40 | 52.40 |
| Great Haven, Portus Magnus   | - | - | 19.00 | 53.00 |
| Mouth of the river Trifanton | - | - | 20.20 | 53.00 |
| New Haven, Portus Novus      | - | - | 21.00 | 53.30 |
| Promontory Cantium           | - | - | 22.00 | 54.00 |

The description of the next side, lying towards the south-east, along which flows the German ocean, after the promontory Tarvidum or Orcas, mentioned before,

|                         |   |   |       |       |
|-------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Promontory Vervedrum    | - | - | 31.00 | 60.00 |
| Promontory Berubium     | - | - | 30.30 | 59.40 |
| Mouth of the river Ila  | - | - | 30.00 | 59.40 |
| High-Band, Ripa Alta    | - | - | 29.00 | 59.40 |
| Mouth of the river Loxa | - | - | 28.30 | 59.40 |

|         |                                                    |   |   |    |    |    |     |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------|---|---|----|----|----|-----|
| No. II. | Ἐσχυσις <sup>γ</sup>                               | - | - | κζ | λ' | ιθ | γθ  |
|         | Ἐσχυσις <sup>ζ</sup>                               | - | - | κζ |    | ιθ |     |
|         | Κελίνη ποτ. ἐκβολαί <sup>α</sup>                   | - | - | κζ |    | ιθ | λ'δ |
|         | Ταίζαλον ἄκρον                                     | - | - | κζ | λ' | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Διέα ποτ. ἐκβολαί <sup>β</sup>                     | - | - | κς |    | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Ἐσχυσις <sup>ς</sup>                               | - | - | κε |    | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Τίνα ποτ. ἐκβολαί <sup>δ</sup>                     | - | - | κδ | λ' | ιθ | λ'δ |
|         | Βοδερία εἰσχ. <sup>ε</sup>                         | - | - | κβ | λ' | ιθ | λ'δ |
|         | Ἀλαύνη ποτ. ἐκβολαί                                | - | - | κα | γθ | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Ἐσχυσις <sup>ς</sup>                               | - | - | κ  | ς  | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Δοῦνον κόλπ <sup>ς</sup>                           | - | - | κ  | δ  | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Γαβραντινῶν εὐλίμεν <sup>ς</sup> κόλπ <sup>ς</sup> | - | - | κα |    | ιθ |     |
|         | Ἐκέλλε ἄκρον                                       | - | - | κα | δ  | ιθ | γθ  |
|         | Ἄβη ποτ. ἐκβολαί                                   | - | - | κα |    | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Μελαρίς εἰσχ. <sup>ς</sup>                         | - | - | κ  | λ' | ιθ | γθ  |
|         | Γαρρύνου ποτ. ἐκβολαί                              | - | - | κα |    | ιθ | γ   |
|         | Ἐξοχή                                              | - | - | κα | δ  | ιθ | ιβ  |
|         | Ἐιδεμανία ποτ. ἐκβολαί                             | - | - | κ  | ς  | ιθ |     |
|         | Ἰάμισσα εἰσχ. <sup>ς</sup>                         | - | - | κ  | λ' | ιθ | λ'  |
|         | Μεδ' ἢν τὸ Ἀκάνιον <sup>η</sup> ἄκρον              | - | - | κβ |    | ιθ |     |

Οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρκτινὴν πλευρὰν, ὑπὸ τὴν ὀμάνυμον χερσονήσον,  
ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ· παρ' οἷς εἰσι πόλεις αἷδε,

|            |   |   |    |   |   |
|------------|---|---|----|---|---|
| Ληκπιβία   | - | - | ιθ | ξ | γ |
| Ῥετιγόνιον | - | - | κ  | ς | ξ |

Ἐσχυσις<sup>ς</sup> ΣΕΛΓΟΓΑΙ, παρ' οἷς πόλις<sup>ς</sup>.

|                      |   |   |    |    |    |
|----------------------|---|---|----|----|----|
| Καρβαντόριγον        | - | - | ιθ | ιθ | γ  |
| Οὔξελον <sup>κ</sup> | - | - | ιθ | λ' | ιθ |
| Κόρδα                | - | - | κ  |    | ιθ |
| Τριμόλιον            | - | - | ιθ |    | ιθ |

Γάτοι δὲ πρὸς ἀνατολάς, ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ, μὲν ἀρχικώτεροι ἐν οἷς πόλεις<sup>ς</sup>,

|                      |   |   |    |    |    |
|----------------------|---|---|----|----|----|
| Κολαία               | - | - | κ  | λ' | ιθ |
| Ἐσχυσις <sup>ς</sup> | - | - | κα | γθ | ξ  |
| Κορία                | - | - | κ  | λ' | ιθ |

<sup>γ</sup> P. Ἐσχυσις<sup>ς</sup> χύσις.      <sup>α</sup> P. Ταυαίς εἰσχ.      <sup>β</sup> P. ἡ.      <sup>δ</sup> Pal. ἡ.  
<sup>ς</sup> P. Ταυαίς χύσις.      <sup>δ</sup> P. ἡ.      <sup>ε</sup> P. Βοδερίαίς χύσις.      <sup>ς</sup> P. Μελαρίς χύσις.  
<sup>η</sup> Ἰαμισσαίς χύσις.      <sup>η</sup> P. Βάβιον.      <sup>ι</sup> P. addit, αἷδε.      <sup>κ</sup> Pal. Ὀυξελλον.



|                                         |   |   |       |       |
|-----------------------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Estuary Vara                            | - | - | 27.30 | 59.40 |
| Estuary Tuac                            | - | - | 27.00 | 58.00 |
| Mouth of the river Celnus               | - | - | 27.00 | 58.45 |
| Promontory Taizalum                     | - | - | 27.30 | 58.30 |
| Mouth of the river Diva                 | - | - | 26.00 | 58.30 |
| Estuary Tava                            | - | - | 25.00 | 58.30 |
| Mouth of the river Tinna                | - | - | 24.30 | 51.45 |
| Estuary Boderia                         | - | - | 22.30 | 58.45 |
| Mouth of the river Alaunus              | - | - | 21.40 | 58.30 |
| Mouth of the river Vedra                | - | - | 20.10 | 58.30 |
| Bay of Dunum                            | - | - | 20.15 | 57.30 |
| Bay of Gabrantiuci, with a safe harbour | - | - | 21.00 | 57.00 |
| Promontory of Ocellum                   | - | - | 21.15 | 56.40 |
| Mouth of the river Abus                 | - | - | 21.00 | 56.30 |
| Estuary Metaris                         | - | - | 20.30 | 55.40 |
| Mouth of the river Garryenum            | - | - | 21.00 | 55.20 |
| Prominence, Extensio                    | - | - | 21.15 | 55.05 |
| Mouth of the river Idumania             | - | - | 20.10 | 55.00 |
| Estuary Jamiffa                         | - | - | 20.30 | 54.30 |
| After which is the promontory Acantium  | - | - | 22.00 | 54.00 |

On the north side [of the island] are the NOVANTAE, under the peninsula which bears the same name with them; and among them are the following towns:

|             |   |   |       |       |
|-------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Lucopibia   | - | - | 19.00 | 60.20 |
| Retigionium | - | - | 20.10 | 60.40 |

Under (or south from) are the SELGOVAE, and among them these towns:

|               |   |   |       |       |
|---------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Carbantorigum | - | - | 19.00 | 59.20 |
| Uxelum        | - | - | 18.30 | 59.20 |
| Corda         | - | - | 20.00 | 52.40 |
| Trimontium    | - | - | 19.00 | 59.00 |

Eastward of these, and of a more northern situation than the following people, are the DAMNII: and their towns are

|         |   |   |       |       |
|---------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Colania | - | - | 20.30 | 59.10 |
| Vanduaa | - | - | 21.40 | 60.00 |
| Coria   | - | - | 21.30 | 59.20 |

No. II.

|                       |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| Ἰαλαῦνα               | - | - | - | κδ | λδ | νθ | γ  |
| Λίνδον                | - | - | - | κγ |    | νθ | λ' |
| Οὐκτορία <sup>m</sup> | - | - | - | κγ | λ' | νθ |    |

ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙ<sup>n</sup> δὲ ἀρκικώτεροι.ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δὲ μεσημβρινώτεροι ἐν οἷς πόλεις<sup>o</sup>,

|                        |   |   |   |    |   |    |    |
|------------------------|---|---|---|----|---|----|----|
| Καρία <sup>p</sup>     | - | - | - | κ  | ς | νθ |    |
| Βρεμίνιον <sup>q</sup> | - | - | - | κα |   | νθ | λδ |

Μεῖα δὲ τὰς Δαμονίας πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀρκικώτεροι μὲν, ἀπο τῆ Ἐπιδίῃ  
ἄκρη ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.

Μεθ' ἧς ΚΑΡΩΝΕΣ<sup>r</sup>.

Εἶτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Εἶτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι καὶ τελευταῖοι ΚΟΡΝΑΒΥΤΟΙ.

Ἐκ τῆ Λαλαμνοῖε κόλπε μέχρι τῆς Οὐάρας εἰσχύσεως ΚΑΛΗ-  
ΔΟΝΙΟΙ.Καὶ ὑπερ αὐτὰς ὁ Καληδόνι<sup>o</sup> δρυμὸς.

Ἐν ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ' ἧς ΔΟΓΟΙ, Ἐνάπλιονες τοῖς ΚΟΡΝΑΥΤΙΟΙΣ.

Καὶ ὑπερ τὰς Λόγας ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

Ἐπὲρ δὲ τὰς Καληδονίας ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ, παρ' οἷς πόλεις,

|                     |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|---------------------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| Βανατία             | - | - | - | κδ |    | νθ | λ' |
| Τάμεια              | - | - | - | κε |    | νθ | γ  |
| Πτερωτὸν γρατόπεδον |   | ▼ | - | κζ | δ  | νθ | γ  |
| Τέεσις              | - | - | - | κς | γδ | νθ | ς  |

Ἐπὸ δὲ τούτους δυσμικώτεροι μὲν ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

|       |   |   |   |    |  |    |    |
|-------|---|---|---|----|--|----|----|
| Ορρεα | - | - | - | κδ |  | νθ | λδ |
|-------|---|---|---|----|--|----|----|

Ἀνατολικώτεροι δὲ ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις,

|        |   |   |   |    |   |    |    |
|--------|---|---|---|----|---|----|----|
| Δύεανα | - | - | - | κς | δ | νθ | λδ |
|--------|---|---|---|----|---|----|----|

Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τὰς Ελγούας καὶ τὰς Ὠταδηνους δίκηνες ἐφ' ἐκάτερα  
τὰ πελάγη, ΒΡΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

|          |   |   |   |    |    |    |    |
|----------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|
| Ἐπείακον | - | - | - | ιη | λ' | νθ | λ' |
|----------|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|

<sup>m</sup> Οὐκτορία.    <sup>n</sup> Ρ. Γαδονοί.    • Pal. addit, ἄϊδε.    <sup>p</sup> Ρ. Κόρια.  
<sup>q</sup> Ρ. Ἀεμίνιον.    <sup>r</sup> Ρ. inf. εἶτα ἀνατολ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.



# A P P E N D I X.

|          |   |   |       |       |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Alauna   | x | - | 22.45 | 59.20 |
| Lindum   | - | - | 23.00 | 59.30 |
| Victoria | - | - | 23.30 | 59.00 |

No. II.



The GADENI of a more northern situation [i. e. than the Otadeni.]

The OTADENI more to the south, among whom are these towns :

|           |   |   |       |       |
|-----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Curia     | - | - | 20.10 | 59.00 |
| Bremenium | - | - | 21.00 | 58.45 |

After the Damnii eastward, but more northerly, and inclining to the east from the promontory Epidium, are the EPIDII.

Next to them the CERONES, [and then east from them the CREONES<sup>e</sup>.]

Then the CARNONACAE.

Next the CARENII.

The last and more easterly are the CORNABYI.

From the Laelamnonian bay, to the estuary of Varar, are the CALEDONII.

And north of them the Caledonian wood.

But more to the east than they are, the CANTAE,

Next to them are the LOGI, adjoining to the CORNAVII,

And north from the Logi lie the MERTAE.

South from the Caledonii are the VACOMAGI, whose towns are these :

|                               |   |   |       |       |
|-------------------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Banatia                       | - | - | 24.00 | 59.30 |
| Tamea                         | - | - | 25.00 | 59.20 |
| The winged camp, Alata castra | - | - | 27.15 | 59.20 |
| Tuefis                        | - | - | 26.45 | 59.10 |

South from them are the VENICONTES to the west, and their town

|       |   |   |       |       |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Orrea | - | - | 24.00 | 58.45 |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|

To the east the TEXALI, and the town

|        |   |   |       |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Devana | - | - | 26.15 | 59.45 |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|

Again, south from the Elgovae<sup>f</sup>, and the Otadeni, and reaching from sea to sea, are the BRIGANTES, whose towns are,

|         |   |   |       |       |
|---------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Epiacum | - | - | 18.30 | 58.30 |
|---------|---|---|-------|-------|

<sup>e</sup> This is taken from the Palatine Copy.

<sup>f</sup> Selgovae, before.

No. II.



|              |   |   |   |    |    |       |
|--------------|---|---|---|----|----|-------|
| Οὐρηθίων     | - | - | - | ιζ | λ' | νη    |
| Καταρράκτιον | - | - | - | κ  |    | νη    |
| Κάλατον      | - | - | - | ιθ |    | νξ λ' |
| Ίσέριον      | - | - | - | κ  |    | νξ γο |
| Ίριόδουον    | - | - | - | ιη |    | νξ λ' |
| Όλίκανα      | - | - | - | ιθ |    | νξ λ' |
| Έσόρακον     | - | - | - | κ  |    | νξ γ  |

## ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΕΚΤΗ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ.

|               |   |   |   |    |   |    |
|---------------|---|---|---|----|---|----|
| Καμουνλόδονον | - | - | - | ιη | δ | νξ |
|---------------|---|---|---|----|---|----|

Πρὸς οἷς, περὶ τὸν εὐλίμενον κόλπον, ΠΑΡΙΣΟΙ, καὶ πόλις,

|          |   |   |   |   |    |       |
|----------|---|---|---|---|----|-------|
| Πελοαρία | - | - | - | κ | γο | νς γο |
|----------|---|---|---|---|----|-------|

Ἰπὸ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰς Βερίγαντας οἰκοῦσι δυσμικώτατα μὲν ΟΡΔΟΥΙΚΕΣ,  
ἐν οἷς πόλις,

|              |   |   |   |    |     |       |
|--------------|---|---|---|----|-----|-------|
| Μεθιολατίον  | - | - | - | ις | λ'δ | νς γο |
| Βραυνογένιον | - | - | - | ις |     | νς δ  |

Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλις,

|        |   |   |   |    |    |    |
|--------|---|---|---|----|----|----|
| Δηούνα | - | - | - | ιη | λ' | νθ |
|--------|---|---|---|----|----|----|

## Καὶ ΛΕΓΙΩΝ Κ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΟΣ.

|            |   |   |   |    |     |        |
|------------|---|---|---|----|-----|--------|
| Οἰροκόνιον | - | - | - | ις | λ'δ | νε λ'δ |
|------------|---|---|---|----|-----|--------|

Μεθ' οἷς ΚΟΡΙΤΑΝΙΟΙ ἐν οἷς πόλις,

|         |   |   |   |    |    |        |
|---------|---|---|---|----|----|--------|
| Λίνδον  | - | - | - | ιη | γο | νε λ'δ |
| Ίράγε * | - | - | - | ιη |    | νε λ'  |

Εἶτα ΚΑΤΥΕΥΧΛΑΝΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλις,

|            |   |   |   |    |   |       |
|------------|---|---|---|----|---|-------|
| Σαλῆναι †  | - | - | - | κ  | ς | νε γο |
| Όυρολάμιον | - | - | - | ιθ | γ | νε λ' |

Μεθ' οἷς ΣΙΜΕΝΟΙ †, ἐν οἷς πόλις,

|        |   |   |   |   |    |      |
|--------|---|---|---|---|----|------|
| Οὔεντα | - | - | - | κ | λ' | νε γ |
|--------|---|---|---|---|----|------|

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι, παρὰ τὴν Ἰμνησαν εἴχουσιν †, ΤΡΙΝΟΑΝΤΕΣ, ἐν  
οἷς πόλις

|             |   |   |   |    |  |    |
|-------------|---|---|---|----|--|----|
| Καμυδόλανον | - | - | - | κα |  | νε |
|-------------|---|---|---|----|--|----|

\* Pal. Έράται.

† Pal. Σαλιῶαι.

\* Pal. Ἰμ.

\* P. Ἰμνησανίς χύσιν.



|                 |   |   |       |       |
|-----------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Vinnovium       | - | - | 17.30 | 58.00 |
| Caturraetionium | - | - | 20.00 | 58.00 |
| Calatum         | - | - | 19.00 | 57.30 |
| Ifurium         | - | - | 20.00 | 57.40 |
| Rigodunum       | - | - | 18.00 | 57.30 |
| Olicana         | - | - | 19.00 | 57.30 |
| Eboracum        | - | - | 20.00 | 57.20 |

No. II.



LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX.

|              |   |   |       |       |
|--------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Camunlodunum | - | - | 18.15 | 57.00 |
|--------------|---|---|-------|-------|

Beside these, about the well-havened bay, are the P A R I S I, and the town Petuaria

|   |   |       |       |
|---|---|-------|-------|
| - | - | 20.40 | 56.40 |
|---|---|-------|-------|

South from these and the Brigantes, but the most western, are situated the O R D O V I C E S; among whom are the following towns:

|              |   |   |       |       |
|--------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Mediolanium  | - | - | 16.45 | 56.40 |
| Brannogenium | - | - | 16.00 | 56.15 |

More to the east than these are the C O R N A V I I, and their towns,

|       |   |   |       |       |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Deuna | - | - | 18.30 | 55.00 |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|

LEGIO VICESIMA VICTRIX.

|            |   |   |       |       |
|------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Viroconium | - | - | 16.45 | 55.45 |
|------------|---|---|-------|-------|

Next these are the C O R I T A N I, and their towns,

|        |   |   |       |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Lindum | - | - | 18.40 | 55.45 |
| Rage   | - | - | 18.00 | 55.30 |

Then the C A T Y E V C H L A N I, whose towns are

|           |   |   |       |       |
|-----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Salenae   | - | - | 20.10 | 55.40 |
| Urolanium | - | - | 19.20 | 55.30 |

Next these are the S I M E N I, their town is

|       |   |   |       |       |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Venta | - | - | 20.30 | 55.20 |
|-------|---|---|-------|-------|

And more easterly, beside the estuary Jamenfa, are the T R I - N O A N T E S, whose town is

|             |   |   |       |       |
|-------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Camudolanum | - | - | 21.00 | 55.00 |
|-------------|---|---|-------|-------|

## No. II.

Πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τὰ εἰρημένα ἔθνη, δυσμικώτατοι μὲν, ΔΗΜΗΤΑΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

|            |   |   |        |       |
|------------|---|---|--------|-------|
| Λαέντινον  | - | - | εε λ'δ | νε ς  |
| Μαρίδρονον | - | - | εε λ'  | νε γο |

Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι ΣΙΑΥΡΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις

|           |   |   |      |    |
|-----------|---|---|------|----|
| Βούλλαιον | - | - | εγ γ | νε |
|-----------|---|---|------|----|

Μεθ' οὗς ΔΟΒΟΥΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις

|          |   |   |    |       |
|----------|---|---|----|-------|
| Κορίνιον | - | - | εη | νε ς, |
|----------|---|---|----|-------|

Ἔττα ΑΤΡΕΒΑΤΙΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις

|                     |   |   |    |      |
|---------------------|---|---|----|------|
| Ναλκία <sup>†</sup> | - | - | εθ | νε δ |
|---------------------|---|---|----|------|

Μεθ' οὗς ἀνατολικώτατοι ΚΑΝΤΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

|                       |   |   |        |       |
|-----------------------|---|---|--------|-------|
| Λονδίνιον             | - | - | κ      | νε δ  |
| Δαρούεον <sup>‡</sup> | - | - | κα     | νε γο |
| Ῥουταπιαί             | ε | ε | κα λ'δ | νε δ  |

Πάλιν τοῖς μὲν Ἀτρεβατίοις καὶ τοῖς Καντίοις ὑπώκεινται ΡΗΓΝΟΙ, καὶ πόλεις

|                     |   |   |        |          |
|---------------------|---|---|--------|----------|
| Νοϊμάγ <sup>⊙</sup> | - | - | εθ λ'δ | νε γ γιβ |
|---------------------|---|---|--------|----------|

Τοῖς δὲ Δοβανοῖς, ΒΕΛΓΑΙ, καὶ πόλεις,

|             |   |   |       |         |
|-------------|---|---|-------|---------|
| Ἰχάλις      | - | - | εγ γο | νε γ λ' |
| Ἰδατα Σερμά | - | - | εζ γ  | νε γο   |
| Ούέντα      | - | - | εη γο | νε λ'   |

Τούτων δ' ἀπὸ δυσμῶν καὶ μεσημερίας ΔΟΥΡΟΤΡΙΓΕΣ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις

|         |   |   |        |       |
|---------|---|---|--------|-------|
| Δούνιον | ε | ε | εη λ'δ | νε ιθ |
|---------|---|---|--------|-------|

Μεθ' οὗς δυσμικώτατοι ΔΟΥΜΝΟΝΙΟΙ, ἐν οἷς πόλεις,

|                        |   |   |        |          |
|------------------------|---|---|--------|----------|
| Ουελίβα                | - | - | εδ λ'δ | νε β γ   |
| Ουξελα                 | - | - | εε     | νε β λ'δ |
| Ταμαρή                 | - | - | εε     | νε β δ   |
| Ἴτκα                   | - | - | εζ λ'  | νε β λ'δ |
| ΛΕΓΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ | - | - | εζ λ'  | νε β λ'δ |

<sup>†</sup> Pal. Καλκία.

<sup>‡</sup> Pal. Δαρούερον.



Again, fouth from the countries before mentioned, but in the moft western part, are the DEMETAE, among whom are thefe towns :

|           |   |   |       |       |
|-----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Luentinum | - | - | 15.45 | 55.10 |
| Maridunum | - | - | 15.30 | 55.40 |

More eafterly than thefe are the SILURES, whofe town is

|          |   |   |       |       |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Bullaeum | - | - | 16.20 | 55.00 |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|

Next them are the DOBVNI, and the town

|          |   |   |       |       |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Corinium | - | - | 18.00 | 54.10 |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|

Then the ATREBATII, and the town

|        |   |   |       |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Nalcua | - | - | 19.00 | 54.15 |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|

Next thefe, and in the moft eastern part, are the CANTII, and among them thefe towns :

|           |   |   |       |       |
|-----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Londinium | - | - | 20.00 | 54.00 |
| Daruenum  | - | - | 21.00 | 53.40 |
| Rutupiae  | - | - | 21.45 | 54.00 |

Again, the REGNI lie fouth from the Atrebatii and the Cantii, and the town

|          |   |   |       |       |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Neomagus | - | - | 19.45 | 53.25 |
|----------|---|---|-------|-------|

Alfo the BELGAE lie fouth from the Dobuni, and the towns

|               |   |   |       |       |
|---------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Ifchalis      | * | - | 16.40 | 53.30 |
| Aquae calidae | - | - | 17.20 | 53.40 |
| Venta         | - | - | 18.40 | 53.30 |

South-west from thefe are the DVROTRIGES, and their town

|        |   |   |       |       |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Dunium | - | - | 18.50 | 52.05 |
|--------|---|---|-------|-------|

Next to them, in the moft western part, are the DVMNONII, among whom are thefe towns :

|                       |   |   |       |       |
|-----------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| Voliba                | - | - | 14.45 | 52.20 |
| Uxela                 | - | - | 15.00 | 52.45 |
| Tamare                | - | - | 15.00 | 52.15 |
| Ifca                  | - | - | 17.30 | 52.45 |
| LEGIO SECVNDA AVGVSTA |   |   | 17.30 | 52.35 |

No. II.

Νῆσοι δὲ παραμένονται τῇ Ἀλουίαν<sup>⊙</sup>, κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ὀρχάδα ἄκραν,

|                          |   |   |       |      |
|--------------------------|---|---|-------|------|
| *Οκητις νῆσ <sup>⊙</sup> | - | - | λβ γο | ξ λδ |
| Δούμνα νῆσ <sup>⊙</sup>  | - | - | λ     | ξα   |

Ἐπὲρ ἦν αἱ ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἄριθμον, ὧν το μεταξὺ  
ἐπέχει μοίρας

|   |   |   |       |
|---|---|---|-------|
| - | - | λ | ξα γο |
|---|---|---|-------|

Καὶ ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἡ ΘΟΥΑΗ, ἧς τὰ μὲν δυσμικάτα ἐπέχει  
μοίρας

|   |   |    |    |
|---|---|----|----|
| - | - | κθ | ξγ |
|---|---|----|----|

|                     |   |   |       |    |
|---------------------|---|---|-------|----|
| Τὰ δὲ ἀνατολικώτατα | - | - | λα γο | ξγ |
|---------------------|---|---|-------|----|

|                  |   |   |     |      |
|------------------|---|---|-----|------|
| Τὰ δὲ ἀρκιμώτατα | - | - | λ γ | ξγ δ |
|------------------|---|---|-----|------|

|                 |   |   |     |       |
|-----------------|---|---|-----|-------|
| Τὰ δὲ νοτιώτατα | - | - | λ γ | ξβ γα |
|-----------------|---|---|-----|-------|

|              |   |   |     |    |
|--------------|---|---|-----|----|
| Τὰ δὲ μεταξῦ | - | - | λ γ | ξγ |
|--------------|---|---|-----|----|

Κατὰ δὲ τὰς Τριάκοντας νῆσοι εἰσιν αἶδε,

|          |   |   |    |      |
|----------|---|---|----|------|
| Ταλιάπις | - | - | κγ | γδ δ |
|----------|---|---|----|------|

|                                     |   |   |    |       |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|----|-------|
| Κάουν <sup>⊙</sup> νῆσ <sup>⊙</sup> | - | - | κδ | γδ λ' |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|----|-------|

Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα νῆσ<sup>⊙</sup> ΟΥΗΚΤΙΣ, ἧς τὸ μέσον ἐπέχει  
μοίρας

|   |   |   |      |      |
|---|---|---|------|------|
| - | - | - | ιβ γ | νβ γ |
|---|---|---|------|------|



# A P P E N D I X.

The islands adjacent to Albion, near the promontory Orcas, are these,

|                   |   |   |       |       |
|-------------------|---|---|-------|-------|
| The island Ocetis | - | - | 32.40 | 60.45 |
| The island Dumna  | - | - | 30.00 | 61.00 |

Beyond which are the ORCADIES, about thirty in number, the middle one of which has degrees

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 30.00 | 61.40 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

And again, beyond these is THULE, the most western part of which has degrees

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 29.00 | 63.00 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

The most eastern

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 31.40 | 63.00 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

The most northern

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 30.20 | 63.15 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

The most southern

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 30.20 | 62.40 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

The middle

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 30.20 | 63.00 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

Besides the Trinoantes, are these islands,

Toliapis

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 23.00 | 54.15 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

The island Counus

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 24.00 | 54.30 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

South from the Great-haven, is the island VECTIS, the middle of which has degrees

|  |   |   |       |       |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|
|  | - | - | 19.20 | 52.20 |
|--|---|---|-------|-------|

## COMMENTARY on the preceding Geography of BRITAIN.

**I**N giving a very brief illustration of Ptolemy's description of Great Britain, we shall first attend him along the sea-coasts, which form the outlines of this island; and then through the several British nations, and their towns, in the same order in which they are placed in the description.

### I. The northern side.

1. The Rerigonian bay is Loch-Rain, formed by the Mul of Galloway.
2. The bay Vidotara, the bay near the mouth of the river which runs by Aire.
3. Estuary of Clota, or Glota, the firth of Clyde.
4. Lelannonian bay; Loch-Finn, formed by the Mul of Cantyre, and part of Argyleshire.
5. Promontory of Epidium, the Mul of Cantire.
6. The river Longus, is the river which runs up to Innerlochy, in Lochabir.
7. The river Itys, one of the rivers which runs into the sea opposite to the Isle of Sky.
8. Bay Volfas, Loch-bay, in Rossshire.
9. The river Nabæus, is the river Unnabol, in Strathnavern.
10. The promontories Tarvidum and Orcas, Faro-head, at the north west point of Scotland.

### II. The western side, which lies along the Irish and Vergivian seas.

The Hibernian and Vergivian sea, is that sea which washes the western side of Britain, and flows between it and Ireland; and is now called St. George's Channel, and the Irish Sea. The peninsula Novantum, is the Mul of Galloway in Scotland.

1. The Abravannus, is probably that small river which falls into the bay of Glenluce, a little to the south of the Mul of Galloway. From the British words Aber Avan, the mouth of a river.

2. The



2. The estuary Jena, can be no other than the bay near No. II.  
Wigtown in Galloway <sup>a</sup>.

3. The river Deva, is evidently the river Dee in Galloway, which falls into the sea at Kirkudbright.

4. The river Novius, is the river Nith, which empties itself into the Solway Firth, a little below the town of Dumfries.

5. The estuary Ituna, is unquestionably the Solway Firth, which now divides England from Scotland on the west side.

6. The estuary Moricambe, is probably the bay into which the river Ken empties itself, near Kendal. The name of it (as Baxter imagines) is derived from the British words *Mor iū Camva*, which signify a great bending of the sea <sup>b</sup>.

7. The haven of the Selantii, must be near the mouth of the river Ribble.

8. Estuary Belafama, the bay near Liverpool, at the mouth of the river Mersey. From *Bel is Ama*, the mouth of a river <sup>c</sup>.

9. Estuary of Seleia, the firth at the mouth of the river Dee, which flows up to Chester.

10. The river Toisobius, is probably the river Conway.

11. Promontory of the Cancani, is thought to be Braychpult Point in Caernarvonshire.

12. The mouth of the river Stucia, Mr. Horsley thinks is the mouth of the river Dovic; but both Baxter and Camden imagine it to be Aberistwith, or the mouth of the river Ystwith in Cardiganshire <sup>d</sup>.

13. The river Tuirobis, is univesally agreed to be the river Tyvi.

14. The promontory Octopitarum, is evidently St. David's-Head in Pembrokeshire.

15. The river Tobius, is unquestionable the river Towy, in Caermarthenshire.

16. The river Ratoftathibius, or (as Baxter thinks it was originally written) Ratoftaubius, is the river Wye, derived from *Rot ei Tav*, the course of a river <sup>e</sup>.

17. The estuary Sabriana, is the noble river Severn, derived from its British name Havrian, which is Haavrian, the queen of rivers <sup>f</sup>.

18. The estuary Vexala, is probably the bay at the mouth of the river Brent, in Somersetshire.

19. The promontory of Hercules, is Hartland Point, in the west corner of Devonshire.

b 2

20 The

<sup>a</sup> Baxter, Gloss. Ant. Brit. p. 2.

<sup>c</sup> Id. p. 38.

<sup>d</sup> Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 376. Baxter, Gloss.

nt. Brit. 220. Camd. Brit. 772.

<sup>e</sup> Baxter, p. 200.

<sup>f</sup> Id. p. 206.

<sup>b</sup> Id. p. 179.

No. II.

20. The promontory Antivesteum, or Bolerium, is either cape Cornwall or the Land's-end; perhaps called Antwestorium, from the British words An diuez Tir, which signify the Land's-end; Bolerium, from Bel e rhin, the head of a promontory <sup>g</sup>.

21. The promontory Ocrinum, is undoubtedly the Lizard point in Cornwall, probably called Ocrinium, from Och Rhen, a high promontory; and as the Britons kept possession of Cornwall so long, we need not be surprized that the present name of that promontory, the Lizard, is also of British derivation, from Lis-ard, a lofty projection. Here ends Ptolemy's description of the western coast of Britain <sup>h</sup>.

III. A description of the next side, lying towards the south, bounded by the British ocean (now commonly called the English Channel), next after the promontory Ocrinum or Lizard.

1. The mouth of the river Cenion, is supposed to be Fal-mouth-haven; so called from the British word Gencu, a mouth; and of which there is still some vestige in the name of a neighbouring town, Tregonny <sup>i</sup>.

2. The river Tamarus still retains its ancient name, being called Tamar, from Tam a var, gentle river; and its mouth is Plymouth-haven <sup>k</sup>.

3. The river Isaca, or rather Isca, is the river Ex, which, passing Exeter, falls into the sea at Exmouth.

4. The river Alaenus, is supposed to be the river Ax, and its mouth Ax-mouth. It was perhaps called Alaenus, from A laün iü, the full river <sup>l</sup>.

5. Great-haven, or Portus magnus, is commonly supposed to be Portsmouth; but that is either a mistake, as its situation does not agree with the order in which Ptolemy proceeds from west to east, or some careless transcriber hath placed it before the river Trefanton by mistake. This last supposition seems to be the most probable.

6. The river Trefanton, is most probably the river Test, which falls into Southampton bay.

7. The New-haven, Mr. Horsley supposes to have been at the mouth of the river Rottiar, near Rye; but both Camden and

<sup>g</sup> Baxter, p. 19. 36.

<sup>h</sup> Id. p. 186.

<sup>i</sup> Id. p. 77. Camd. Brit. p. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Baxter, *ibid* p. 222.

<sup>l</sup> Id. p. 10.



and Baxter make it the same with Portus Lemanis, or Lime in Kent, now a small village, but in the Roman times a sea-port, and a place of considerable note <sup>m</sup>. No. II.

8. The promontory Cantium is universally agreed to be the North Foreland in Kent, where Ptolemy's description of the south coasts of Britain terminates.

IV. Description of the next side, lying towards the south east' bounded by the German ocean, after the promontory Tarvidum or Orcas, mentioned before.

1. Promontory Vervedrum, Strathy-head, in the, north of Scotland.

2. Promontory Birubium, Dunsby-head, in the north of Scotland.

3. The river Ila, empties itself into a bay near Nofe-head.

4. Ripa Alta, Ord-head, in Sutherland.

5. River Loxa, the river Loth in Sunderland.

6. The estuary, Vara, is the firth of Tayne in Sutherland.

7. The estuary Tua, is Cromarty, or Murray firth

8. The river Celnus, is the river Spay, in the shire of Elgin.

9. The promontory Taizalum, is Kynaird-head, near Frazerburgh, in Buchan.

10. The river Diva, is the river Dee at Aberdeen.

11. The estuary Tava, is the firth of Tay.

12. The river Finna, is the river Eden in Fife.

13. The estuary Boneria, or firth of Forth in Scotland.

14. The river Alaunus, Horsley supposes, is the Tweed, but Camden and Baxter think it is the river Alne in Northumberland; and their conjecture is favoured by the affinity of the names <sup>u</sup>.

15. The river Vedra. Horsley differs in his opinion about this river also from Camden and Baxter; he supposing it to be the river Tyne, and they the river Were <sup>o</sup>.

16. The bay of Dunum, is most probably the bay at the mouth of the river Tees.


17. The bay of Gabrantuici, evidently Burlington bay, on the coast of Yorkshire.

18. The promontory Ocellum, is generally supposed to be Spurn-head; and Mr. Baxter, with great probability, thinks the

<sup>m</sup> Horsley, p. 374. Camden, p. 255. Baxter, p. 149.

<sup>u</sup> Horsley, p. 364. Camden, p. 1093. Baxter, II.

<sup>o</sup> Horsley, p. 377. Camden, p. 244. Baxter, p. 236.

No. II.  the name is derived from the British word Ochel, lofty. This is a very lofty mountain in Scotland called Ocelli-mons, Ochill-hills, for the same reason p.

19. The river Abus, is unquestionably the Humber.

20. The estuary Metaris, is the Washes between Norfolk and Lincolnshire, called Boston-deep.

21. The river Garyenum, is the river Yare, and its mouth is at Yarmouth.

22. The Prominence, is perhaps Easton-nefs, on the coast of Suffolk.

23. The river Idumania, is probably the river Blackwater in Essex.

24. The estuary Jameffa, or as it ought rather to have been written, Tameffa, is evidently the mouth of the river Thames, probably so called from the British words Tam ife, a troop or collection of water †.

25. The promontory Cantium; is the north Foreland in Kent, where Ptolemy's description of the sea coasts of Britain ends. We cannot avoid observing that there are several conspicuous promontories, considerable rivers, and commodious harbours, both on the west, south, and east coasts of Britain, which are wholly omitted by Ptolemy. This might be owing to his defective information, or the imperfect knowledge which the Romans still had of the country, or because these places were little frequented at that time. We may further observe, that many, perhaps all, the names of rivers, promontories, and other places, are significant in the ancient British tongue; a proof that the Romans did not usually impose new names upon places, but adopted and latinized the old ones; and that they regarded and frequented those places most, which had been most regarded and frequented by the British nations. This will appear still more evident, from a very short survey of these nations, with their chief towns, in the same order in which they are named by Ptolemy.

The part of Britain which was on the south of the wall of Antoninus, between the firths of Forth and Clyde, contained, according to Ptolemy, the following twenty-two British nations:

I. The Novantæ, near the peninsula called Novantum, now the Mul of Galloway, possessed, according to Camden, the countries of Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham. Baxter supposes they are called Nouantæ, from the British words Now hent, new inhabitant, and that they had

† Baxter, p. 186.

† Id. p. 220.



had come originally from the neighbouring coasts of Ireland. No. II.  
 He further observes, that their more modern name of Gal-  
 lowedians, also implies that they were strangers<sup>1</sup>. Their  
 towns were,

1. Lucopibia, or as Baxter thinks it should have been written, Lukoikidion, is of the same signification with Candida Casa in Latin, and Whithern in Saxon, and was most probably the same place; and that it derived its name from a custom of the ancient Celts of whitewashing their chief buildings<sup>2</sup>.

2. Religionium, or, as Camden and Baxter imagine it was written, Beregonium, they suppose was Bargeny in Carri<sup>3</sup>.

II. The Selgovæ inhabited Nithsdale, and Annandale, and Eskdale, along the shores of Solway firth, which still retains their names, from Sail go, salt sea<sup>4</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Carbantorigum, which Horsley places at Bardanna, on the river Nith, above Dumfries, and Camden at Carlaverlock, below it, was probably situated where Dumfries now stands, or a little below it. The name seems to be derived from Caer vant o rig, a town near the mouth of a river. Baxter is certainly mistaken in placing it at Melrofs<sup>5</sup>.

2. Uxelum is placed, both by Horsley and Baxter, at Caerlaverock; and what renders this the more probable is, that that the two names, Uxelum and Caerlaverock, seem to be derived from British words which signify the same thing, viz. a town near the sea-coast<sup>6</sup>.

3. Corda being situated further to the north-west than the other towns of the Selgovæ, it is thought to have stood on the banks of Loch-cure, out of which the river Neith springs<sup>7</sup>.

4. Tremantuem was probably situated where Annan now stands.

III. The Damii were the ancient inhabitants of Clydesdale, and they seem to have possessed also some places beyond the wall of Antoninus, in Lenox and Stirlingshire<sup>8</sup>. Their towns were,

I. Colonia,

<sup>1</sup> Camden, p. 1199. Baxter, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Camden, p. 1200. Baxter, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Camden, p. 1303. Baxter, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Camden, p. 1194. Baxter, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> Horsley, p. 366. Camden, p. 1197. Baxter, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 256.

<sup>7</sup> Camden, p. 1197. Baxter, p. 87. Horsley, p. 367.

<sup>8</sup> Camden, p. 1209.

No. II. 1. Colonia, which cannot be Coldingham in the Mers, as Camden and Baxter conjectured, because that is at too great a distance, and belonged to another nation. It is more probable that it was situated at or near Lanerk, the shire town of Clydesdale<sup>b</sup>.

2. Vanduara; as this town was considerably to the north-west of Colonia, it was most probably at or near Paisley, where Mr. Horsley places it<sup>c</sup>.

3. Coria or Curia. The conjectures about the situation of this place are various and doubtful; but upon the whole, that of Mr. Baxter seems to be the most probable, who places it at Kirkintilloch, a place of great antiquity, upon the wall, about six miles from Glasgow<sup>d</sup>.

4. Alauna, Mr. Horsley contends was situated near Falkirk, upon the Roman wall, at a place called Camelon, where there are still some vestiges of a Roman town; while Mr. Baxter is equally positive, that it was where Stirling now stands<sup>e</sup>. Let the reader determine.

5. Lindum, both in the sound and signification of its name, bears so great a resemblance to Linlithgow, that it is most probably the same place, though its situation doth not exactly agree with that assigned by Ptolemy, who is far from being correct in that particular<sup>f</sup>.

6. Victoria, Camden supposes may be the ancient British town mentioned by Bede, called *Caer Guidi*, and situated in *Inch-keith*, a small island in the firth of Forth. Baxter contends earnestly for *Ardoch in Strathearn*; while Horsley prefers *Abernethy*<sup>g</sup>. A proof that it is now impossible to discover, with certainty, where this place was situated.

IV. The *Gadeni*. We can hardly suppose, with Camden, that this people possessed so large a tract of country as all *Tiviotdale*, *Twedale*, *Mers*, and the *Lothians*; since Ptolemy hath not mentioned so much as one town within their territories. It is more probable that they were but a small nation, inhabiting the most desert and mountainous parts of *Tiviotdale* and *Northumberland*. Baxter imagines their name is derived from the British word *Gadaii*, which signifies to fly; for which they probably had their own reasons<sup>h</sup>.

V. The

<sup>b</sup> Camden, p. 1179. Baxter, p. 83. Horsley, p. 367.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley, p. 377.

<sup>d</sup> Baxter, p. 95.

<sup>e</sup> Horsley, p. 363. Baxter, p. 11.

<sup>f</sup> Baxter, p. 153. Camden, p. 1190.

<sup>g</sup> Camden, p. 1190. Baxter, p. 249. Horsley, p. 378.

<sup>h</sup> Camden, p. 1174. Horsley, p. 370. Baxter, p. 125.



V. The Otadeni seem to have possessed the sea-coast from the river Tine northward to the Forth. The name of this people is so differently written, and the conjectures about its derivation are so various, that we can arrive at no certainty about it<sup>l</sup>. Their towns were,

No. II.

I. Curia or Coria, which is supposed to be Corbridge in Northumberland, by Camden and Baxter; but Mr. Horsley imagines it was situated much farther north, most probably at Jedburgh, and suspects that it belonged to the Gadeni<sup>k</sup>.

Brimonium, is undoubtedly Ruchester in Northumberland, near the head of the river Read, an altar having been found at that place with the name Bremenium upon it. Baxter derives its name from these British words Bre man iiii, which signify a town upon a hill near a river, which is agreeable both to its situation and present name<sup>l</sup>.

All these five British nations who inhabited the country between the walls of Severus and Antoninus Pius, seem to have had one common name, and to have been called Maxatae; as all the British nations beyond, or to the north of the wall of Antoninus, though no fewer than twelve, were also called by the common name of Caledonians. "The two most considerable bodies of the people of that island (says Dion, speaking of Britain), and to which almost all the rest relate, are the Caledonians and the Maxatae. The latter dwell near the great wall that divides the island into two parts; the others live beyond them<sup>m</sup>." As there was no particular nation near either of the walls called Maxatae, this was undoubtedly a general name for all the nations between the walls; as the Caledonians comprehended all the nations beyond them. This country, between the walls, was never long together in the peaceable possession of the Romans; being, from time to time, disputed with them by the natives, with the assistance of their neighbours the Caledonians. This is the true reason that there were so few Roman towns and stations in this extensive tract, especially in the east side of it, except upon or near the walls. As this country of the five nations of the Maxatae was not very much frequented by the Romans, a very brief illustration of Ptolemy's description of it hath been thought sufficient; and as the reader hath already seen a more minute and particular account of the British nations who dwelt to the south

<sup>l</sup> Horsley, p. 373. Camden, p. 1066. Baxter, p. 190.

<sup>k</sup> Camden, p. 1085. Baxter, p. 96. Horsley, p. 367.

<sup>l</sup> Horsley, p. 243. Camden, p. 1073. Baxter, p. 46.

<sup>m</sup> Dion. l. 76. p. 866.

\* See Chap. II

No. II. south of Severus's wall, in the first section of the third chapter of this book, the same brevity will be observed in that part of our commentary on Ptolemy's Geography of Britain, which relates to them.

VI. The Brigantes, who were, on several accounts, the most considerable nation of the ancient Britons, possessed part of Northumberland, all Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, and Yorkshire<sup>a</sup>. Their towns were these:

1. Epiacum, Mr. Camden imagines may have been at Elcheſter, on the river Derwent: Mr. Horsley rather inclines for Hexham, in Northumberland: and Mr. Baxter supposes it was originally written Pepiacum, and places it at Papcastle in Cumberland<sup>b</sup>. Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.

2. Vinovium, is universally agreed to have been at Bincheſter on the Vere, in the bishopric of Durham<sup>c</sup>.

3. Coturraſtonium, is unquestionably Cattarick, near Richmond in Yorkshire<sup>d</sup>.

4. Calatum, is placed by Horsley at Appleby, and by Baxter at Kirkbythore, in Westmorland. But both the name, and the relative situation assigned to it by Ptolemy, might incline us to place it in or near the Galaterum nemus, now the forest of Galters in Yorkshire<sup>e</sup>.

5. Ifurium, is unquestionably Aldburrow, near Burrowbridge. It probably derived its ancient name from its situation on the river Ure; and though it is now a small village, it seems to have been once the capital of the Brigantes; being called, both in the Itinerary of Antonnius, and in Rayennas, Ifurium Brigantum<sup>f</sup>.

6. Rigodunum, is placed by Camden and Baxter at Ribcheſter in Lancashire; but Horsley prefers Manchester or Warrington<sup>g</sup>.

7. Olicana is agreed to have been situated in Ilkley, on the river Wharfe in Yorkshire<sup>h</sup>.

8. Eboracum, is unquestionably York, a place of great re-  
nown

<sup>a</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>b</sup> Camden, p. 955. Horsley, p. 367. Baxter, p. 193.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley, p. 378. Camden, p. 945. Baxter, p. 253.

<sup>d</sup> Horsley, p. 399. Camden, p. 921.

<sup>e</sup> Horsley, p. 365. Baxter, p. 59.

<sup>f</sup> Horsley, p. 371. Camden, p. 375. Baxter, p. 141.

<sup>g</sup> Camden, p. 974. Baxter, p. 203. Horsley, p. 375.

<sup>h</sup> Camden, p. 367. Horsley, p. 373. Baxter, p. 187.



noun and splendour in the Roman times. Here Ptolemy mentions the Legio sexta Victrix, or the sixth legion, surnamed the Victorious; implying that York was the stated head-quarters of this legion, which came into Britain in the reign of the emperor Hadrian, and continued in it till near the time of the final departure of the Romans <sup>x</sup>. No. II.

9. Camunlodunum, is placed, by Horsley, at Gretland, on the river Calder in Yorkshire; but Camden and Baxter place it near Almondbury, about six miles from Halifax, on the same river <sup>x</sup>. At both these places Roman antiquities have been found, and there are still visible vestiges of walls and ramparts.

VII. The Parisi seem to have been a very small nation, inhabiting Holdernefs, and some other parts in the East-riding of Yorkshire, about the well-havened bay, probably Burlington bay. Mr. Baxter thinks they were the Ceangi, or herdsmen, of the Brigantes; and that their country was called Paur Ifa, the Low pasture; and themselves Parise, from Poruys, herdsmen <sup>z</sup>. Their only town was,

1. Picuaria; about the situation of which our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions. Mr. Baxter thinks it should have been written Picuaria, expressive of the employment of its inhabitants, and places it at Poklington. Mr. Horsley mentions Wighton or Brugh, and Mr. Camden three other places <sup>a</sup>. Perhaps Patrington in Holdernefs is the most probable, from the name, the situation, and other circumstances.

VIII. The Ordovices were the ancient inhabitants of North Wales <sup>b</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Mediolanum, which is generally supposed to have been situated at Maywood, in Montgomeryshire; where Mr. Baxter says there was an ancient British town called Caer Megion, which was destroyed by Edwin king of Northumberland <sup>c</sup>.

2. Brannogenium, is placed by Camden and Baxter at Worcester, supposing that some transcriber had committed a mistake in assigning it to the Ordovices, from whose country Worcester is too remote. Mr. Horsley places it near Ludlow, which might belong to the Ordovices <sup>d</sup>.

IX. The

<sup>x</sup> Horsley, p. 79.

<sup>y</sup> Horsley, p. 366. Camden, p. 855. Baxter, p. 62.

<sup>z</sup> Baxter, p. 191.

<sup>a</sup> Baxter, p. 191. Horsley, p. 347. Camden, p. 887. 891.

<sup>b</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>c</sup> Horsley, p. 372. Camden, p. 781. Baxter, p. 173.

<sup>d</sup> Camden, p. 622. Baxter, p. 45. Horsley, p. 365.

No. II. IX. The Cornavii were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire; to which Mr. Horsley thinks may be added part of Derbyshire<sup>c</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Deuna, which is universally agreed to be West Chester. Here Ptolemy subjoins Legio vicesima victrix, or the twentieth legion, called the Victorious; implying that this place was the stated head-quarters of that legion. This legion came into Britain in the reign of the emperor Claudius, and was employed in the conquest of this island, and in many important works and expeditions in different parts of it. There is abundant evidence that the stated head quarters of this legion was at West Chester, which was a place of great consideration in these times, and honoured with the privileges of a Roman colony. Though the twentieth legion continued more than two centuries in Britain, it seems to have left it a considerable time before the final departure of the Romans<sup>f</sup>.

2. Viroconium, or Uriconium, was situated at Wroxeter in Shropshire, on the north-east side of the Severn, about three miles from Shrewsbury; which is supposed to have arisen out of the ruins of that ancient city. At Wroxeter many Roman coins have been found, and the vestiges of the walls and ramparts of Uriconium are still visible. It is highly probable that the neighbouring mountain, called the Wreken, derives its name from Uriconium<sup>g</sup>.

X. The Coritani were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire<sup>h</sup>. But other antiquaries are of opinion that their country was not so extensive. Their towns were,

1. Lindum, which is universally agreed to be Lincoln, which was a Roman colony, and a place of great consideration in these times. Baxter is singular, and probably wrong in his opinion, that this was the Londinium in which so many of the Romans were slain by the Britons, in their great revolt under Boadicia<sup>i</sup>,

2. Rige,

<sup>c</sup> See Chap. III. Camden, p. 598. Horsley, p. 368.

<sup>f</sup> Camden, p. 667. Horsley, p. 83.

<sup>g</sup> Horsley, p. 419. Baxter, p. 242. Camden, p. 653.

<sup>h</sup> Camden, p. 511. Horsley, p. 368.

<sup>i</sup> Camden, p. 562. Horsley, p. 371. Baxter, 153.



2. *Rage*, or *Ratæ*, is acknowledged by all our antiquaries No. II. to have been situated where Leicester now stands; where several Roman antiquities have been discovered <sup>k</sup>.

XI. The *Catycuclani* were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire; to which Mr. Horsley conjectures, all Huntingdonshire, and part of Northamptonshire should be added <sup>l</sup>. Their towns were,

1. *Salenzæ*, which is generally supposed to have been situated at *Salndy*, near *Biggleswade*, in Bedfordshire; where several Roman antiquities have been found <sup>m</sup>.

2. *Urolanium*, or *Verulamium*, is universally agreed to have been situated near *St. Albans*, and is supposed to have been the capital of *Cassibelinus*, which was taken by *Julius Cæsar*. It became a *municipium*, or free city, and a place of great consideration in the Roman times. The present town of *St. Albans* arose out of its ruins <sup>n</sup>.

XIII. The *Simeni*, or *Iceni*, Mr. Camden supposes, were the ancient inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; but Mr. Horsley imagines their territories were not so extensive <sup>o</sup>. Their town was,

*Venta*, which was situated at *Caster* upon the river *Yare*, about three miles from *Norwich*, where there are still some faint vestiges of this ancient capital of the *Iceni*. As *Venta* was the name of several British towns, such as *Venta Belgarum*, *Venta Silurum*, *Venta Icenorum*, our antiquaries have been at much pains to discover the derivation of that word. Mr. Baxter's conjecture seems most probable, who supposes it is derived from *Wend*, or *Went*, which signifies head or chief. For it is observable that all the towns which were named *Venta*, were the capitals or chief towns of the nations to whom they belonged <sup>p</sup>.

XIII. The *Trinonantes*, or *Trinovantes*, were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of *Middlesex* and *Essex* <sup>q</sup>.  
But,

<sup>k</sup> Camden, p. 537. Horsley, p. 575. Baxter, p. 200.

<sup>l</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>m</sup> Camden, p. 339. Horsley, p. 375. Baxter, p. 207.

<sup>n</sup> Camden, p. 351. Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 245.

<sup>o</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>p</sup> Camden, p. 460. Horsley, p. 378. Baxter, p. 237.

<sup>q</sup> Camden, p. 362.

No. II.

But, if Ptolemy is not mistaken, their territories were not so extensive in his time, as London did not then belong to them. Their own was,

Camudolanum, which is placed, by some of our antiquaries, at Colchester; but by others, more justly at Malden; was the capital of Cunobelin, a British prince of considerable power<sup>r</sup>. Soon after the conquest of this part of the country by the Romans, a colony, consisting chiefly of the veterans of the fourteenth legion, was planted at Camudolanum, A. D. 52; and by their wealth and industry, it soon became a place of great magnificence. But its prosperity was not of long duration, for it was quite destroyed by the Britons in their great revolt, A. D. 61<sup>s</sup>.

XIV. The Demetæ were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Caermarthenshire, Cardiganshire, and Pembroke-shire; to which Baxter thinks should be added, Brecknockshire and Radnorshire<sup>t</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Luentinum, which is supposed to have been situated at or near Lhan-Dewi Brevi, in Cardiganshire; where in a field called Caer Cestlib, or Castlefield, Roman coins and bricks are sometimes found.<sup>u</sup>

2. Maridunum is believed to have been situated where Caermarthen now stands<sup>x</sup>.

XV. The Silures were, according to Camden, the ancient inhabitants of Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, and Glamorganshire<sup>y</sup>. Their town was,

Bullæum, which is placed, by Camden, at Bualkt in Brecknockshire; by Baxter, at Caer Phyli in Glamorganshire; and by Horsley at or near Usk in Monmouthshire<sup>z</sup>. A proof that its real situation is not certainly known. It is not a little surprising that Ptolemy makes no mention of Venta Silurum, and Ifca Silurum, which unquestionably belonged to the Silures,

<sup>r</sup> Talbot, Stillingfleet, Baxter.

<sup>s</sup> Camden, p. 415. Horsley, p. 445.

<sup>t</sup> See Chap. III. Camden, p. 743. Baxter, p. 102.

<sup>u</sup> Camden, p. 769. Baxter, p. 159.

<sup>x</sup> Camden, p. 744. Horsley, 372.

<sup>y</sup> Camden, p. 683.

<sup>z</sup> Camden, p. 703. Baxter, p. 66. Horsley, p. 365.



lures, and were places of great note in the Roman times. The former of these was situated at Caer-went, about four miles from Chepstow; and the latter at Caerleon upon the Usk, in Monmouthshire. It is still more surprising that he places the head-quarters of the second legion at Isca Damnoniorum, or Exeter, which were certainly at Isca Silurum. This is by far the greatest and most unaccountable blunder in Ptolemy's description of Britain.

XVI. The Dobuni were the ancient inhabitants of Gloucestershire, and perhaps Oxfordshire<sup>a</sup>. Their town was,

Corinium, which is agreed to have been situated at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire<sup>b</sup>.

XVII. The Atrebatii, according to Camden, inhabited Berkshire; but Baxter thinks that Berkshire belonged to the Bibroci, a British people mentioned by Cæsar; and that Oxfordshire was the country of the Atrebatii<sup>c</sup>. Their town was,

Nalcuæ, or Calcuæ, which is generally agreed to have been the same with Calleva in the itinerary. But our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions about its situation. Mr. Horsley labours to prove, from many circumstances, that it was situated at Silchester in Hampshire, but near the confines of Berkshire; while Mr. Camden, Mr. Baxter, and indeed all our other antiquaries, except Dr. Gale, place it at Wallingford in Berkshire<sup>d</sup>. The controversy is not of such importance as to justify our swelling this short commentary with an examination of their several arguments.

XVIII. The Cantii were the ancient inhabitants of Kent, and perhaps of a part of Middlesex<sup>e</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Londinium, since become the capital of the British empire, and one of the most famous cities in the world, for the extent and beauty of its buildings, its prodigious commerce, and the great number and wealth of its citizens. It seems to have belonged originally to the Trinovantes, and it is not known how

or

<sup>a</sup> See Chap. III. Camden, p. 267.

<sup>b</sup> Camden, p. 284. Horsley, p. 369. Baxter, p. 89.

<sup>c</sup> Camden, p. 159. Baxter, p. 27.

<sup>d</sup> Horsley, p. 458. Camden, p. 163. Baxter, p. 61.

<sup>e</sup> See Chap. III.

No. II. or when it came into the possession of the Cantii. Some even imagine that it was a mistake in Ptolemy in ascribing it to that people; or that the Londinium, of his time, stood on the south side of the Thames <sup>f</sup>.

2. Daruenum, or Darvernum, is evidently Canterbury.

3. Rutupizæ, is generally believed to have been situated at Richburrow, near Sandwich; which was the usual landing-place of the Romans from the continent <sup>g</sup>.

XIX. The Regni were the ancient inhabitants of Surrey and Suffex, and perhaps of part of Hampshire <sup>h</sup>. Their town was,

Neomagus, or Noviomagus, which is generally placed at Woodcote in Surrey; though Mr. Baxter and some other antiquaries contend for Ravenburn in Kent <sup>i</sup>.

XX. The Belgæ inhabited Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and part of Hampshire <sup>k</sup>. Their towns were,

1. Icales, which is generally placed at Ilchester in Somersetshire.

2. Aquæ Calidæ, is evidently the Bath in Somersetshire, which was very famous for its medicinal waters in the Roman times, as appears from the many Roman antiquities which have been there discovered <sup>l</sup>.

3. Venta, or Venta Belgarum, is supposed, with good reason, to have been situated where the city of Winchester now stands <sup>m</sup>.

XXI. The Durotriges were the ancient inhabitants of Dorsetshire <sup>n</sup>. Their town was,

Dunium, which is supposed, by Camden, to have stood where Dorchester now stands. Mr. Baxter places it on the summit

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Gale Itin. Ant.

<sup>g</sup> Camden, p. 244. Horsley, p. 13. Baxter, p. 205

<sup>h</sup> Camden, p. 179. Horsley, p. 375.

<sup>i</sup> Camden, p. 192. Horsley, p. 373. Baxter, p. 185. Som. Ant. Cant. p. 24.

<sup>k</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>l</sup> Horsley, p. 323.

<sup>m</sup> Camden, p. 138. Horsley, p. 378.

<sup>n</sup> See Chap. III.

<sup>o</sup> Camden, p. 56. Baxter, p. 109. Horsley, p. 462.



summit of an adjacent hill, where there is a ditch and bulwark, No. II.  
 now called Maiden-castle; where Mr. Horsley thinks it was  
 situated at Eggerton-hill °.

XXII. The Dumnonii were the ancient possessors of Devonshire and Cornwall, and, as some think, of a part of Somersetshire P. Their towns were,

1. Voliba, which is placed, by Camden and Baxter, at Grampond; but Horsley thinks it was situated at Liffwithiell †.

2. Uxela is supposed, by Mr. Camden, to have been situated at Liffwithiell; by Mr. Baxter, at Saltashe; and by Mr. Horsley, at Exeter. Mr. Camden's opinion seems to be most probable †.

3. Tamare, was certainly a town upon the river Tamor. Mr. Horsley thinks it was Saltashe; but Mr. Camden and Mr. Baxter are more probably right, in supposing it to be Tamer-ton, which still retains its ancient name †.

4. Isca, or Isca Damnoniorum, was most probably Exeter, and the capital of the Danmonii. Here Ptolemy subjoins *Legio secunda augusta*, the second legion called the August, implying that this legion had its stated head-quarters at Exeter. But this is a palpable mistake, either of Ptolemy or of his transcribers. For there is the fullest evidence that the head-quarters of this legion were long at Isca Silurum, or Caerleon in Monmouthshire; and no evidence that ever they were at Isca Damnoniorum, or Exeter †.

Before we take our leave of this part of Ptolemy's geography, it may be proper to take notice, that he mentions only twenty-two British nations to the south of the wall of Antoninus Pius; whereas, in the first section of the third chapter of this book, twenty-five nations are said to have been seated in that part of this island. The reason of this difference seems to be, that the Bibroci, Ancalites, and Attacotti, which are mentioned by other writers, and not named by Ptolemy, were not distinct nations, but incorporated with some of their neighbours, at the time when he wrote his Geography.

As the twelve British nations of Caledonia, named by Ptolemy, and the Horesti, mentioned by Tacitus, were never

Vol. I.

c

subdued

° Camden, p. 56. Baxter, p. 109. Horsley, p. 462.

† See Chap. III.

‡ Camden, p. 17. Baxter, p. 254. Horsley, p. 378.

§ Camden, p. 18. Baxter, p. 257. Horsley, p. 378.

¶ Horsley, p. 376. Camden, p. 25. Baxter, p. 221.

‡ Horsley, p. 78.

No. II. subdud by the Romans, and but little known to them, it may be sufficient to refer the reader to the first section of the third chapter of this book, for an account of these nations and their towns.

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## N U M B E R III.

MAP of GREAT BRITAIN, according  
to the Itinerary of Antoninus.



A MAP of  
**GREAT BRITAIN,**  
 according to the  
**ITINERARY**  
 of  
**ANTONINUS.**

THE  
**ENGLISH**  
 SEA

THE  
**IRISH**  
 SEA

THE **BRITISH CHANNEL**



A Scale of 60 Roman Miles  
 10 20 30 40 50 60

VI V IV III II I 0 1

55

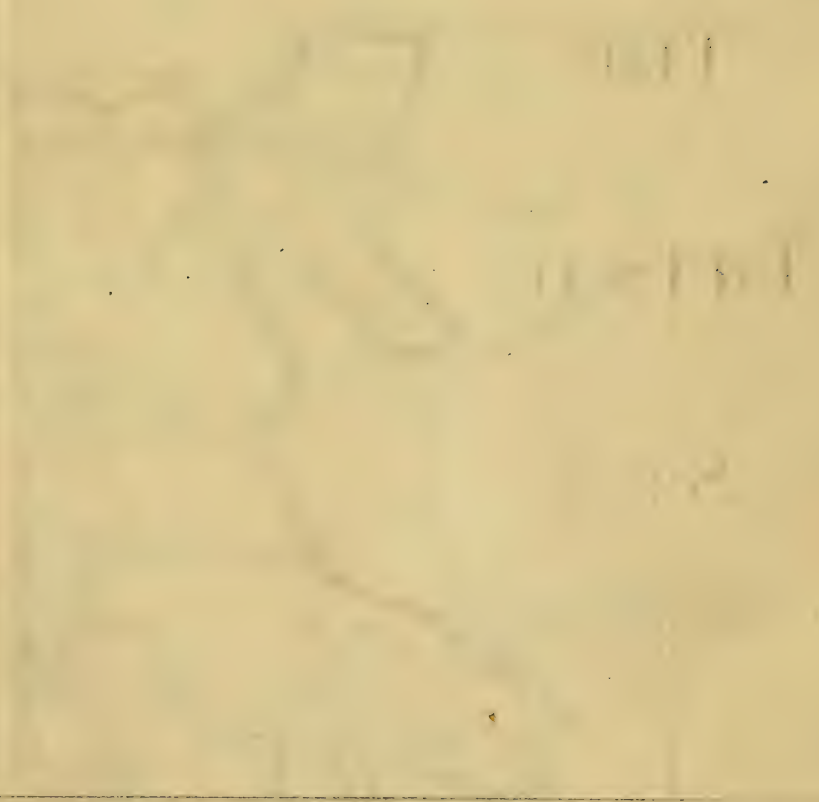
54

53

52

51

THE  
HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF  
NEW YORK  
FROM  
1609 TO 1812





N U M B E R IV.

ANTONINI ITER BRITANNIARUM.

*Antoninus's Itinerary of Britain.*

**T**HIS most valuable remain of antiquity was probably composed at the command of some of those Roman Emperors who bore the name of Antoninus; though some additions might be made to it afterwards, when new military-ways were laid, and new towns and stations built. It seems to have been designed, in general, to give the Roman emperors, and their civil and military officers, a distinct idea of the situation, extent, and principal places of the several provinces of that prodigious empire; and, in particular, to be a directory to the Roman troops in their marches. For it contains the names of the towns and stations on the several military-ways, with the number of miles between each of these towns, and that which stood next to it, on the same road, at the distance of a day's march. It is divided into many different and distinct Itinera, or routes, in each province; some leading one way, some another; some longer, others shorter. That part of this work which respects Britain (with which alone we are at present concerned) is divided into fifteen of these Itinera, or routes; of each of which we shall give the original (and Mr. Horsley's translation) in the text; with a few short notes at the bottom of the page. No. IV.

ITER I.

ROUTE I.

A LIMITE, I. E. A  
VALLO, PRÆ-  
TORIVM US-  
QUE

M. P. CLVI.

Miles.  
From the limit, i. e. the  
wall, to Heberstow  
fields, or Broughton 156

## No. IV.

|                          |             |                                    | Miles. |
|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|--------|
| <sup>a</sup> BREMENIO    |             | Riecheſter                         |        |
| CORSTOPITVM              | M. P. XX    | Corbridge                          | 20     |
| <sup>b</sup> VINDOMORA   | M. P. IX    | Ebcheſter                          | 9      |
| VINOVIA                  | M. P. XIX   | Bincheſter                         | 19     |
| <sup>c</sup> CATARACTONI | M. P. XXII  | Cataraſt                           | 22     |
| <sup>d</sup> ISVRIVM     | M. P. XXIV  | Aldbrough                          | 24     |
| EBVRACVM LEG.            |             | York                               | 17     |
| VI VICTRIX               | M. P. XVIII |                                    |        |
| <sup>e</sup> DERVENTIONE | M. P. VII   | On Derwent river                   | 7      |
| <sup>f</sup> DELGOVITIA  | M. P. XIII  | Wighton                            | 13     |
| <sup>g</sup> PRÆTORIO    | M. P. XXV   | Hebberſtow-fields, or<br>Broughton | 15     |

<sup>a</sup> Though Dr. Gale, in his Commentary on the Itinerary, p. 7. placeth *Bremenium* at Brampton, on the river *Bremish* in Northumberland; and others place it at Brampton in Cumberland; yet the altar that was found at *Riecheſter*, near the head of the river *Read*, in Northumberland, with the name *Bremenium* upon it, is a demonstration that this was its real ſituation. *Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 243.*

<sup>b</sup> Both Dr. Gale and Camden have evidently miſtaken the ſituation of *Vindomora*; the former placing it at *Dolande*, within leſs than five miles of *Corbridge*; and the other at *Walls-end*, which is quite out of the way of this *Iter*, which proceeds from north to ſouth; along the famous military road called *Watling-ſtreet*. See *Horsley's Brit. Rom. p. 396.*

<sup>c</sup> This Roman town and ſtation was ſituated in the fields of *Thornborough*, about half a mile above *Cataraſt-bridge*, on the ſouth ſide of the river *Swale*, where ſome faint veſtiges of it, and of the military ways leading to and from it, are ſtill viſible, and where many Roman coins have been found.

<sup>d</sup> This town, in another *Iter*, is called *Iſurum Brigantum*, and was probably the capital of that powerful Britiſh nation the *Brigantes*. It was unqueſtionably ſituated at *Aldbrough*, on the river *Ure*, from whence *Iſurum* derived its ancient Britiſh and Roman name. The foundations of the ramparts may ſtill be traced.

<sup>e</sup> This ſtation was unqueſtionably ſituated on the banks of the river *Derwent*, from which it derived its name, though the particular ſpot on which it ſtood cannot now be aſcertained. *Gale*, *Camden*, *Baxter*, and others, fix it at *Aldby*; but *Mr. Horsley* thinks that out of the line, and rather ſuppoſes it to have been at *Kexby*; though there are no veſtiges of it remaining at either of theſe places.

<sup>f</sup> This ſtation is generally placed, by antiquaries, at *Wighton*, or at *Godmanham*, a village about half a mile from it.

<sup>g</sup> *Prætorium* is placed, by ſeveral antiquaries, at *Patrington*; but *Mr. Horsley*, for various reaſons, thinks it more probable that it ſtood either at *Broughton*, or in *Hebberſtow-fields*, on the grand military-way now called *High-ſtreet*, which runs from the *Humber* to *Lincoln*. *Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 405, &c.*

<sup>h</sup> The



ITER II.

ROUTE II.

No. IV.

|                                                 |  | Miles.          |                                                    |
|-------------------------------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| A VALLO AD PORTVM RI-<br>TVPAS M. P. CCCCLXXXI  |  |                 | From beyond the wall<br>to Richborough, in<br>Kent |
|                                                 |  | 48 <sup>i</sup> |                                                    |
| <sup>h</sup> A BLATO BVLGIO                     |  |                 | Middleby                                           |
| <sup>i</sup> CASTRA EXPLO-<br>RATORVM M. P. XII |  |                 | Netherby                                           |
|                                                 |  | 12              |                                                    |
| <sup>k</sup> LVGVVALLIO M. P. XII               |  |                 | Carlisle                                           |
|                                                 |  | 12              |                                                    |
| <sup>l</sup> VOREDA M. P. XIV                   |  |                 | Old Penrith                                        |
|                                                 |  | 14              |                                                    |
| <sup>m</sup> BROVONACIS M. P. XIII              |  |                 | Kirbythure                                         |
|                                                 |  | 13              |                                                    |
| VERTERIS M. P. XIII                             |  |                 | Brugh, under Stanemore                             |
|                                                 |  | 13              |                                                    |
| <sup>n</sup> LAVATRIS M. P. XIV                 |  |                 | Bowes                                              |
|                                                 |  | 14              |                                                    |
| CATARACTONI M. P. XVI                           |  |                 | Cataract                                           |
|                                                 |  | 16              |                                                    |
| ISVRIVM M. P. XXIV                              |  |                 | Aldbrough                                          |
|                                                 |  | 24              |                                                    |

<sup>h</sup> The tracing this very long route, which seems to have reached from one end of the Roman territories in Britain to the other, is attended with many difficulties, which, it is probable, will never be removed. Antiquaries are divided in their opinions about the situation of Blatum Bulgium, the place where it begins; for though Camden, Gale, Baxter, and some others have fixed it at Boulness, on the south coast of Solway firth, at the end of Severus's wall, yet Mr. Horsley hath made it highly probable that it was really situated at Middleby in Annandale.

<sup>i</sup> If Blatum Bulgium was really at Middleby, every circumstance leads us to fix the Castra Exploratorum at Netherby, and the mote at a small distance from it. For at the former there was a famous Roman town, and at the other an exploratory camp. Both these places are at a proper distance from Blatum Bulgium on the one hand, and Luguwallium on the other, and situated on the military-way which led from the one to the other.

<sup>k</sup> Though Dr. Gale fixes Luguwallium at Old Carlisle, yet it is on many accounts more probable that it stood where the city of Carlisle now stands.

<sup>l</sup> Old Penrith, which was certainly the place where the Roman station Voreda stood, is situated at the north-west end of Plumptre-wall, about four miles to the north of the present town of Penrith, on a noble military-way, which is there in the highest preservation.

<sup>m</sup> Dr. Gale was certainly mistaken in placing Brovonaciæ at Kendale, which is more than ten miles further from Penrith, and quite out of the course of this Iter. But the station near Kirbythure, where Roman inscriptions and other antiquities have been found, answers exactly to the situation of Brovonaciæ.

<sup>n</sup> The Roman military-way on which this and the last station were situated, is in such high preservation, the vestiges of the stations are so plain, and the distances answer so exactly, that there can be no dispute about their situation.

\* This

## No. IV.

|   |               |             | Miles.         |    |
|---|---------------|-------------|----------------|----|
| ° | EBVRACVM      | M. P. XVII  | York           | 17 |
| ° | CALCARIA      | M. P. IX    | Tadcaster      | 9  |
| ° | CAMBODVNO     | M. P. XX    | Near Gretland  | 20 |
| ° | MANVCIO       | M. P. XVIII | Manchester     | 18 |
| ° | CONDATE       | M. P. XVIII | Near Northwich | 18 |
| ° | DEVA LEG. XX. |             | Chester        | 20 |
|   | VICT.         | M. P. XX    |                |    |
| ° | BOVIO         | M. P. X     | Near Stretton  | 10 |
| ° | MEDIOLANVM    | M. P. XX    | Near Draiton   | 20 |
| ° | RVTVNIO       | M. P. XII   | Near Wem       | 12 |

° This Iter or Route coincides with the forts from Cataract to York.

° York was a place of great note in the Roman times, being a colony, the residence of the governor of the province, and sometimes even of the emperors, and the head-quarters of the sixth legion. It is no wonder, therefore, that it is so often mentioned in the Itinerary; and that so many roads led to it and from it. This Iter from York proceeds upon a different road from the first, pointing more to the west. It is a little uncertain whether Calcaria was situated at Tadcaster or at Newton-kyme. See Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 411. Camd. Brit. p. 670.

° Cambodunum is placed by Dr. Gale and Mr. Baxter at Almonbury, where some Roman antiquities have been found; but Mr. Horsley thinks it more probable that it was near Gretland; and is also of opinion that there is an error in the numerals, which should have been xxx.

° The Roman station Manucium, is universally agreed to have been situated near Manchester, where the vestiges of it are still visible. But Mr. Horsley thinks there is also an error here in the numerals, which he imagines were originally xxiii. The original British name of this place, Dr. Gale conjectures, was Main, which signifies a rock.

° Though Condate hath been generally placed at Congleton, Mr. Horsley hath made it very probable that it was somewhere near Norwich.

° Deva was unquestionably situated where the city of Chester now stands, and was a Roman colony, and the head-quarters of the twentieth legion.

° Bovium is placed by some antiquaries at Bangor-monachorum, by others at Boverton, and by Mr. Horsley somewhere near Strittow. But its situation is really unknown.

° Antiquaries are no less divided in their opinions about the situation of this station, which is in reality as little known as that of the former.

° Camden, Gale, and Baxter, are unanimous in their opinions that Rutunium was situated at Rowton-castle; but Mr. Horsley is very positive that it was really at Wem, on the banks of the river Rodan.

° Urioconium



|                           |            |                      | Miles | No. IV. |
|---------------------------|------------|----------------------|-------|---------|
| <sup>a</sup> VRIOCONIO    | M. P. XI   | Wroxeter             | 11    | }       |
| <sup>a</sup> VXACONA      | M. P. XI   | Near Sheriff Hales   | 11    |         |
| <sup>b</sup> PENNOCRVICIO | M. P. XII  | Near the river Penk  | 12    |         |
| ETOCETO                   | M. P. XII  | Wall near Litchfield | 12    |         |
| <sup>c</sup> MANDVESSEDO  | M. P. XVI  | Mancefter            | 16    |         |
| <sup>d</sup> VENONIS      | M. P. XII  | Cleycefter           | 12    |         |
| <sup>e</sup> BENNAVENNA   | M. P. XVII | Near Daventry        | 17    |         |
| <sup>f</sup> LACTODORO    | M. P. XII  | Towcefter            | 12    |         |
| <sup>g</sup> MAGIOVINTO   | M. P. XVII | Fenny Stratford      | 17    |         |
| DVROCOBRIVIS              | M. P. XII  | Dunstable            | 12    |         |
| <sup>h</sup> VEROLAMIO    | M. P. XII  | St. Albans           | 12    |         |

<sup>a</sup> Urioconium was certainly situated at Wroxeter, and its ancient British name Urecon is still preserved in that of a neighbouring mountain called the Wreken.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Gale and Mr. Camden place Uxacona at Okenyale, and Mr. Baxter at Newport; but Mr. Horsley, following the tract of the military way, and observing the distance, fixes it at the banks of a rivulet near Sheriff Hales.

<sup>b</sup> Though Dr. Gale is positive that this station was situated at Stretton, yet it is more probable, on several accounts, that it was seated on the banks of the river Penk, at or near the town of Penkridge.

<sup>c</sup> All our antiquaries have agreed to place Manduessedum at Mancefter, which stands on the Roman military-way called Watling-street, and where many Roman coins have been found. Camden and Gale derive its ancient British name from Maen, a rock, but Mr. Baxter derives it from Mandu Effedin, which, he says, is a family seat or city. But it was perhaps really derived from Mandu Huicci, the city or capital of the Huicci, the ancient British inhabitants of this place.

<sup>d</sup> This station is supposed to have stood at or near the place where the two great military roads, called the Fosse and Watling-street, intersected each other.

<sup>e</sup> Though Mr. Camden, Dr. Gale, and Dr. Stukeley, have placed Bennavenna at Weedon, Mr. Horsley's reasons for fixing it at or near Daventry, seem to be satisfactory.

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale have fixed Lactodorum at Stony Stratford, and imagine that its original British name was compounded of the two British words, Lach, a stone, and Dour, water. Mr. Bullet, in his Celtic Dictionary, derives this name from Lach, a stone, and Torri, to cut.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. Horsley conjectures that the two stations, Magiovintum and Durocibrivæ, have been transposed by the carelessness of some transcriber, and that Durocibrivæ was at Fenny Stratford, and Magiovintum at Dunstable; because, in that case, the meaning of the original British names of these places will be more agreeable to their situations.

<sup>h</sup> There is no dispute among antiquaries about the situation of Verolamium, which was unquestionably at Verulam, near St. Albans.

No. IV.

|                                      |             |                        | Miles. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------|
| <sup>i</sup> SVLLONIACIS             | M. P. IX    | Brockley-hills         | 9      |
| <sup>k</sup> LONDINIO                | M. P. XII   | London                 | 12     |
| <sup>l</sup> NOVIOMAGO               | M. P. X.    | Woodcote, near Croydon | 16     |
| VAGNIACIS                            | M. P. XVIII | Northfleet             | 18     |
| <sup>m</sup> DVROBRIVIS              | M. P. IX    | Rocheſter              | 9      |
| <sup>n</sup> DVROLEVO                | M. P. XVI   | Milton                 | 16     |
| <sup>o</sup> DVROVERNO               | M. P. XII   | Canterbury             | 12     |
| <sup>p</sup> AD PORTVM RI-<br>TVPIIS | M. P. XII   | Richborough            | 12     |

## ITER III.

## ROUTE III.

|                                    |             |                                        |    |
|------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------|----|
| A LONDINO AD<br>PORTVM DV-<br>BRIS | M. P. LXVI  | From London to the Ha-<br>ven at Dover | 66 |
| A LONDINIO                         |             | From London                            |    |
| DVROBRIVIS                         | M. P. XXVII | Rocheſter                              | 27 |
| DVROVERNO                          | M. P. XXV   | Canterbury                             | 25 |
| <sup>q</sup> AD PORTVM<br>DVBRIS   | M. P. XIV   | Dover                                  | 14 |

Albans. It was a very flourishing and populous city in the Roman times, and honoured with the title and privileges of a municipium or free city.

<sup>i</sup> All our antiquaries agree in placing Sulloniacæ at Brockley-hills, where many Roman antiquities have been found. Mr. Baxter, and some others, think that this was the capital of the famous Cassivelaunus, which was taken by Julius Cæsar.

<sup>k</sup> This great, populous, and rich city, was the capital of provincial Britain in the Roman times, and the point to which no fewer than eight of these Itinera or routes of Antoninus led. The derivation of the name of this famous city will never, perhaps, be settled to universal satisfaction: but those who desire to see all the most probable conjectures of learned men about it at one view, may consult *Bullet's Celtic Dictionary*, tom. 1. p. 349, 350.

<sup>l</sup> The situation of this station is very uncertain; but Camden, Gale, and Horsley, have agreed in placing it at Woodcote.

<sup>m</sup> All our antiquaries have, on good grounds, agreed in fixing Durobrivæ at Rocheſter; and in deriving its ancient British name from Dur, a river, and Briv, a town.

<sup>n</sup> The situation of this station is quite uncertain, and Mr. Horsley seems to be singular in placing it at Milton.

<sup>o</sup> There is no dispute about the situation of this station; and Mr. Baxter derives its ancient name from Dur, a river, and Vern, a sanctuary.

<sup>p</sup> This long route terminates at Richborough, where the Romans commonly embarked for the continent, as we do now from Dover.

<sup>q</sup> There is no dispute or uncertainty about the situation of any of the stations in this short route. It may be proper, however, to  
take



ITER IV.

ROUTE IV.

No. IV.

|                                    |              | Miles.                                   |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------------|
| A LONDINO AD<br>PORTVM LE<br>MANIS | M. P. LXVIII | From London to the Ha-<br>ven at Lime 68 |
| A LONDINIO                         |              | From London                              |
| DVROBRIVIS                         | M. P. XXVII  | Rochester 27                             |
| DVROVERNO                          | M. P. XXV    | Canterbury 25                            |
| <sup>r</sup> AD PORTVM<br>LEMANIS  | M. P. XVI    | Lime, near West-<br>hyth 16              |

ITER V.

ROUTE V.

|                                            |                |                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| A LONDINIO LVGV-<br>VALLIVM AD VAL-<br>LVM | M. P. CCCXLIII | From London to Car-<br>lisle, near the wall 443 |
| A LONDINIO                                 |                | From London                                     |
| <sup>s</sup> CESAROMAGOM                   | M. P. XXVIII   | Near Chelmsford, or<br>Writtle 28               |
| <sup>t</sup> COLONIA                       | M. P. XXIV     | Colchester 24                                   |
| <sup>u</sup> VILLA FAV-<br>STINI           | M. P. XXXV     | Dunmow 35 al. 25                                |
|                                            | AL. XXV        |                                                 |

take notice that the stations of Noviomagus and Vagniacæ, between London and Rochester, and of Durolevum, between Rochester and Canterbury, are not mentioned in this route: this makes it probable that these three stations had been slighted by the Romans, when this route was composed; which is probably the reason that no certain vestiges of them can be discovered.

<sup>r</sup> All the stations in this short route have been mentioned before, and are perfectly well known, except the last. Lemanaë is generally supposed to have been the same place which is called *Καινός λιμνών*, the New Port, by Ptolemy, and to have been situated at or near the village of Lime, about a mile beyond Studfal-castle. It was a haven in the Roman times.

<sup>s</sup> Notwithstanding the pompous name of this station (Cæsar's feat), its very ruins are now so entirely ruined, that its exact situation cannot be discovered; but by the distance from London, and the direction of the road on which this route proceeds, it must have been at or near Chelmsford.

<sup>t</sup> Though our antiquaries are divided in their opinions about the situation of Colonia, it seems, upon the whole, to be most probable, that it was at Colchester, on the river Colne, from which it derived its name.

<sup>u</sup> Villa Faustini is placed, by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at St. Edmond's-bury in Suffolk; but Mr. Horsley prefers those copies of the Itinerary which have xxv for the numerals, and fixes

it

## No. IV.

|                          |             |                 | Miles. |
|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------|
| <sup>x</sup> ICIANOS     | M. P. XVIII | Chesterford     | 18     |
| YCAMBORICO               | M. P. XXXV  | Icklingham      | 35     |
| <sup>z</sup> DVROLIPONTE | M. P. XXV   | Cambridge       | 25     |
| <sup>a</sup> DVROBRIVIS  | M. P. XXXV  | Castor          | 35     |
| <sup>b</sup> CAUSENNIS   | M. P. XXX   | Ancaster        | 30     |
| <sup>c</sup> LINDO       | M. P. XXVI  | Lincoln         | 26     |
| <sup>d</sup> SEGELOCI    | M. P. XIV   | Littleborough   | 14     |
| <sup>e</sup> DANO        | M. P. XXI   | Doncaster       | 21     |
| LEGEOLIO                 | M. P. XVI   | Casterford      | 16     |
| EBORACO                  | M. P. XXI   | York            | 21     |
| ISVERIGANTVM             | M. P. XVII  | Aldborough      | 17     |
| CATARACTONIM             | M. P. XXIV  | Cataract        | 24     |
| LAVATRIS                 | M. P. XVIII | Bowes           | 18     |
| VERTERIS                 | M. P. XIII  | Brugh           | 13     |
| BROCAVO                  | M. P. XX    | Brougham-castle | 20     |
| LVGOVALLIO               | M. P. XXI   | Carlisle        | 22     |

it at Dunmow. Wherever it was situated, it probably derived its name Villa Faustini, from some great Roman called Faustinus having a country-seat there.

<sup>\*</sup> This station is placed by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at Ichburrow in Norfolk, but Mr. Horsley fixes it at a large fortified piece of ground between Chesterford and Icklinton, in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>†</sup> All our antiquaries, except Mr. Horsley, place Camboricum near Cambridge, at a place called, by Bede Grantcester; and derive its name from Cam, crooked, and Brit, a ford.

<sup>‡</sup> Those antiquaries who place Camboricum at Cambridge, fix Durolipons at Godmanchester.

<sup>§</sup> Dr. Gale fixes Durobrivæ at Bridge Casterton, two miles north from Stamford; but Camden, Baxter, and Horsley, place it at Castor, upon the river Nen, or rather at the village of Dornford, near Castor, where many Roman coins and other antiquities have been found.

<sup>||</sup> Dr. Gale supposes that Causennæ was situated where Nottingham now stands; but Mr. Horsley fixes it at Ancaster. He is sensible that this will not correspond with the distances in the Itinerary as they now stand, and therefore supposes that the transcribers had committed a mistake in the numerals, which should have been XXXVI opposite to Causennis, and XX opposite to Lindo.

<sup>¶</sup> There is no dispute about the situation of this station, which was a Roman colony, and a place of great note.

<sup>‡</sup> All our antiquaries agree in placing Segelocum, which is called Agelocum in the eighth Iter, at Littleborough, where Roman coins, altars, and other antiquities have been found.

<sup>§</sup> As there is no dispute among our antiquaries about the situation of this and the following stations in this Iter, it is unnecessary to detain the reader with any further remarks upon it.

<sup>¶</sup> These



ITER VI.

ROUTE VI.

No. IV.

|                          |            |                       | Miles. |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------|--------|
| ALONDINIO LIN-           |            | From London to Lin-   |        |
| DVM                      | M. P. CLVI | coln                  | 156    |
| A LONDINIO               |            | From London           |        |
| VEROLAMIO                | M. P. XXI  | St. Albans            | 21     |
| DVROCOBRIO               | M. P. XII  | Dunstable             | 12     |
| MAGIOVINIO               | M. P. XII  | Fenny Stratford       | 12     |
| LACTODORO                | M. P. XVI  | Towcester             | 16     |
| <sup>f</sup> ISANAVATIA  | M. P. XII  | Near Daventry         | 12     |
| <sup>g</sup> TRIPONTIO   | M. P. XII  | Lugby                 | 12     |
| VENONIS                  | M. P. IX   | Cleycester            | 9      |
| <sup>h</sup> RATIS       | M. P. XII  | Leicester             | 12     |
| <sup>i</sup> VEROMETO    | M. P. XIII | Near Willoughby       | 13     |
| <sup>k</sup> MARGIDVNO   | M. P. XIII | Near East Bridgeford  | 13     |
| <sup>l</sup> AD PONTEM   | M. P. VII  | Near Southwell        | 3      |
| <sup>m</sup> CROCOCOLANA | M. P. VII  | Brugh, near Colingham | 5      |
| LINDO                    | M. P. XII  | Lincoln               | 12     |

<sup>f</sup> These six stations were explained in the second Iter.

<sup>g</sup> Drs. Gale and Stukeley place Tripontium at Dawbridge; and the last of these authors derives its name from Tre, a town, and Pant, a little valley, in which Dowbridge is situated. Camden and Baxter fix Tripontium at Torcester, and Camden derives its name from the British words Tair-ponti, which signifies three bridges. But Mr. Horsley supposes it to have been situated where the town of Rugby now stands.

<sup>h</sup> This Iter leaves Watling-street at Cleycester, and proceeds from thence to Lincoln, on the Fosseway: Ratae is placed by all our antiquaries at Leicester, where many Roman antiquities have been found, and particularly described by Camden, Stukeley, and others.

<sup>i</sup> The vestiges of this station are distinctly described by Dr. Stukeley, in his Itinerarium Curiosum, p. 102, 103.

<sup>k</sup> The name of the next station, Ad Pontem, hath determined Dr. Stukeley and some other antiquaries, to place it at Bridgeford. But Mr. Horsley, following the course of the Fosseway, and observing the distances, fixes Margidunum here, and Ad Pontem at another.

<sup>l</sup> The distance and direction of the road, rather than any vestiges of a station, determined Mr. Horsley to fix Ad Pontem at this place; and he supposes that the neighbouring town of Newark arose out of the ruins of this station.

<sup>m</sup> The vestiges of this station, which are very faint, are described by Dr. Stukeley, in his Itinerary, p. 98, 99.

<sup>n</sup> Mr.

No. IV.

ITER VII.

ROUTE VII.

|                           |            | Miles.             |    |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------------|----|
| A <sup>n</sup> REGNO LON- |            | From Chichester to |    |
| DINIVM                    | M. P. XCVI | London             | 96 |
| CLAVSENTO                 | M. P. XX   | Old Southampton    | 20 |
| ° VENTA BELGA-            |            | Winchester         | 10 |
| RVM                       | M. P. X    |                    |    |
| P CALLEVA ATRE-           |            | Silchester         | 22 |
| EATVM                     | M. P. XXII |                    |    |
| ° PONTIBVS                | M. P. XXII | Near Old Windsor   | 22 |
| LONDINIO                  | M. P. XXII | London             | 22 |

ITER VIII.

ROUTE VIII.

|                 |                |                       |     |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----|
| AB EBVRACO LON- |                | From York to Lon-     |     |
| DINIVM          | M. P. CCXXXVII | don                   | 227 |
| AB EBVRACO      |                | From York             |     |
| LAGECIO         | M. P. XXI      | Castleford            | 21  |
| DANO            | M. P. XVI      | Doncaster             | 16  |
| AGELOCO         | M. P. XXI      | Littleborough         | 21  |
| LINDO           | M. P. XIV      | Lincoln               | 14  |
| CROCOCOLANA     | M. P. XIV      | Brugh, near Colingham | 14  |
| MARGIDVNA       | M. P. XIV      | Near East Bridgeford  | 14  |
| VERNOMETO       | M. X. VII      | Near Willoughby       | 12  |
| RATIS           | M. P. XII      | Leicester             | 11  |
| VENONIS         | M. P. XII      | Cleycester            | 22  |
| BANNAVANTO      | M. P. XVII     | Near Daventry         | 18  |
| MAGIOVINTO      | M. P. XXVIII   | Fenny Stratford       | 28  |
| DVROCOBRIVIS    | M. P. XII      | Dunstable             | 12  |

<sup>n</sup> Mr. Camden, Dr. Gale, Mr. Baxter, and others, are unanimous in fixing Regnum, the capital of the Regni, at Ringwood; but Mr. Horsley hath produced several reasons for supposing it to have been situated where Chichester now stands.

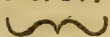
° There is no dispute among our antiquaries about the situation of this station. It was the capital of the Belgæ. For the word Venta, which is joined to the name of several of the ancient British nations, to denote the capital of these nations, is derived by Mr. Baxter from the old British word Wënt, head or chief.

<sup>p</sup> Dr. Stukeley hath produced several arguments for placing Calleva at Farnham, in his Itinerary, p. 196; and Mr. Horsley hath given his reasons for fixing it at Silchester, in his Britan. Roman. p. 458.

<sup>q</sup> Some of our antiquaries place this station at Colebrook, others at Reading, and others at Staines.

• All



|           |           |            |           |                                                                                   |
|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VEROLAMIO | M. P. XII | St. Albans | Miles. 12 | No. IV.                                                                           |
| LONDINIO  | M. P. XXI | London     | 21        |  |

ITER IX.

ROUTE IX.

|                                               |                                               |     |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----|
| A VENTA ICENORVM LON-<br>DINIVM M. P. CXXVIII | From Caister, near<br>Norwich, to Lon-<br>don | 128 |
| A VENTA ICENORVM                              | From Caister                                  |     |
| SITOMAGO M. P. XXXI                           | Wulpit                                        | 31  |
| CAMBRETO-<br>NIO M. P. XXII                   | Stretford                                     | 22  |
| AD ANSAM M. P. XV                             | Witham                                        | 15  |
| CAMVLODVNOM. P. VI                            | Maldon                                        | 6   |
| CANONIO M. P. IX                              | Fambridge                                     | 9   |

† All the stations in this route have been mentioned in some of the former.

§ Venta Icenorum was probably the capital of the Iceni, and is generally supposed, by our antiquaries, to have been situated at Caister, about three miles from Norwich, which is believed to have arisen out of the ruins of this ancient city.

† Mr. Camden supposes this station was at Thetford, but Dr. Gale and Mr. Horsley agree in fixing it at Wulpit.

¶ Mr. Camden and Dr. Gale fix this station at Bretonham, on the river Breton; but Mr. Horsley thinks the distance suits better with Stretford, near the confluence of the Breton and the Stowr.

\* Our antiquaries have made a variety of conjectures about the reason and derivation of the name of this station, which are all uncertain. Dr. Gale supposes it was situated at Barklow, near the source of the river Pant, and imagines that the real name of the station was Ad Panfam. But Camden and Horsley have fixed it at Witham.

‡ Though Camulodunum had been the capital of the great British king Cunobeline, the first Roman colony in this island, and a place of great magnificence; yet it is now so entirely ruined, that our antiquaries are much divided in their opinions about the place where it was situated. Dr. Gale contends earnestly for Walden; Talbot, Stillingfleet, and Baxter, are as positive for Colchester; while Camden, Horsley, and others plead for Maldon.

§ Mr. Camden hath placed this station at Chelmsford, and Dr. Gale hath fixed it at Little Canfield.

§ It

No. IV.

|                       |           |                 | Miles. |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------|
| CAESAROMAGOM.         | P. XII    | Near Chelmsford | 12     |
| <sup>a</sup> DVROLITO | M. P. XVI | Leeton          | 16     |
|                       | AL. XXVI  |                 |        |
| LONDINIO              | M. P. XVI | London          | 16     |

## ITER X.

## ROUTE X.

|                           |             |                      | Miles. |
|---------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------|
| A GLANOVENTO MEDIO-       |             | From Lanchester, in  |        |
| LANVM                     | M. P. CL.   | the county of Dur-   |        |
|                           |             | ham, to the station  |        |
|                           |             | near Draiton, on the |        |
|                           |             | borders of Shrop-    |        |
|                           |             | shire                | 150    |
| <sup>b</sup> A GLANOVENTA |             | From Lanchester      |        |
| GALAVA                    | M. P. XVIII | Old Town             | 18     |
|                           | AL. XXVIII  |                      |        |
| ALONE                     | M. P. XII   | Whitley-castle       | 12     |
| GALACVM                   | M. P. XIX   | Appleby              | 19     |
| BREMETONACISM.            | P. XXVII    | Overborough          | 27     |
|                           | AL. XXXII   |                      |        |
| COCCIO                    | M. P. XX    | Ribchester           | 20     |
|                           | AL. XXV     |                      |        |
| MANCVNIO                  | M. P. XVII  | Manchester           | 17     |
|                           | AL. XXVII   |                      |        |
| CONDATE                   | M. P. XVIII | Near Northwich       | 18     |
| MEDIOLANO                 | M. P. XVIII | Near Draiton         | 18     |
|                           | AL. XXVIII  |                      |        |

<sup>a</sup> It is imagined that the transcribers have here committed a mistake in the numerals, which should have been xxvi opposite to Durolito, and v opposite to Londinio.

<sup>b</sup> This is the most difficult and perplexing route of any in the Itinerary, and there are hardly any two of our antiquaries agreed about the beginning, end, or course of it. In this perplexity we have chosen Mr. Horsley for our guide; and refer such of our readers as have a taste for enquiries of this kind, to his notes upon it in his Brit. Rom. p. 448, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Nothing



ITER XI.

ROUTE XI.

No. IV.

|                               |                 |    | Miles. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|----|--------|
| A <sup>c</sup> SEGONTIO DEVAM | From Caernarvon | to |        |
|                               | Chester         |    | 83     |
|                               | M. P. LXXXIII   |    |        |
| A SEGONTIO                    | From Caernarvon |    |        |
| CON VIO                       | Caer Rhyn       |    | 24     |
|                               | M. P. XXIV      |    |        |
| VARIS                         | Bodvary         |    | 19     |
|                               | M. P. XIX       |    |        |
|                               | AL. XXI         |    |        |
| DEVA                          | Chester         |    | 32     |
|                               | M. P. XXXII     |    |        |
|                               | AL. XXI         |    |        |

ITER XII.

ROUTE XII.

|                                 |                      |    | Miles. |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|----|--------|
| A <sup>d</sup> CALEVA MVRIDVNVM | From Silchester,     | by |        |
| VRIOCONIVM                      | Egerton, to Wroxeter |    | 186    |
|                                 | M. P. CLXXXVI        |    |        |
| A <sup>e</sup> CALEVA           | From Silchester      |    |        |
| VINDOMI                         | Farnham              |    | 15     |
|                                 | M. P. XV             |    |        |


<sup>c</sup> Nothing can be more certain than this; that the transcribers of the Itinerary have committed several mistakes in the numerals. For in many of these routes the sum total of the miles prefixed, differs from the real amount of the particulars. Even in this short one, the difference between the sum prefixed (83) and the real amount of the particulars (75) is no less than eight; and Mr. Horsley thinks both numbers are wrong and that the whole length of this route was no more than 67 miles.

<sup>d</sup> This route from Silchester, near Reading, to Wroxeter, takes a prodigious compass to Muridunum, which is the reason that station is mentioned in the title of it. The sum prefixed to this route differs no less than 104 from the real amount of the particulars.

<sup>e</sup> Though Mr. Horsley is singular in his opinion that Caleva was situated at Silchester, yet the arguments which he hath brought in support of that opinion, seem to amount almost to a demonstration.

<sup>f</sup> If Mr. Horsley is right in placing Caleva at Silchester, he is probably right also in placing Vindomis at Farnham, though contrary to the general opinion. It is impossible for us, at this distance of time, to discover what engaged the Romans to make such sudden turns, and such long excursions in several of these routes. In the seventh route it is only 22 miles from Caleva to Venta Belgarum; but in this one, making a compass by Vindomis, it is no fewer than 36 miles.

: Dr.

|                                                                                  |                                     |                    | Miles. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| No. IV.                                                                          | VENTA BELGA-                        | Winchester         | 21     |
|  | RVM M. P. XXI                       |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | BRIGE M. P. XI                      | Broughton          | 11     |
|                                                                                  | AL. IX                              |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | SORBIODVNO M. P. IX                 | Old Sarum          | 9      |
|                                                                                  | AL. XI                              |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | <sup>s</sup> VINDOCLADIA M. P. XIII | Near Cranburn      | 13     |
|                                                                                  | <sup>h</sup> DVRNOVARIAM P. VII     | Dorchester         | 8      |
|                                                                                  | AL. XXXVI                           |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | <sup>i</sup> MVRIDVNO M. P. XXXVI   | Near Eggerton      | 36     |
|                                                                                  | AL. VIII                            |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | <sup>k</sup> SCADV M NVN-           | Near Chifelborough | 15     |
|                                                                                  | NIORVM M. P. XV                     |                    |        |
|                                                                                  | <sup>l</sup> LEVCARO M. P. XV.      | Near Glastenbury   | 15     |
|                                                                                  | <sup>m</sup> BOMIO M. P. XV.        | Near Axbridge      | 15     |
|                                                                                  | <sup>n</sup> NIDO M. P. XV          | Near Portbury      | 15     |

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Stukeley traced the Roman road all the way from Old Sarum, for 13 miles, to near Boroston, where he places Vindocladia. See *Itin. Curios.* p. 180.

<sup>h</sup> All our antiquaries agree in fixing Durnovaria at Dorchester, where many Roman antiquities have been found, and the vestiges of the Roman walls of the city, and of an amphitheatre without them, are still visible, and have been described by Dr. Stukeley, *Itin. Curios.* p. 150, &c. Mr. Horsley very reasonably supposes that the numerals have been transposed by the carelessness of some transcriber; and that xxx should have been set opposite to Durnovaria, and viii opposite to Muriduno.

<sup>i</sup> Camden, Gale, and Stukeley place this station at Seaton, and Baxter fixes it at Topisham.

<sup>k</sup> Scadum Nunniorum is unquestionably a mistake of the transcriber for Isa Dumnoniorum, which hath been placed by all our other antiquaries at Exeter; but Mr. Horsley gives his reasons for differing from them in his *Brit. Rom.* p. 462, 463.

<sup>l</sup> Camden, Gale, and Baxter imagine that Leucarum was situated where the village of Lohor now stands, on the banks of the river Lohor, in Glamorganshire; which seems to be at far too great a distance.

<sup>m</sup> This station is placed by Camden and Gale at Boverton, in Glamorganshire.

<sup>n</sup> Nidum is fixed by Camden, Gale, and Baxter, at Neath, in Glamorganshire. It must be confessed that the real course of this road from Muridunum to Iscalegua Augusta, is very uncertain.

• This



|                 |             |             | Miles. | No. IV. |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| • ISCALEGVA AV- |             | Caerleon    | 15     | }       |
| GVSTA           | M. P. XV    |             |        |         |
| BVRRIO          | M. P. IX    | Usk         | 9      |         |
| GOBANNIO        | M. P. XII   | Abergavenny | 12     |         |
| MAGNIS          | M. P. XXII  | Kenchester  | 22     |         |
| P BRAVINIO      | M. P. XXIV  | Ludlow      | 24     |         |
| VRIOCONIO       | M. P. XXVII | Wroxeter    | 27     |         |

ITER XIII.

ROUTE XIII.

|                 |           |                       |     |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----|
| AB ISCA CALEVAM |           | From Caerleon to Sil- |     |
|                 | MP. CIX.  | chester               | 109 |
| ¶ AB ISCA       |           | From Caerleon         |     |
| BVRRIO          | M. P. IX  | Usk                   | 9   |
| † BLESTIO       | M. P. XI  | Monmouth              | 11  |
| § ARICONIO      | M. P. XI  | Near Ross             | 11  |
| CLIVO           | M. P. XV  | Gloucester            | 15  |
| ‡ DVROCORNIO    |           | Cirencester           | 14  |
| VIO             | M. P. XIV |                       |     |

\* This should certainly have been written *Isa Leg. II.* Augusta; which all our antiquaries agree was situated at Caerleon (the city of the legion) upon Usk, which was a place of great magnificence in the Roman times, and the head-quarters of the second legion, called Augusta.

¶ Mr. Horsley differs from our other antiquaries concerning the situation of this and the preceding station, but he hath given very strong reasons in support of his opinion. See *Brit. Rom.* p. 465, 466.

¶ The sum total of the miles prefixed to this route, which is 109, differs no less than 19 from the sum of the particulars, which is 90. This is a demonstration that there is an error in the numerals. Dr. Stukeley imagines that a station, viz. *Cunetio* (Marlborough), with the numerals XIX, hath been left out between *Durocornovium* and *Spinæ*.

† Mr. Camden, Drs. Gale and Stukeley, have placed this station at Old-town in Herefordshire.

§ *Ariconium* is placed, by all our other antiquaries, at Kenchester. But this appears to be at too great a distance, and out of the course of this *Iter*.

‡ As this distance between *Clevum* and *Durocornovium* is too small, Mr. Stukeley thinks the numerals were originally XIX.

No. IV.

|                     |          |            | Miles. |
|---------------------|----------|------------|--------|
| <sup>u</sup> SPINIS | M. P. XV | Speen      | 15     |
| CALLEVA             | M. P. XV | Silchester | 15     |

I T E R   X I V .                      R O U T E   X I V .

|                                                 |            |                                             |     |
|-------------------------------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------------|-----|
| <sup>x</sup> ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB ISCA CALLEVAM |            | From Caerleon to Silchester, by another way |     |
|                                                 | M. P. CIII |                                             | 103 |
| AB ISCA                                         |            | From Caerleon                               |     |
| <sup>y</sup> VENTASILVRVM                       | M. P. IX   | Caergwent                                   | 9   |
| ABONE                                           | M. P. IX   | Aunsbury                                    | 9   |
| <sup>z</sup> TRAIECTVS                          | M. P. IX   | Henham                                      | 9   |
| <sup>a</sup> AQVIS SOLIS                        | M. P. VI   | Bath                                        | 6   |
| <sup>b</sup> VERLVCIONE                         | M. P. XV   | Near Leckham                                | 15  |
| CUNELIONE                                       | M. P. XX   | Marlborough                                 | 20  |

<sup>u</sup> There is sufficient evidence that Spinæ was situated at Speen. But as xv is much too small a number of miles for the distance between Cirencester and Speen, we may either suppose with Dr. Stukeley, that there is a station omitted between these two places; or, with Mr. Horsley, that the numerals opposite to Spinis should have been xxxv.

<sup>x</sup> As this and the former route lead from and to the same places, it is highly probable, that by the former the Romans designed to pass the Severn by a bridge at Gloucester; and by this over a ferry lower down.

<sup>y</sup> This was probably the capital of the Silures, one of the bravest of the ancient British nations.

<sup>z</sup> Our antiquaries are generally of opinion that Traiectus should have been placed before Abone; and that it was situated at Oldbury, where they suppose there was a ferry over the Severn; but Mr. Horsley imagines that Traiectus was situated at the passage over the Avon, near Henham.

<sup>a</sup> Aquæ Solis was unquestionably Bath, which was much frequented by the Romans for its warm and medicinal springs

<sup>b</sup> Verlucio is placed by Dr. Gale at Westbury, and by Dr. Stukeley at Hedington; but Mr. Horsley following the course of the military way from Bath to Marlborough, and the distance from both these places, thinks it more probable that it was situated near Leckham, or at Silverfield, near Lacock, where great quantities of Roman money have been found.

c The



|         |          |            |                      |
|---------|----------|------------|----------------------|
| SPINIS  | M. P. XV | Speen      | Miles. No. IV.<br>15 |
|         | AL. XX   |            |                      |
| CALLEVA | M. P. XV | Silchester | 15                   |

ITER XV.

ROUTE XV.

|                          |              |                         | Miles. |
|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------|
| A CALLEVA                | ISCAM DVM-   | From Silchester to Chi- |        |
| NONIORVM                 | M. P. CXXXVI | felborough              | 136    |
| A CALLEVA                |              | From Silchester         |        |
| VINDOMI                  | M. P. XV     | Farnham                 | 15     |
| VENTA BELGA-             |              | Winchester              | 21     |
| RVM                      | M. P. XXI    |                         |        |
| ERIGE                    | M. P. XI     | Broughton               | 11     |
| SORBIODVNI               | M. P. VIII   | Old Sarum               | 8      |
| VINDOCLADIA              | M. P. XII    | Near Cranburn           | 12     |
| DVRNOVARIA               | M. P. IX     | Dorchester              | 9      |
| MORIDVNO                 | M. P. XXXVI  | Eggerton                | 36     |
| <sup>d</sup> ISCA DVMNO- |              | Chiselborough           | 15     |
| NIORVM                   | M. P. XV     |                         |        |

<sup>c</sup> The sum total prefixed to this Iter is 103, but the sum of the particulars amounts only to 98, which is five miles less. Mr. Stukeley imagines that the numerals xx were originally set opposite to Spinis, which reconciles the sums to each other, and both to truth.

<sup>d</sup> All the stations in this route have been mentioned in some of the former.

## N U M B E R V.

MAP of BRITAIN, according to the  
Notitia Imperii.

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## N U M B E R VI.

*The NOTITIA IMPERII, as far as it relates to  
Britain, with a Translation and Notes.*

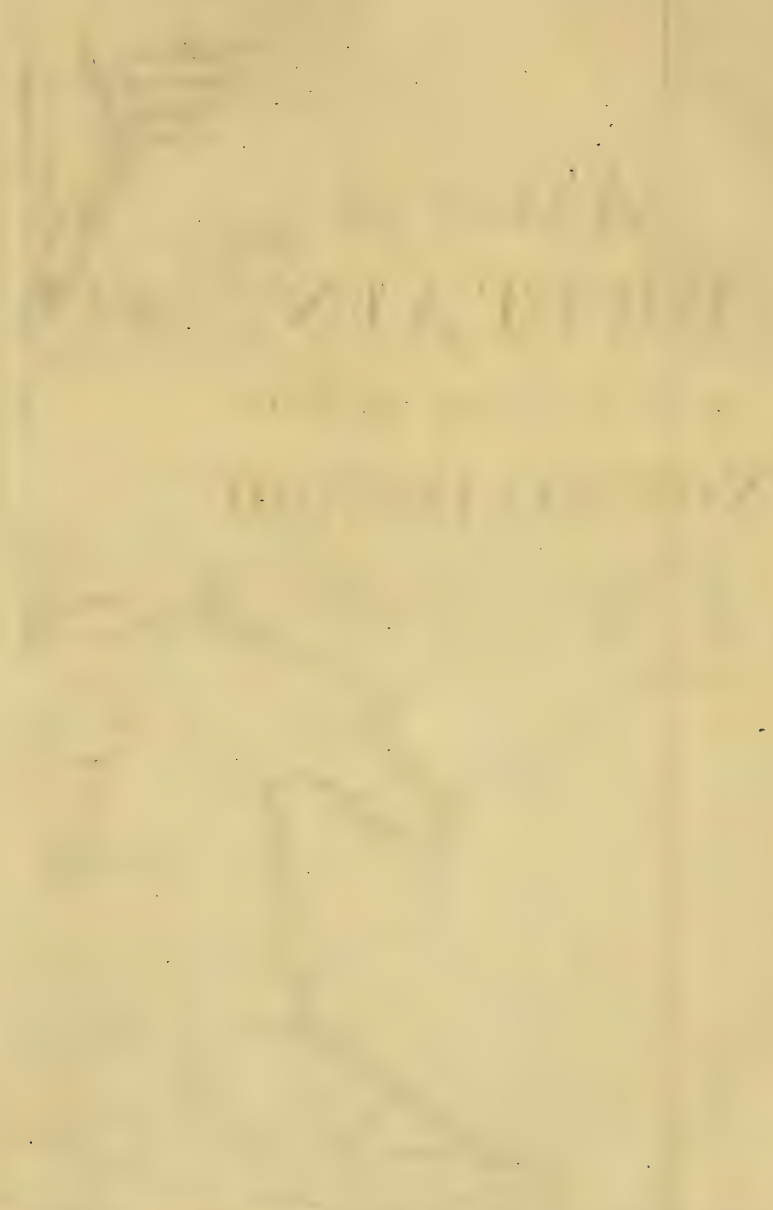
No. V.

SOME of the most active of the Roman emperors were at great pains to gain a distinct knowledge of the several provinces of their wide-extended empire; that they might be enabled to improve, protect, and govern them in the best manner; and also that they might know how to draw from them the greatest advantages they were capable of yielding. Augustus composed a volume, which he committed, together with his last will, to the custody of the Vestal Virgins, containing a brief description of the whole Roman empire; its kingdoms, provinces, fleets, armies, treasures, taxes, tributes, expences, and every other thing which it was necessary or proper for a prince to know<sup>a</sup>. Hadrian was at still greater pains to make himself thoroughly acquainted with his dominions; for with this view, amongst others, he visited in person every province, and even every considerable city of the empire; taking a particular ac-

<sup>a</sup> Sueton, in Octavio, c. 101. Dion, l. 56. p. 591.







• Sueton, in Octavio, c. 101. Dion, l. 56. p. 591.

count



count of the fleets, armies, taxes, cities, walls, ramparts, ditches, arms, machines, and every other thing worthy of attention. No. V.  
 If the Memoirs of this imperial traveller were now extant, they would present us with an entertaining view of the state of our country in that early period. But these, together with the volume of Augustus, and probably many others of the same nature, are entirely lost. Some few works, however, on this subject, have escaped the devastations of time, and the no less destructive ravages of barbarians. Of this kind are the Itinerary of Antoninus, already explained, and that which is commonly called the Notitia, which we are now to illustrate.

The title, at full length, of this valuable monument of antiquity runs thus : *Notitia utraque dignitatem cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honorique tempora.* The contents of it are suitable enough to this title, being lists of the governors of the several provinces, with the civil officers which composed their courts and executed their commands ; and also of the chief military officers in these provinces, the troops which they had under them, and the places where they were stationed. The author, or rather the compiler of this work, is not known. There might, perhaps, be some particular officer at the imperial court, whose duty it was to compile such a register, for the use of the emperor and his ministers, out of the returns which were sent from the provinces. The precise time in which it was written cannot be ascertained. The very title of it bears, that it reached below the times of Arcadius and Honorius, who reigned jointly in the beginning of the fifth century, and of whom the last died A. D. 425 ; and the contents of it shew, that those sections of it which relate to Britain, were written before the final departure of the Romans out of this island. To give the reader as distinct ideas as possible of the information contained in this work, concerning the state of his country in that period, the several sections of it which relate to Britain are here given in the original, with a translation on the opposite page. To this is subjoined a short commentary, explaining such words and things as would not be fully understood by many readers without an explanation.

† Dion, l. 69, p. 792.

**S**UB dispositione viri spectabilis • vicarii Britanniarum :

<sup>b</sup> Consulares,  
<sup>c</sup> Maximæ Cæsariensis,  
 Valentiaë ;

Præsides,  
 Britannia primæ,  
 Britannia secundæ,  
 Flavia Cæsariensis.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis hoc modo :

<sup>d</sup> Principem de schola agentum in rebus ex ducenariis,  
 Cornicularium,  
 Numerarios duos,  
<sup>e</sup> Commentariensem,  
 Ab actis,  
 Curam epistolarum,  
 Adjutorem,  
 Subadjuvas,  
<sup>f</sup> Exceptores,  
 Singulares et reliquos officiales.

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N O T E S on Section XLIX.

<sup>a</sup> The vicarii, in the lower empire, were officers of state next in dignity and power to the præfecti prætorio. The vicar of Britain had the chief authority over all the five provinces of Britain, under the præfect of Gaul.

<sup>b</sup> Consulars under the lower empire, were of two kinds ; viz. such as had actually been consuls ; or such as had the title and privileges of consuls conferred upon them by the emperors, though they had never enjoyed the high office of the consulship. Vid. Cod. Justin. l. 12. t. 3. l. 4.



## SECTION XLIX.

No. VI.

**U**NDER the government of the honourable the vicegerent of Britain are :

Consular governors of those parts of Britain, called  
Maxima Cæsariensis,  
Valentia ;

Prefidial governors of those parts of Britain, called  
Britannia prima,  
Britannia secunda,  
Flavia Cæsariensis.

This honourable vicegerent hath his court composed in this manner :

A principal officer of the agents, chosen out of the du-  
cenarii, or under-officers,  
A principal clerk or secretary,  
Two chief accountants or auditors,  
A master of the prisons,  
A notary,  
A secretary for dispatches,  
An assistant or surrogate,  
Under-assistants,  
Clerks for appeals,  
Serjeant and other inferior officers:

<sup>c</sup> See the situation and extent of the five provinces into which the Roman territories in Britain were divided, in the third section of the third chapter. The two most northerly provinces were governed by consulars, as being most exposed to danger.

<sup>d</sup> Under the lower empire there were many incorporated bodies of men of different professions; and these incorporated bodies were called Scholæ. Vide Cod. Justin. l. 12. t. 20.

<sup>e</sup> The master of the prisons was called commentariensis, from his keeping an exact calendar of all the prisoners in all the prisons under his inspection.

<sup>f</sup> The exceptores were a particular order of clerks or notaries, who recorded the proceedings and sentences of the judges upon appeals.

<sup>a</sup> SUB dispositione viri spectabilis comitis littoris Saxo-  
nici per Britanniam :

Præpositus <sup>b</sup> numeri Fortensium Othonæ,

Præpositus militum Tungricanorum Dubris,

Præpositus numeri Turnacensium Lemannis,

Præpositus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunensis, Brano-  
duno,

Præpositus equitum Stablelian. Garionnonensis, Ga-  
rionnono,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetasiorum, Regulbio,

Præpositus legionis secundæ Augustæ, Rutupis,

Præpositus numerii Abulcorum, Anderidæ,

Præpositus numeri exploratorum, <sup>c</sup> portu Adurni.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis comes hoc  
modo :

Principem ex officio magistri præsentialium a parte pedi-  
tum,

Numerarios duos, ut supra, ex officio supradicto,

Commentariensem ex officio supradicto,

Cornicularium,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

† Regerendarium,

Exceptores,

Singulares, et reliquos officiales.

#### NOTES on Section LII.

<sup>a</sup> For a description of the office of the count of the Saxon shore, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

<sup>b</sup> These numeri were probably either detachments or independent companies.



## SECTION LII.

No. VI.

**U**NDER the government of the honourable the count of the Saxon shore in Britain :

The commander of a detachment of Fortensis at Othona,

The commander of the Tungrian soldiers at Dover,

The commander of a detachment of soldiers of Tournay at Lime,

The commander of the Dalmatian horse, styled Brandedunensis, at Brancafter,

The commander of the Stablefian horse, styled Garionnonensis, at Borough-castle,

The tribune of the first cohort of Vetasians at Reculver,

The commander of the second legion, called Augusta, at Richborough,

The commander of a detachment of the Abulci at Anderida,

The commander of a detachment of scouts at Portsmouth.

This honourable count hath his court composed in this manner :

A principal officer from the court of the general of foot in ordinary attendance,

Two auditors, as above, from the above-mentioned court,

A master of the prisons, from the same court,

A clerk or secretary,

An assistant,

An under-assistant,

A register,

Clerks of appeals,

Serjeant, and other under-officers.

<sup>c</sup> For an account of these nine stations, which were under the command of the count of the Saxon shore, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

<sup>d</sup> The *regerendarius* was so called from the verb *regerere*, which expressed his office of collecting writings, and copying them into registers for their preservation.

**S**UB dispositione viri spectabilis \* comitis Britanniarum :

Provincia Britannia.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis comes hoc modo :

Principem ex officio magistri militum praesentalium alternis annis,

Commentariensem, ut supra,

Numerarios duos singulos ex utroque officio supradicto,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

Exceptores,

Singulares, et reliquos officiales.

NOTE on Section LIII.

\* For a description of the office of the count of Britain, see chap. 3. sect. 3. When this section of the Notitia was written, it seems probable that the forces which had been formerly under the command of the count of Britain, and garrisoned the stations and forts in the interior parts of the province, were withdrawn, as no longer necessary. These forces, however, are mentioned in section 40. and were as follow :

Viatores juniores Britannici

Primani juniores

Secundani juniores

Equites cataphractarii juniores

Equites Seutarii Aureliaci

Equites Honoriani seniores

Equites Stablefiani

Equites Syri

Equites Taifali.



**U**NDER the government of the honourable the count  
of Britain :

The province of Britain.

The honourable count hath his court composed in this  
manner :

A principal officer from the court of the general of the  
soldiers, in ordinary attendance, changed every year,

The master of the prisons, as above,

Two auditors, one from each court above-mentioned.

An assistant,

An under-assistant,

Clerks of appeals,

Serjeant, and under-officers.

**S**UB dispositione viri spectabilis <sup>a</sup> ducis Britanniarum :

<sup>b</sup> Præfectus legionis sextæ,

Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum <sup>c</sup> Præsidio,

Præfectus equitum Crispianorum Dano,

Præfectus equitum Cataphractariorum <sup>d</sup> Morbio,

Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigrifensium <sup>e</sup> Arbeia,

Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dietsensium <sup>f</sup> Dietsi,

Præfectus numeri vigilum <sup>g</sup> Concangio,

Præfectus numeri exploratorum Lavatris,

Præfectus numeri directorum Verteris,

Præfectus numeri defensorum <sup>h</sup> Braboniaco,

#### NOTES on Section LXIII.

<sup>a</sup> For an account of the office of the duke of Britain, see chap. 3. sect. 3.

<sup>b</sup> The head-quarters of the sixth legion was so well known to be at Eboracum (York), that it was not thought necessary to name it in the Notitia.

<sup>c</sup> Præsidium is a Notitia station which is not mentioned (at least by that name) in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Both Camden and Baxter place it at Warwick, but Mr. Horsley thinks it was nearer York, and fixes it at Broughton in Lincolnshire; supposing it the same with Prætorium in the Itinerary.

<sup>d</sup> Morbium is neither named in Ptolemy's Geography nor the Itinerary. Both Camden and Baxter suppose it was at Moreby; but Mr. Horsley thinks this too distant from York and Doncaster, and fixes it at Templebrugh in Yorkshire, where there are large vestiges of a Roman station.

• Arbeia



## S E C T I O N LXIII.

No. VI.

UNDER the government of the honourable the duke  
of Britain :

- The prefect of the sixth legion,  
 The prefect of the Dalmatian horse at Broughton,  
 The prefect of the Crispian horse at Doncaster,  
 The prefect of the Cuirassiers at Templeburg,  
 The prefect of a detachment of the Borcarii Tigresien-  
 ses at Moresby,  
 The prefect of a detachment of the Nervii Diœtenses at  
 Ambleside,  
 The prefect of a detachment of watchmen at Kendal,  
 The prefect of a detachment of scouts at Bowes,  
 The prefect of a detachment of Directores at Brugh,  
 The prefect of a detachment of Defensores at Over-  
 borough,

<sup>e</sup> Arbeia is a station only mentioned in the Notitia. Mr. Camden and Baxter place it at Iceby in Cumberland, but Mr. Horsley thinks it was at Moresby.

<sup>f</sup> Diœti is a Notitia station, and is, by the general consent of antiquaries, supposed to have been situated at Ambleside in Westmoreland, where the ruins of a Roman station are still visible.

<sup>g</sup> Concanium is another station not mentioned in the Itinerary, and is generally believed to have been situated at Watercrock, near Kendal, where there are visible remains of a station, and Roman antiquities have been found.

<sup>h</sup> Braboniacum is supposed by Mr. Horsley to be the same with Bremetonæ in the Itinerary.

<sup>i</sup> Maglove

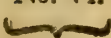
- No. VI. Præfectus numeri Solensium <sup>i</sup> Maglove,  
 Præfectus numeri Pacensium <sup>k</sup> Magis,  
 Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum Longovico,  
 Præfectus numeri Derventionensis Derventione.  
<sup>i</sup> Item per lineam valli :  
 Tribunis cohortis quartæ Lergorum Segeduno,  
 Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum Ponte Ælii,  
 Præfectus alæ primæ Astorum Conderco,  
 Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum Vindobala,  
 Præfectus alæ Savinianæ Hunno,  
 Præfectus alæ secundæ Astorum Cilurno,  
 Tribunus cohortis primæ Batavorum Procolitia,  
 Tribunus cohortis primæ Tungrorum Borcovico,  
 Tribunus cohortis quartæ Gallorum Vindolana,  
 Tribunus cohortis primæ Astorum Æfica,  
 Tribunus cohortis secundæ Dalmatarum Magnis,

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<sup>i</sup> Maglove is another Notitia station, which Mr. Baxter places at Ravenglas, but Mr. Horsley, with better reason, at Greta-bridge.

<sup>k</sup> Mr. Camden supposes the Mages, in the Notitia, to be the same with Magnis in the Itinerary, and placeth it at Old Radnor. But in this he is probably mistaken.



- The præfect of a detachment of Solenses at Greta-bridge, No. VI. 
- The præfect of a detachment of Pacenses at Pierce-bridge,
- The præfect of a detachment of Longovicarii at Lancaster,
- The præfect of a detachment of Derventionensis on the Derwent.

Also along the line of the wall :

- The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Largi at Cousinshouse,
- The tribune of a cohort of the Cornovii at Newcastle,
- The præfect of the first wing of the Asti at Benwell-hill,
- The tribune of the first cohort of the Frixagi at Rutchester,
- The præfect of the wing styled Saviniana at Haltonchesters,
- The præfect of the second wing of the Asti at Walwickchesters,
- The tribune of the first cohort of the Batavi at Carrowbrugh,
- The tribune of the first cohort of the Tungri at Housesteads,
- The tribune of the fourth cohort of Gauls at Littlechesters,
- The tribune of the first cohort of the Asti at Greatchesters,
- The tribune of the second cohort of Dalmatians at Carvoran,

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the stations on the line of Severus's wall, see the Dissertation on the Roman walls in Britain, in this Appendix, No. IX.

No. VI. Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ Dacorum Amboglanna,  
 Præfectus alæ Petrianæ Petrianis,  
 Præfectus numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum Aballaba,  
 Tribunus cohortis secundæ Lergorum Congavata,  
 Tribunus cohortis primæ Hispanorum Axeloduno,  
 Tribunus cohortis secundæ Thracum Gabrosenti,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Æliæ classicæ Tunnocelo,

Tribunus cohortis primæ Morinorum Glannibanta,

Tribunus cohortis tertiæ Nerviorum Alione,

Cuneus armaturarum Bremetenraco,

Præfectus alæ primæ Herculeæ Olenaco,

Tribunus cohortis sextæ Nerviorum Virofido.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis dux hoc modo :

Principem ex officiis magistrorum militum præsentium  
 alternis annis,

Commentariensem utrumque,

Numerarios ex utrisque officiis omni anno,

Adjutorem,

Subadjuvam,

Regerendarium,

Exceptores,

Singulares et reliquos officiales.



- The tribune of the first cohort of Dacians, called Ælia,  
at Burdolwald, No. VI.  
~
- The prefect of the wing called Petriana at Cambeck-fort,
- The prefect of a detachment of Moors, called Aureliani,  
at Watch-crofs,
- The tribune of the second cohort of the Lergi at Stan-  
wix,
- The tribune of the first cohort of Spaniards at Brugh,
- The tribune of the second cohort of Thracians at Drum-  
brugh,
- The tribune of the first marine cohort, styled Ælia, at  
Boulness,
- The tribune of the first cohort of the Marini at Lan-  
chester,
- The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii at Whitley-  
castle,
- A body of men in armour at Brampton,
- The prefect of the first wing, called Herculea, at Old  
Carlisle,
- The tribune of the sixth cohort of the Nervi at Elenbo-  
rough.

The same honourable count hath his court composed in  
this manner :

- A principal officer from the courts of the generals of the  
soldiers, in ordinary attendance, changed yearly,
- A master of the prisons from each,
- Auditors yearly from both the courts,
- An assistant,
- An under-assistant,
- A register,
- Clerks of appeals,
- Serjeants, and other under-officers.

No. VII.



## N U M B E R VII.

MAP of BRITAIN, *in the most perfect state of the Roman Power and Government in this island.*

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## N U M B E R VIII.

DISSERTATION *on the* ROMAN FORCES  
*in* Britain.

No. VIII.



**T**O enable the English reader, who is but little acquainted with the constitution of the Roman armies, to judge the better of what hath been said in the preceding history concerning the conquest of this island by that people, we have here subjoined a very brief account of the several bodies of troops employed by them in making and preserving that conquest. By this we shall see clearly that the Romans viewed the acquisition of this noble island, uncultivated as it then was, in a very important light; that they met with a vigorous opposition from its brave inhabitants; and that they were obliged to employ a very great military force to overcome that opposition, and to impose their yoke upon the necks of free-born Britons.

To render this account of the Roman forces in Britain more intelligible, it is necessary to give a short description of the Roman legions, and of the auxiliary troops. The legions were the flower and strength of the Roman armies, being composed only of Roman citizens; of whom a certain number, consisting both of horse and foot, formed into one body, under officers of different ranks, constituted a legion. It appears that this corps did not always contain the same number of troops, but varied considerably at different periods. During the regal government of Rome the legion consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; under the consuls it was composed of four thousand two hundred foot, and four hundred horse; but under the emperors it amounted to six thousand of which four hundred were horse. The legions were distinguished from each other, as our regiments are at present, by their number, being called the first, second, third, fourth legion; and also by certain honourable epithets, as the strong, the valiant, the victorious, the pious, the faithful, and the like. The number of legions which were kept





A MAP OF  
**BRITAIN**  
*in the most*  
 perfect state  
*of the*  
**ROMAN POWER**  
 and  
**GOVERNMENT**



the faithful, and the like. The number of legions which were kept



kept on foot by the Romans was very different, according to the extent of their empire, and the exigences of their affairs. In the early times of the republic they had commonly no more than four legions, but in the flourishing ages of the empire they had no fewer than twenty-five<sup>a</sup>. The foot which composed a legion were of four kinds, called Velites, Hastali, Principes, and Triarii. The Velites were lightly armed with different kinds of weapons, and swords, bows and arrows, slings and javelins, and were designed for skirmishing with the enemy before a battle, and pursuing them after a defeat. For defensive armour the Velites had only a small round target, and a helmet or head-piece. The Hastali, Principes, and Triarii, were all armed neatly in the same manner, with swords and spears, and large shields, and differed little from each other except in the time which they had served, and the degrees of military skill and experience which they had acquired. In the day of battle the Hastali were placed in the first line, the Principes in the second, and the Triarii in the third. The Velites formed small flying parties both in front and rear. Each legion was subdivided into ten cohorts, each cohort into ten centuries, and each century into ten decurions. The whole legion was commanded by a legate, each cohort by a military tribune, each century by a centurion, and each decurion, by a decurio, or decanus. Each century had a vexillum or pair of colours, to the guarding of which ten of the best soldiers in the century were allotted, and all these, in the different centuries of a legion, formed a very choice body of men, which was called the vexillation of that legion, and was sometimes separated from it, and sent upon particular services<sup>b</sup>. The vexillation of a legion was equal in number of men to a cohort, and had an equal proportion allotted unto it in the execution of all public works<sup>c</sup>. The number of cavalry in a legion was four hundred, divided into three decuriæ, each of which was commanded by a decurio. The arms of the cavalry were much the same with those of the heavy-armed foot, except that their shields were shorter, for the conveniency of managing them on horseback. Many ancient writers express the highest admiration of the wise and excellent constitution of the Roman legion, to which they ascribe, in a great measure, that long and almost uninterrupted course of victories which that people obtained over all other nations. The legion was indeed a little army of free citizens, containing within itself a due proportion of all the different kinds of troops, both horse and foot, which

<sup>a</sup> Dion, l. 55. p. 564.

<sup>b</sup> Horsley Brit. Rom. p. 96.

<sup>c</sup> Hygin. de Gramat. Vegetins, l. 1. c. 13.

No. VIII. were then in use, all well armed, excellently disciplined, and commanded by a great number of officers in the most regular subordination. But it was the noble virtues of courage, patience, diligence, obedience, sobriety, and ardent zeal for the honour of their corps and of their country, with which the Roman legions were animated, which rendered them invincible.

Besides the legions, the Roman armies consisted of auxiliary troops, raised in those cities and provinces of the empire whose inhabitants had not been honoured with the title and privileges of Roman citizens. The auxiliaries were not formed into legions, like the Roman soldiers, but into cohorts, and their subdivisions. The reasons of this distinction might be, that some cities and provinces did not furnish a sufficient number of troops to compose a legion; and that the Romans did not think it prudent to form so great a number of auxiliaries into one body. The auxiliary cohorts were not wholly independent of, and unconnected with, the Roman legions, but a certain number of auxiliaries, both horse and foot, were united to each legion, and were called the auxiliaries of that legion, being commonly employed in the same services, and sent upon the same expeditions with the legion<sup>d</sup>. The auxiliaries of each legion were equal to the legion in number of foot, but double in the number of horse<sup>e</sup>. The auxiliaries were armed after the manner of their respective countries, except when the Romans thought it proper to make some change in that particular. The auxiliary troops were seldom or never permitted to serve in the country to which they belonged, but were sent into some distant province. The excellent policy of this measure is very obvious. The auxiliaries were commonly placed at the two extremities of the line of battle, the Romans reserving the center to themselves. It is for this reason that the auxiliary foot are so often called *cornua*, or horns, and the auxiliary horse, *alæ*, or wings. The Roman generals, however, sometimes changed this disposition in the day of battle, placing the auxiliaries in the front and center, to save and spare the legions<sup>f</sup>. This very short and general description of the Roman legionary and auxiliary troops will, it is hoped, be sufficient to enable the reader to understand the following account of the Roman forces in Britain; the only end for which it is here inserted. In this account, a legion is estimated at the round number of six thousand men, and the auxiliaries at the same.

Julius Cæsar, in his first expedition into Britain, brought with him only the infantry of the seventh and tenth legions, which

<sup>d</sup> Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 61. l. 4. c. 62.

<sup>e</sup> Polyb. l. 6. p. 472. Tit. Liv. l. 22. c. 36.

<sup>f</sup> Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 16. Vita Agric. c. 35.



could not make up quite twelve thousand men, as the cavalry of No. VII. these two legions, which he had commanded to follow him, never arrived <sup>g</sup>. The smallness of this army seems to intimate that Cæsar entertained but a mean opinion of the Britons, and expected to meet with little resistance. He soon discovered his mistake; and therefore, in his second expedition, he brought over no fewer than five entire legions, making a gallant army of thirty thousand Roman soldiers, but without any auxiliary troops <sup>h</sup>. With this great army this greatest of generals made no permanent conquests; but after gaining some advantages, and sustaining some losses, he carried his forces back again into Gaul. The next attempt which was made upon Britain, in the reign of Claudius, was with a still greater army, consisting of four legions and their auxiliaries, or forty-eight thousand men <sup>i</sup>. The four legions which came over on this occasion were, the second, the ninth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth, for these, and these only, are mentioned in the history of that expedition. This great army continued in Britain from A. D. 43, when it arrived, to A. D. 76, when the fourteenth legion was recalled, in the first year of Vespasian <sup>k</sup>. From thence there were only three legions in this island to the reign of Hadrian, when the sixth came over from Germany. As these five, the second, sixth, ninth, fourteenth, and twentieth, were the only Roman legions which made any long stay, or did any thing memorable here, it may not be improper to take a short view of the arrival, departure, and most considerable works and services performed by each of them, in order.

The second legion, which was surnamed *Augusta*, or the *August*, came into Britain, A. D. 43, in the reign of Claudius, under the command of Vespasian (who was afterwards emperor), and continued here near four hundred years, to the final departure of the Romans <sup>l</sup>. It was on this account that this legion was also called *Britannica*, or the *British*. It had a principal share in all the great actions, and great works, performed by the Romans in this island, particularly in building the several walls of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Severus <sup>m</sup>. It appears from inscriptions still remaining, that this was the only legion employed

<sup>g</sup> Cæs. Bel. Gal. l. 4. c. 2. 23. 28.

<sup>h</sup> Id. l. 5. c. 7.

<sup>i</sup> Tacit. Vita Agric. c. 13.

<sup>k</sup> Tacit. Hist. l. 4. c. 68.

<sup>l</sup> Id. l. 3. c. 44. Notitia, c. 38.

<sup>m</sup> Hors. Brit. Rom. l. 2. c. 2.

No. VIII. in a body on the wall of Antoninus in Scotland. The head-quarters of this legion was at Isca Silurum or Caerleon, i. e. the city of the legion, for the greatest part of the time it continued in Britain; but when the *Notitia Imperii* was written, it was quartered at Rutupæ, or Richborough in Kent, from whence it was soon after transported to the continent <sup>n</sup>.

The sixth legion, whose name is commonly thus written in inscriptions: *Leg. VI. V. P. F. i. e. Victrix, pia, fidelis*; the victorious, pious, and faithful; came from Germany into Britain in the reign of Hadrian, about A. D. 120. This circumstance we learn from an inscription to the honour of one Marcus Pontius, as secretary to the emperor Hadrian, and a tribune of the sixth legion, with which (the inscription says) he came over out of Germany into Britain <sup>o</sup>. This legion probably came in the train of Hadrian when he visited Britain, and was employed by him in building his wall in the north of England, and left behind him to supply the place of the ninth legion, which was either disbanded or removed before that period. From that time, the sixth legion bore its part in all the wars and works of the Romans in this island. It appears with unquestionable certainty from inscriptions, that the vexillation of this legion built 7801 paces of Antoninus's wall in Scotland, while the body of it was probably employed in protecting the workmen from the assaults of the Caledonians <sup>p</sup>. After this work was finished it returned to York, which was the stated head-quarters of this legion. It is further evident from inscriptions, that this legion wrought upon the wall of Severus, though it cannot be discovered what quantity of that they executed; and in these parts they continued to their final departure out of Britain, some time in the former part of the fifth century.

The ninth legion came into Britain in the reign of Claudius A. D. 43, and was the most unfortunate of all the Roman legions which served in this island. The infantry of it were almost entirely cut in pieces by the Britons, in the great revolt under Boadicia. It was recruited in the reign of Nero with two thousand Roman soldiers and eight cohorts of auxiliaries, but being still weak, it was attacked, and severely handled by the Caledonians in the sixth campaign of Agricola <sup>q</sup>. We hear no more of the ninth legion after this second disaster. It is most probable

<sup>n</sup> *Notitia*, c. 52.

<sup>o</sup> *Gale Itin. Anton.* p. 47.

<sup>p</sup> See Appendix, No. IX.

<sup>q</sup> *Tacit. Annual.* l. 14. c. 38.



that it was at length disbanded, and the remains of it incorporated with the sixth. No. VII.

The fourteenth legion was one of the four which came over into Britain in the reign of Claudius, where it acquired great honour, and contributed so much to the reduction of this island, that the soldiers of it were called the conquerors of Britain <sup>r</sup>. The Batavians, who were the auxiliaries, of this legion, were also much renowned for their bravery, and reckoned among the veteran forces of the empire, famous for many victories <sup>s</sup>. This was the only entire legion in the army of Paulinus, when he obtained that great victory over the Britons under Boadicia and to their valour this victory was in a great measure, owing. After this legion had remained in Britain about twenty-five-years, it was transported to the continent by Nero, A. D. 58, who designed to send it into Asia <sup>t</sup>. But the death of Nero, and the troubles which ensued, prevented the execution of that design, and Vitellius, being jealous of this legion, sent it back with its auxiliaries into Britain about a year after, As they were on their march towards this island the second time, a great quarrel happened at Turin between the legion and its auxiliaries, who had taken different sides in the competition for the empire. Upon this quarrel they were separated, and Vitellius finding the auxiliaries zealous in his interest, kept them in his army, and commanded the legion to proceed on its march <sup>u</sup>. But the fame of this legion was so great that it was not suffered to remain long in Britain; but about a year after its second arrival, it was removed to the continent, from whence it never returned again into this island.

The twentieth legion was also one of the four which came into Britain in the reign of Claudius, and contributed to the reduction of it. The vexillation of this legion was in the army of Suetonius Paulinus at the battle of Boadicia, the body of it being in some other part of the island <sup>v</sup>. As this legion continued very long in Britain, it no doubt had its share in the several military operations of the Romans here, and also in the execution of their many great and useful works. The head quarters of this legion during the greatest part of the time it continued in this island,

<sup>r</sup> Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 16.

<sup>s</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 28.

<sup>t</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 11.

<sup>u</sup> Id. l. 2. c. 66.

<sup>v</sup> Id. l. 4. c. 68.

<sup>w</sup> Tacit. Annal, l. 14. c. 34.

No. VIII. were at Diva or West-chester; for it was not the custom of the Romans to fatigue their troops with unnecessary marches, merely for the sake of changing their quarters. It is impossible to discover the precise time when this legion left Britain. As it is not mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*, it was certainly gone from hence before that book was written. It is most probable that it was recalled by the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, when the continental provinces of the empire began to be much harassed by the incursions of barbarous nations.

From this short view of the Roman legions which served in Britain, it appears that there were four legions here from the invasion of Claudius, A. D. 43, to the accession of Vespasian, A. D. 70. From thence to the arrival of Hadrian, who brought over the sixth legion, A. D. 120, there were three legions in this island; the second, ninth and twentieth. As the ninth legion was either removed or disbanded about that time, the number of legions in Britain, from thence to the beginning of the fifth century, was still three, the second, the sixth, and the twentieth; which, on account of their long stay in this island, were commonly called the *Britannic legions*. After the departure of the twentieth legion, at the period above mentioned, the other two remained some time longer, but were at last withdrawn, when the Romans finally abandoned this island. If these legions had been always complete, we could know with precision the number of Roman soldiers in Britain in these several periods. But this was far from being the case. The ninth legion was long very weak, and it is probable that the others were not very regularly recruited, especially in the times of long tranquillity.

As the Latin writers do not make so frequent and particular mention of the auxiliary troops as of the legions, we cannot discover with so much certainty the particular bodies of auxiliaries which served in this island in conjunction with the legions. The four legions which invaded Britain in the reign of Claudius, seem to have had their full complement of auxiliaries; but what these were we are not informed, except that there were eight cohorts of Batavians among the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion<sup>2</sup>. But as the three *Britannic legions* continued here without interruption above three hundred years, we are enabled by the *Notitia Imperii* and *Inscriptions*, to discover a great part of the auxiliary cohorts which served in conjunction with these three legions. The full complement of auxiliaries to three legions amounts to thirty cohorts of foot, and six *alæ* or wings of horse,

<sup>2</sup> Tacit. *Hist.* l. i. c. 59.



being ten cohorts and two alæ to each legion. Now the information which may be derived from the Notitia and Inscriptions concerning the auxiliaries of the three Britannic legions, as it hath been carefully collected by the learned and industrious Mr. Horsley, stands thus: No. VIII.

1. The eight following cohorts of auxiliary foot are mentioned both in the Notitia and in Inscriptions.

Cohors prima Ælia Dacorum.  
 prima Batavorum.  
 prima Batavorum, or Vetavorum.  
 quarta Gallorum.  
 prima Hispanorum.  
 tertia Nerviorum.  
 sexta Nerviorum.  
 prima Tungrorum.

2. The fourteen following cohorts of foot are mentioned in Inscriptions, but not in the Notitia :

Cohors quarta Brittonum.  
 prima Cortov. . .  
 Carvetiorum.  
 prima Cugernorum.  
 prima Delmatarum.  
 quarta Frisonum.  
 prima Frescor. . .  
 quinta Gallorum.  
 prima Hamiorum.  
 secunda Lingonum.  
 ex provincia Maur. . .  
 prima Thracum.  
 prima Vangionum.  
 prima Vardulorum.

3. The nine following cohorts of auxiliary foot are mentioned only in the Notitia, but are not found in Inscriptions :

Cohors prima Ælia classica.  
 prima Astorum.  
 Cornoviorum.  
 secunda Dalmatarum.  
 prima Frixagorum.

secunda

No. VIII.

Cohors secunda Lergorum.  
 quarta Lergorum.  
 prima Morinorum.  
 secunda Thracum.

The seventeen cohorts of auxiliary foot, which are mentioned in the Notitia, very probably belonged to the second and sixth legions, which continued longest in Britain, and were in it when the Notitia was written. But as seventeen cohorts do not make up the full complement of auxiliaries for two legions, it is probable that the other three cohorts belonging to these legions acted as scouts, watchmen, and guides, of which several bodies are mentioned in the Notitia. The fourteen cohorts whose names are found in inscriptions, though they are not mentioned in the Notitia, were perhaps the auxiliaries of the twentieth legion, which had left Britain before the Notitia was written. It is true, fourteen is a greater number of auxiliary cohorts than belonged to one legion; but as we have no evidence that all these fourteen were in Britain at the same time, it is probable that they were not, but that they served here at different times, as the exigencies of affairs required. The reader will see at what places the seventeen auxiliary cohorts which are mentioned in the Notitia were quartered, by looking into the 32d and 63d chapters of the Notitia, Appendix, No. VI. Nothing certain can be determined concerning the places where those cohorts were quartered, which are only mentioned in inscriptions; because it is not very well known where some of these inscriptions were found, and because some of these cohorts are mentioned in several inscriptions which have been found at different places<sup>a</sup>.

As the auxiliary foot were formed into cohorts, the auxiliary horse were formed into alæ or wings, because they were commonly stationed on the wings of the army on the day of battle. An ala or wing of auxiliary horse consisted of four hundred, and there were two of these wings united to each legion<sup>b</sup>. According to this account, the whole number of cavalry belonging to a legion was twelve hundred, of which four hundred were Romans, and eight hundred auxiliaries. We need not make any inquiry after the wings of auxiliary horse which belonged to the ninth and fourteenth legions, because their stay here was so short, that it is not to be imagined there are any monuments of them now remaining. But this is not the case with the three

<sup>a</sup> Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 90.

<sup>b</sup> Hirtius, c. 67.



Britannic legions ; for we find five wings of auxiliary horse, No. VIII. which undoubtedly belonged to them, mentioned in the Notitia, and three mentioned in inscriptions. The five following are mentioned in the Notitia :

Ala prima Astorum.  
 Petriana.  
 Sabiniana.  
 secunda Astorum.  
 prima Herculea.

The three following are found only in inscriptions :

Ala Augusta.  
 Sarmatarum.  
 Vettonum.

But as eight alæ or wings are too many for three legions, it is highly probable that two of these, which are found only in inscriptions, are the same with some two of those in the Notitia, under different names. We have even strong evidence that the ala Augusta in the inscriptions was the same with the ala prima Herculea in the Notitia. All the three inscriptions in which this ala Augusta is mentioned, which are remarkably full and perfect, were found at Olenacum, or Old Carlisle ; and from them it appears that this ala had quartered here a great number of years, one of the inscriptions having been erected A. D. 188, the second A. D. 191, and the last A. D. 242<sup>c</sup>. It appears also from the last of these inscriptions, that this ala was sometimes called ala Augusta Gordiana, from the emperor Gordian III. Now the Notitia fixes the ala prima Herculea at the same place (Olenacum), which is almost a demonstration that it was the same with the ala Augusta, which had sometimes been called Gordiana, in honour of the emperor Gordian, and afterwards Herculea, in honour of the emperor Maximianus Herculeus<sup>d</sup>. It is also probable that the ala which is called Petriana in the Notitia, from Petriana (Cambeck-ford), the place where it was quartered, was the same either with the ala Sarmatarum or ala Vettonum ; it being no very uncommon thing for the same body of troops to take its name, sometimes from the place where it had been long quartered, and sometimes from the country to which it originally belonged. If these suppositions are well

<sup>c</sup> Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 276, 277.

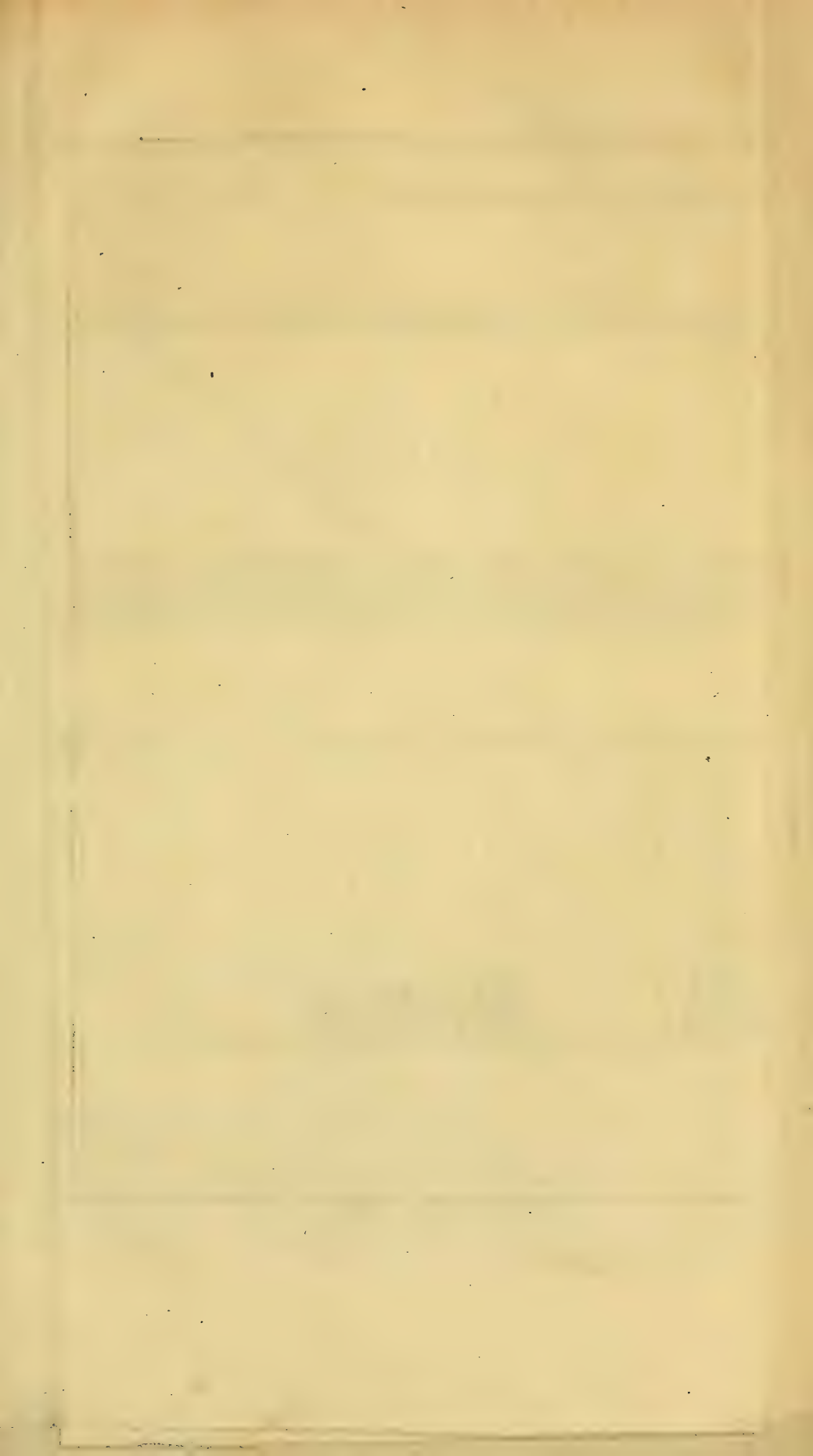
<sup>d</sup> Notitia, c. 63.

founded,

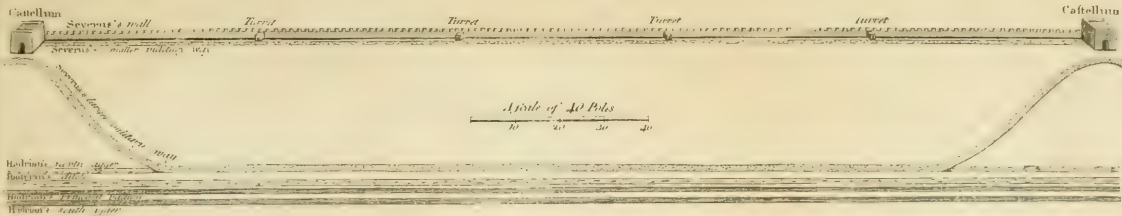
No. VIII. founded, we have the exact number of the six alæ or wings of auxiliary horse which belonged to the three Britannic legions. For it seems probable, that when the twentieth legion was removed out of this island, its alæ or auxiliary horse were left behind for some time, to assist those of the other two legions.

Such were the legionary and auxiliary forces employed by the Romans in subduing Britain, in keeping it in subjection, and in protecting it from its enemies. From this account it appears, that this wise and brave people thought it worth their while, and found it necessary, to employ a very great military force in making and preserving this conquest. The army which subdued provincial Britain, under Claudius, amounted to near fifty thousand men; and the whole of that great army continued here about six and twenty years, until the Roman authority was thoroughly established. From thence, for more than three hundred years, the standing army which the Romans kept in this island (if the several corps of which it was composed were not very deficient) could not be much less than thirty thousand strong; and even from the beginning of the fifth century to near the time of their final departure, their army here must have consisted of about twenty thousand men. As the Romans were as prudent economists as they were brave soldiers, we need not question that this island supported the army which was kept up for its protection, as well as made remittances to the imperial treasury. The legionaries were rewarded with grants of land at or near the places where they were stationed, which was one reason why the same corps continued so long at the same places; and the auxiliaries were paid out of the taxes and customs. The Romans derived two other advantages from the possession of Britain, which made them so unwilling to relinquish it. From hence they frequently supplied their armies in Gaul and Germany with corn, and here they raised a great number of brave troops for the protection of the other provinces of the empire. For, as we see from the above account of the auxiliaries in Britain, that the natives of many different and distant nations were employed by the Romans to keep this country under their obedience, so we may be certain that Britain was obliged to return the compliment, and send great numbers of her bravest youth to serve as auxiliaries in other provinces of the empire. From the Notitia and from inscriptions Mr Camden hath collected the following bodies of British auxiliaries, and from the same sources several others might be gathered; besides many others of which no monuments are now remaining:

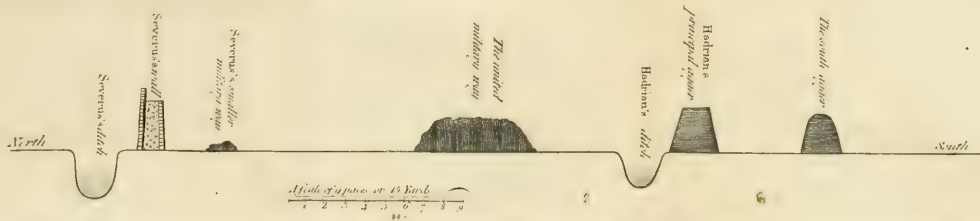




*A Draught of part of the Walls from one Castellum to another between Toweray and Carrawburgh*



*The profile of the Roman walls in Northumberland about half a mile west from Carraw*





Ala Britannica Milliaria.

Ala quarta Britonum in Egypto.

Cohors prima *Alia* Britonum.

Cohors tertia Britonum.

Cohors septima Britonum.

Cohors vigesima sexta Britonum in Armenia.

Britanniciani sub Magistro peditum.

Iniecti juniores Britanniciani

Exculcatores jun. Britan.

Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.

Iniecti juniores Britones intra Hispanias.

Britones Seniores Illyrico \*.

} inter auxilia Palatina.

As the twenty-sixth cohort of British auxiliary foot is here mentioned, we are certain that there were at least twenty-six cohorts of British infantry in the Roman service, which amount to fifteen thousand six hundred men. But it is probable there were many more, as well as a proportional number of cavalry. It appears further, that some of these bodies of British troops had acquitted themselves with so much bravery as to acquire the honourable title of Invincible.

## N U M B E R IX.

### DISSERTATION *on the* ROMAN WALLS *in* Britain.

**T**HE Romans not only excelled all other nations in the arts of making conquests, but also in the arts of preserving them, both from internal commotions and external violence. It was owing to these last arts that this wonderful people kept so many mighty nations, for so many ages, in peaceable subjection to their authority, and also protected their wide-extended empire from foreign enemies. The means employed by the Romans, to secure the internal tranquillity of their British dominions, have been considered in another Dissertation \*. We here propose to take a very short view of the methods which they used to

\* Camd. Introd. Brit. p. 107.

No. VIII. protect their territories in this island from the incursions of the unconquered Britons in the North.

Where the confines of the Roman provinces towards their enemies were not secured and protected by seas, firths, rivers, woods, and mountains, they supplied the place of these natural barriers by artificial ones, and defended those parts of their frontiers which were most accessible, by building chains of forts, by digging deep ditches, by raising mighty mounds and ramparts of earth, and even by erecting stone-walls. All these methods were employed by the Romans, for securing the northern frontiers of their British territories ; and we shall now consider them in their order.

The wise and brave Agricola having, in the first year of his government of Britain, A. D. 78, suppressed the commotions, and redressed the grievances of the Provincial Britons ; in his second year, conducted his army northward, and reduced the Brigantes, the Oradini, the Gadeni, and perhaps the Selgovæ, to obedience, obliged them to give hostages, and begirt them with garrisons and fortresses to secure his conquest <sup>b</sup>. These forts, built by Agricola in the second year of his government, are thought to have been in or near the tract where Hadrian's rampart and Severus's wall were afterwards erected <sup>c</sup>. In his third year, Agricola pushed his conquests as far north as the river Tay ; and towards the end of that campaign, and during the whole of his fourth summer, he employed his forces in building a chain of forts between the firths of Forth and Clyde, which he seems to have thought the most convenient place for fixing the boundaries of the Roman empire in this island. " It " was observed of Agricola says Tacitus, speaking of this chain " of forts) by men of experience, that never had any captain " more wisely chosen his stations for commodiousness and situa- " tion ; for that no place of strength founded by him was ever " taken by violence, or abandoned upon articles, or through " despair <sup>d</sup>." So that this chain of forts, in each of which there was a competent garrison, with provisions for a year, answered the end for which it was designed, of keeping the adjacent country in obedience, and restraining the incursions of the Caledonians, while Agricola continued to command in Britain. But his successors in that office were not possessed of his wisdom and abilities, which rendered his forts but a feeble security of

<sup>b</sup> Tacit. vita Agric. c. 19, 20.

<sup>c</sup> Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 42.

<sup>d</sup> Tacit. vita Agric, c 22, 23.



the subjection of the surrounding country, and of the safety of No. VIII. the Roman province after his departure. For though we know little, particularly, of what happened in Britain from the departure of Agricola, A. D. 85, to the arrival of Hadrian, A. D. 120; yet it appears in general, that the British nations in the south of Scotland, and in the north of England, had thrown off the Roman yoke in that interval <sup>e</sup>. The emperor Hadrian, being more intent upon defending than enlarging his empire, contracted its limits a little in Britain; and for its greater security, drew a profound ditch, and threw up a mighty rampart from sea to sea; which, being the second artificial barrier of the Roman territories in Britain, comes now to be considered <sup>f</sup>.

Though the word *Murus*, which often signifies a wall of stone is sometimes used by the Latin writers when they are speaking of Hadrian's fence or rampart; yet it is very certain, from its remains and other evidences, that it was not built of stone, but of earth <sup>g</sup>. This prodigious work was carried on from the Solway firth, a little to the west of the village of Burgh on the Sands, in as direct a line as it was possible, to the river Tyne on the east, at the place where the town of Newcastle now stands; so that it must have been above sixty English, and near seventy Roman miles in length. This work can hardly be described in fewer or plainer words than those of one of our best antiquaries, who had examined it with the greatest care. "What belongs to this work is, 1. The principal *Agger* or *Vallum* (rampart) on the brink of the ditch: 2 The ditch on the north side of the *Vallum*: 3. Another *Agger* (or mound of earth) on the south side of the principal *Vallum* (or rampart), and about five paces distant from it, which I call the south *Agger*: 4, And a large *Agger* (or mound) on the north side of the ditch, called the north *Agger*. This last, I suppose, was the military way to the ancient line of forts (built by Agricola), and it must have served as a military way to this work also, or it is plain there has been none attending it. The south *Agger*, I suppose, has either been made for an inner defence, in case the enemy might beat them from any part of the principal rampart, or to protect the soldiers against a sudden attack against the Provincial Britons. It is generally somewhat smaller than the principal rampart, but in some places it is larger. These four works keep all the way a constant regular parallelism one to

<sup>e</sup> Script. Hist. August. p. 22.

<sup>f</sup> Id. p. 51.

<sup>g</sup> Id. *ibid*.

" another.

No. VIII. "another<sup>b</sup>." The distance of the north Agger or mound, from the brink of the ditch, is about twenty feet. This work hath, for many ages, been in so ruinous a condition, and the several ramparts are so much diminished in height, and increased in breadth, by the sliding and spreading of the earth in so long a course of time, that it is impossible to discover with certainty, their original dimensions. If we may judge, however, from appearance, it seems highly probable that the principal rampart was at least ten or twelve feet high; the south one not much less, but the north one considerably lower. The dimensions of the ditch have been exactly taken as it passes through a lime-stone quarry near Harlow-hill, and appears to have been near nine feet deep, and eleven feet wide at the top; but somewhat narrower at the bottom. Such was that prodigious rampart or fence erected by the command of the emperor Hadrian A. D. 120, for the defence of the Roman territories to the south of it, from the incursions of the Britons on the north. This work was defended by a competent number of Roman soldiers and auxiliary troops who garisoned the forts and stations which were situated along the line of it at proper distances. These forts and stations had been built before, or the greatest part of them, by Agricola and others; but we shall meet with a fairer opportunity of describing them by and bye, when we come to speak of Severus's wall. However, to give the reader as clear an idea as possible of the several parts of this work, he will find a draught of it in profile, in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

But this work of Hadrian's did not long continue to be the extreme boundary of the Roman territories to the north in Britain. For Antoninus Pius, the adopted son, and immediate successor, of Hadrian, having by his legate Lollius Urbicus, brought the *Maeatæ* again under the yoke, commanded another rampart to be erected much further north between the firths of Forth and Clyde, in the tract where Agricola had formerly built his chain of forts<sup>i</sup>. The great number of inscriptions which have been found in or near the ruins of this wall, or rampart, to the honour of Antoninus Pius, leave us no room to doubt its having been built by his direction and command<sup>k</sup>. If the fragment of a Roman pillar with an inscription, now in the college library at Edinburgh, belonged to this work, as it is generally supposed to have done, it fixes the date of its execution to the third consulship of Antoninus,

<sup>b</sup> *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 117.

<sup>i</sup> *Script. Hist. August.* p. 132.

<sup>k</sup> *Horf. Brit. Rom.* p. 194, &c.



which was A. D. 140, only twenty years after that of Hadrian of which this seems to have been an imitation. This wall or rampart, as some imagine, reached from Caer-riden on the firth of Forth, to Old-Kilpatrick on the Clyde; or, as others think, from Kinniel on the east, to Dunghass on the west<sup>1</sup>. These different suppositions hardly make a mile of difference in the length of this work, which, from several actual mensurations, appears to have been about thirty seven English or forty Roman miles<sup>m</sup>. Capitolinus in his life of Antoninus Pius directly affirms, that the wall which the emperor built in Britain was of turf<sup>n</sup>. This in the main is unquestionably true; though it is evident (from the vestiges of it still remaining, which not very many years ago were dug up and examined for near a mile together) that the foundation was of stone<sup>o</sup>. Mr. Camden also tells us from the papers of one Mr. Anthony Pont, that the principal rampart was faced with square stone to prevent the earth from falling into the ditch<sup>p</sup>. The chief parts of this work were as follow; 1. A broad and deep ditch, whose dimensions cannot now be discovered with certainty and exactness, though Mr. Pont says, it was twelve feet wide. 2. The principal wall or rampart was about twelve feet thick at the foundation, but its original height cannot now be determined. This wall was situated on the south brink of the ditch. 3. A military-way on the south side of the principal wall, well paved, and raised a little above the level of the ground. This work, as well as that of Hadrian, was defended by garrisons placed in forts and stations along the line of it. The number of these forts or stations, whose vestiges, were visible in Mr. Pont's time, were eighteen, situated at about the distance of two miles from each other. In the intervals between the forts, there were turrets or watch-towers. But the number of these, and their distance from each other, cannot now be discovered. That the reader may have as clear an idea as possible of this grand and noble work, and of the course which it pursued, he will find a delineation of its whole length, with the chief forts upon it, and also a draught of it in profile, in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

<sup>1</sup> Gordon Itin. Septent. p. 50. 60.

<sup>m</sup> Horf. Brit. Roman, p. 160.

<sup>n</sup> Script. Hist. Aug. p. 132.

<sup>o</sup> Gordon Itin. Septent. p. 63. Horsley, p. 163.

<sup>p</sup> Camd. Brit. p. 1287.

## No. IX.

It is not a little surprizing, that though it is now more than sixteen hundred years since this work was finished, and more than thirteen hundred since it was slighted, we can yet discover, from authentic monuments which are still remaining, by what particular bodies of Roman troops almost every part of it was executed. This discovery is made from inscriptions upon stones, which were originally built into the face of the wall, and have been found in or near its ruins, and are carefully preserved. The number of stones with inscriptions of this kind now extant, is eleven; of which six may be seen at one view in the college of Glasgow, one in the college of Aberdeen, one in the college of Edinburgh, one in the collection of Baron Clerk, one at Cochnoch-house, and one at Calder-house. From these inscriptions it appears in general, that this great work was executed by the second legion, the vexillations of the sixth legion, and of the twentieth legion, and one cohort of auxiliaries. If these corps were all complete, they would make in all a body of seven thousand eight hundred men. Some of these inscriptions have suffered greatly by the injuries of time and other accidents, so that we cannot discover from them, with absolute certainty, how many paces of this work were executed by each of these bodies of troops. The sum of the certain and probable information contained in these inscriptions, as it is collected by the learned and illustrious Mr. Horsley, stands thus:

|                                                                                   | Paces. |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| The second legion built                                                           | 11,603 |
| The vexillation of the 6th legion                                                 | 7,411  |
| The vexillation of the 20th legion                                                | 7,801  |
| All certain                                                                       | 26,815 |
| The vexillation of the 20th legion, the monument certain, and the number probable | 3,411  |
| The same vexillation, on a plain monument, no number visible, supposed            | 3,500  |
| The sixth legion, a monument, but no number, supposed                             | 3,000  |
| Cohors prima Cugernorum                                                           | 3,000  |
| Total                                                                             | 39,726 |

or 39 miles 726 paces, nearly the whole length of the wall. It would have been both useful and agreeable to have known, how long time these troops were employed in the execution of this great work. But of this we have no information. Neither do we know what particular bodies of troops were in garrison in the several forts and stations along the line of this wall, because



cause these garrisons were withdrawn before the *Notitia Imperii* was written. No. IX.

Though we cannot discover exactly how many years this wall of the emperor Antoninus continued to be the boundary of the Roman territories in Britain, yet we know with certainty, that it was not very long. For we are told by an author of undoubted credit, that, in the reign of Commodus, A. D. 180, "he had wars with several foreign nations, but none so dangerous as that of Britain. For the people of that island, having passed the wall which divided them from the Romans, attacked them, and cut them in pieces <sup>a</sup>."

We learn further from several hints in the Roman historians, that the country between the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus continued to be a scene of perpetual war and subject of contention, between the Romans and Britons, from the beginning of the reign of Commodus, to the arrival of the emperor Septimius Severus in Britain, A. D. 206. This last emperor having subdued the *Maeatae*, and repulsed the *Caledonians*, determined to erect a stronger and more impenetrable barrier than any of the former, against their future incursions. As this last wall, built by Severus, was by far the greatest of all the Roman works in Britain, it merits a more particular description.

Though neither Dio nor Herodian make any mention of a wall built by Severus in Britain for the protection of the Roman province, yet we have abundant evidence from other writers of equal authority, that he really built such a wall. "He fortified Britain (says Spartian) with a wall drawn cross the island, from sea to sea; which is the greatest glory of his reign. After the wall was finished, he retired to the next station (York) not only a conqueror, but founder of an eternal peace <sup>b</sup>." To the same purpose Aurelius Victor and Orosius, to say nothing of Eutropius and Cassiodorus: "Having repelled the enemy in Britain, he fortified the country, which was suited to that purpose, with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea. Severus drew a great ditch, and built a strong wall, fortified with several turrets, from sea to sea, to protect that part of the island which he had recovered, from the yet unconquered nations <sup>c</sup>." As the residence of the emperor Severus in Britain was not quite four years, it is probable that the two last of them were employed, or the greatest part of them, in

<sup>a</sup> Dio, l. 72. p. 820.

<sup>b</sup> Script. Hist. August. p. 363.

<sup>c</sup> Oros. l. 7. c. 11.

No. IX. building his wall ; according to which account, it was begun  
 A. D. 209, and finished A. D. 210.

This wall of Severus was built nearly on the same tract with Hadrian's rampart, at the distance only of a few paces north. The length of this wall, from Cousins-house near the mouth of the river Tyne on the east, to Boulnefs' on the Solway firth on the west, hath been found, from two actual mensurations, to be a little more than sixty-eight English miles, and a little less than seventy-four Roman miles<sup>t</sup>. To the north of the wall was a broad and deep ditch, the original dimensions of which cannot now be ascertained, only it seems to have been larger than that of Hadrian. The wall itself, which stood on the south brink of the ditch, was built of solid stone, strongly cemented with the best mortar ; the stones which formed both the faces being square ashlers, and the filling stones large flags, set a little slanting. The height of this wall was twelve feet besides the parapet, and its breadth eight feet, according to Bede, who lived only at a small distance from the east end of it, and in whose time it was almost quite entire in many places<sup>u</sup>. Such was the wall erected by the command and under the direction of the emperor Severus in the north of England ; and considering the length, breadth, height, and solidity of it, it was certainly a work of great magnificence and prodigious labour. But the wall itself was but a part, and not the most extraordinary part, of this work. The great number and different kinds of fortresses which were built along the line of it, for its defence, and the military-ways with which it was attended, are still more worthy of our admiration, and come now to be described.

The fortresses which were erected along the line of Severus's wall, for its defence, were of three different kinds, and three different degrees of strength ; and were called by three different Latin words, which may be translated, stations, castles, and turrets. Of each of these in their order.

The stationes, stations, were so called from their stability and the stated residence of garrisons. They were also called castra, which hath been converted into chestres, a name which many of them still bear. These were by far the largest, strongest, and most magnificent of the fortresses which were built upon the wall, and were designed for the head-quarters of the cohorts of troops which were placed there in garrison, and

<sup>t</sup> Gordon's Itin. Septent. p. 83. Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 121.

<sup>u</sup> Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1.



from whence detachments were sent into the adjoining castles and turrets. These stations, as appears from the vestiges of them, which are still visible, were not all exactly of the same figure, nor of the same dimensions; some of them being exactly squares, and others oblong, and some of them a little larger than others. These variations were no doubt occasioned by the difference of situation, and other circumstances. The stations were fortified with deep ditches and strong walls, the wall itself coinciding with, and forming the north wall of each station. Within the stations were lodgings for the officers and soldiers in garrison; the smallest of them being sufficient to contain a cohort, or six hundred men. Without the walls of each station was a town, inhabited by labourers, artificers, and others, both Romans and Britons, who chose to dwell under the protection of these fortresses. The number of the stations upon the wall was exactly eighteen; and if they had been placed at equal distances, the interval between every two of them would have been four miles and a few paces; but the intervention of rivers, marshes, and mountains; the conveniency of situation for strength, prospect and water; and many other circumstances to us unknown, determined them to place these stations at unequal distances. The situation which was always chosen by the Romans, both here and every where else in Britain where they could obtain it, was the gentle declivity of a hill, near a river, and facing the meridian sun. Such was the situation of the far greatest part of the stations on this wall. In general we may observe, that the stations stood thickest near the two ends and in the middle, probably because the danger of the invasion was greatest in these places. But the reader will form a clearer idea of the number of these stations, their Latin and English names, their situation and distance from one another, by inspecting the following table, than we can give him, with equal brevity, in any other way. The first column contains the number of the station, reckoning from east to west; the second contains its Latin, and the third its English name; and the three last its distance from the next station to the west of it, in miles, furlongs, and chains.

No. IX.

| N <sup>o</sup>     | Latin Name. | English Name.     | M. | F. | C. |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|----|----|----|
| 1                  | Segedunum   | Cousins'-house    | 3  | 5  | 1½ |
| 2                  | Pons Ælii   | Newcastle         | 2  | 0  | 9  |
| 3                  | Condercum   | Benwell-hill      | 6  | 6  | 5  |
| 4                  | Vindobala   | Rurchester        | 7  | 0  | 3½ |
| 5                  | Hunnum      | Halton-chesters   | 5  | 1  | 7  |
| 6                  | Cilurnum    | Waltwick-chesters | 3  | 1  | 8  |
| 7                  | Procolitia  | Carrawburgh       | 4  | 5  | 3½ |
| 8                  | Borcovicus  | Houfesteeds       | 1  | 3  | 8  |
| 9                  | Vindolana   | Little-chesters   | 3  | 6  | 4  |
| 10                 | Æfica       | Great-chesters    | 2  | 1  | 6½ |
| 11                 | Magna       | Carrvoran         | 2  | 6  | 0  |
| 12                 | Amboglanna  | Burdofwald        | 6  | 2  | 8  |
| 13                 | Petriana    | Cambeck           | 2  | 6  | 6  |
| 14                 | Aballaba    | Watchcrofs        | 5  | 1  | 9  |
| 15                 | Congavata   | Stanwix           | 3  | 3  | 4  |
| 16                 | Axelodunum  | Brugh             | 4  | 0  | 9  |
| 17                 | Gabrosentum | Brumbrugh         | 3  | 4  | 1  |
| 18                 | Tunnocelum  | Boulnefs          | 0  | 0  | 0  |
| Length of the wall |             |                   | 68 | 3  | 3  |

The castella, or castles, were the second kind of fortifications which were built along the line of this wall for its defence. These castles were neither so large, nor strong, as the stations, but much more numerous, being no fewer than eighty-one. The shape and dimensions of the castles, as appears from the foundations of many of them which are still visible, were exact squares of sixty-six feet every way. They were fortified on every side with thick and lofty walls, but without any ditch, except on the north side, on which the wall itself, raised much above its usual height, with the ditch attending it, formed the fortification. The castles were situated in the intervals between the stations, at the distance of about seven furlongs from each other; though in this, particular circumstances sometimes occasioned a little variation. In these castles, guards were constantly kept by a competent number of men detached from the nearest stations<sup>v</sup>

The turretes, or turrets, were the third and last kind of fortifications on the wall. These were still much smaller than the castles, and formed only a square of about twelve feet, standing out of the wall on its south side. Being so small, they are more

<sup>v</sup> Hors. Brit. Rom. p. 118.



intirely ruined than the stations and castles, which makes it difficult to discover their exact number. They stood in the intervals between the castles, and from the faint vestiges of a few of them, it is conjectured that there were four of them between every two castles, at the distance of about three hundred yards from one another. According to this conjecture, the number of the turrets amounted to three hundred and twenty-four. They were designed for watch-towers, and places for centinels, who, being within hearing of one another, could convey any alarm or intelligence to all parts of the wall in a very little time.

Such were the stations, castles, and turrets on the wall of Severus; and a very considerable body of troops was constantly quartered in them for its defence. The usual complement allowed for this service was as follows <sup>z</sup> :

|                                                                                   |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Twelve cohorts of foot, consisting of 600 men each                             | 7,200 |
| 2. One cohort of mariners in the station at Boulness                              | 600   |
| 3. One detachment of Moors, probably equal to a cohort                            | 600   |
| 4. Four alæ or wings of horse, consisting, at the lowest computation, of 400 each | 1,600 |

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10,000

For the conveniency of marching these troops from one part of the wall to another, with the greater pleasure and expedition, on any service, it was attended with two military-ways, paved with square stones, in the most solid and beautiful manner. One of these ways was smaller, and the other larger. The smaller military way ran close along the south side of the wall, from turret to turret, and castle to castle, for the use of the soldiers in relieving their guards and centinels, and such services. The larger way did not keep so near the wall, nor touch at the turrets or castles, but pursued the most direct course from one station to another, and was designed for the conveniency of marching large bodies of troops.

Such was the wall of Severus, with its ditches, stations, castles, turrets, and military ways. Our intended brevity obliges us to leave the reader to his own reflections on this stupendous and most noble work, which sets the military skill and indefatigable industry of the Roman troops in so fair a light, and which any antiquary of true spirit would travel a thousand miles on foot to see in its perfection; but since this felicity is denied him, he

<sup>z</sup> Notitia Imperii, § 63.

No. IX. must content himself with the several views of it which he will find in the plate annexed to this Dissertation.

It is to be regretted, that we cannot gratify the reader's curiosity, by informing him by what particular bodies of Roman troops the several parts of this great work were executed; as we were enabled to do with regard to the wall of Antoninus Pius, from inscriptions. For though it is probable that there were stones with inscriptions of the same kind, mentioning the several bodies of troops, and the quantity of work performed by each of them, originally inserted in the face of this wall, yet none of them are now to be found. There have indeed been discovered, in or near the ruins of this wall, a great number of small square stones, with very short, and generally imperfect, inscriptions upon them; mentioning particular legions, cohorts, and centuries, but without directly asserting that they had built any part of the wall, or naming any number of paces. Of these inscriptions the reader may see no fewer than twenty-nine among the Northumberland and Cumberland Inscriptions, in Mr. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. As the stones on which these inscriptions are cut are of the same shape and size with the other facing-stones of this wall, it is almost certain that they have been originally placed in the face of it. It is equally certain, from the uniformity of these inscriptions, that they were all intended to intimate some one thing, and nothing so probable as that the adjacent wall was built by the troops mentioned in them. This was perhaps so well understood, that it was not thought necessary to be expressed; and the distance of these inscriptions from one another shewed the quantity of work performed. If this was really the case, we know in general that this great work was executed by the second and sixth legions, these being the only legions mentioned in these inscriptions. Now if this prodigious wall, with all its appendages of ditches, stations, castles, turrets, and military-ways, was executed in the space of two years, by two legions only, which when most complete made no more than twelve thousand men, how greatly must we admire the skill, the industry, and excellent discipline of the Roman soldiers, who were not only the valiant guardians of the empire in times of war, but its most active and useful members in times of peace? Nor were these soldiers less dextrous in handling their arms when they took the field, than they had before handled the spade, the shovel, the mattock, and the trowel; but, on the contrary, they then fought with the same skill and vigour that they had wrought before. How much is it to be regretted, that a policy so contrary to this prevails in modern Europe; and that her numerous standing armies,



mies, which sometimes make such dreadful havock in times of war, are so unprofitably employed in times of peace! No. IX.

This wall of Severus, and its fortresses, proved an impene- trable barrier to the Roman territories for near two hundred years. But about the beginning of the fifth century, the Roman empire being assaulted on all sides, and the bulk of their forces withdrawn from Britain, the Maeatæ and Caledonians, now called Scots and Picts, became more daring, and some of them breaking through the wall, and others sailing round the ends of it, they carried their ravages into the very heart of Provincial Britain. These invaders were indeed several times repulsed after this, by the Roman legions sent to the relief of the Britons. The last of these legions, under the command of Gallio of Ravenna, having, with the assistance of the Britons, thoroughly repaired the breaches of Severus's wall, and its fortresses, and exhorted the Britons to make a brave defence, took their final farewell of Britain<sup>a</sup>. It soon appeared that the strongest walls and ramparts are no security to an undisciplined and dastardly rabble, as the unhappy Britons then were. The Scots and Picts met with little resistance in breaking through the wall, whose towns and castles were tamely abandoned to their destructive rage. In many places they levelled it with the ground, that it might prove no obstruction to their future inroads. From this time no attempts were ever made to repair this noble work. Its beauty and grandeur procured it no respect in the dark and tasteless ages which succeeded. It became the common quarry for more than a thousand years, out of which all the towns and villages around were built; and is now so intirely ruined, that the penetrating eyes of the most poring and patient antiquarian can hardly trace its vanishing foundations. Jam feges est ubi Troia fuit.

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### N U M B E R X.

**A**S it is proposed to give a short specimen of the language of the people of Great Britain in the several periods of their history, the Lord's Prayer is chosen for this purpose, being universally known, and not very long. In the present period, it may be proper to give copies of this prayer,—in the ancient British, which is supposed to have been the general language of the ancient Britons, and a dialect of the Celtic—in the Welsh—

<sup>a</sup> Bedæ Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 12.

No. IX. Cornish—Erse—and Irish, which were spoken by their posterity in Wales, Cornwall, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland.

*The LORD'S PRAYER in the ancient British Language.*

I.

**E**YEN taad rhuvn wytyn y nefoedodd ;  
 Santeiddier yr hemvu taw :  
 De vedy dyrnas daw :  
 Guueler dy wollys arryddayar megis agyn y nefi.  
 Eyn-bara beunydda vul dyro inniheddivu :  
 Ammaddew ynny eyn deledion, megis agi maddevu in  
 deledvvir ninaw :  
 Agna thowys ni in brofedigaeth :  
 Namyn gvaredni rhag drug. Amen.

II.

*The LORD'S PRAYER in Welsh.*

**E**IN T d yr hwn wyt yn y nefoed  
 Sancteidier dy Enw,  
 Deved dy Deyntas,  
 Gwneler dy Ewyllys megis yn ynefar y ddaiar hefyd,  
 Dyro ini heddyw ein bara beunyddioll,  
 Ammaddew ini ein dyledion fel y maddeuwn ninnow in  
 dyled-wyr,  
 Ac nac arwain ni i brofedegaeth,  
 Either gwared ni rhag drwg  
 Cannys eiddol ti yw'r deyrnas, a'r nerth, a'r gogoniant,  
 yn oes oesoedd. Amen.

III.

*The LORD'S PRAYER in the Cornish Language.*

**N**Y Taz ez yn new.  
 Bonegas yw tha hanauw.  
 Tha Gwlakath doaz.  
 Tha bonogath bogweez en nore pocoragen new.  
 Roe thenyen dythma gon dyth bara givians.  
 Ny gan rabn weery cara ni givians mens.  
 O cabin ledia ny nara idn tentation.  
 Buz dilver ny thart doeg. Amen.



## IV.

*The LORD'S PRAYER in the Erse Language.*

**A**R Nathairne ata ar neamh.  
 Goma beannuigte hainmfa.  
 Gu deig do Rioghachdfa.  
 Dentar do Thollí air dtalmhuin mar ata air neamh  
 Tabhair dhuinn ar bhfeacha, amhuil mhathmuid dar  
 bhfeicheamhnuibh.  
 Agus na leig ambuadhread finn.  
 Achd faor sin o olc.  
 Oir is leatfa an Rioghachd an cumhachd agus an gloir  
 gu sctorraidh. Amen.

## V.

*The LORD'S PRAYER in the Irish Language.*

**A**R nathriae ata ar neamh.  
 Naomhtar hainm.  
 Tigeadh do rioghachd.  
 Deuntar do thoil ar an ttalamh, mar do nithear ar neamh,  
 Ar naran laeathcamhail tabhair dhuinn a niw.  
 Agus maith dhuinn or bhfiaeha mar mhaitmidne dar  
 bhfeitheamhnuibh fein.  
 Agus na leig fian a ccatghuhadh.  
 Achd faor inn o olc.  
 Oir is leachd fein an rioghachd an cumhachd, agus an  
 ghloer go sctorruighe. Amen<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> See Oratio Dominica in diversis omnium fere gentium linguis versa.  
 Editore Joanne Chamberlaynio, p. 47. 52. 50. 49 48.

## DIRECTIONS to the BINDER.

Place the first plate of British coins between page 402 and p. 403.

The second plate of coins between p. 404 and p. 405.

Map of Britain according to Ptolemy's Geography, immediately before the Appendix.

Map of Britain according to Antoninus's Itinerary, at No. III. p. 34.

Map of Britain according to the Notitia Imperii facing p. 52.

Map of Britain in the most perfect state of the Roman-government, between p. 66 and 67.

Draught of the walls facing the Dissertation on the Roman walls, p. 77.











